



C. Grignon Sculp.

Roman History



A

Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time.

V O L. XV.

B O O K III.

The ROMAN History.

C H A P. XIX.

The History of Rome, from the Death of Vitellius to the Death of Domitian, the 12th of the twelve Cæsars, in whom ended the Flavian Family.

THE Flavian family, now raised to the highest pitch of grandeur, was no way conspicuous either for its lustre or antiquity. *The de scend, birth, and action, of Vespasian before he attained the last reign.* Titus Flavius, the emperor's grandfather, was a citizen of Reate, now Rieti, in the country of the Sabines; and, in the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, served under the latter in quality of centurion, but returned home after the battle of Pharsalia; and, having obtained his pardon, betook himself to the mean employment of collecting taxes, under the farmers of the public revenue. His son Titus Flavius Sabinus followed the same profession, and acquitted himself in it with such integrity, that, by the several cities of Asia, where he was collector of the tax called *quadregesima*, statues were erected to him with this inscription, *To the benefit publican.* Afterwards he withdrew into the country

of *Nero* and *Galba*, while *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the sovereignty, he began to cherish hopes of obtaining it himself, relying on several prodigies, prophecies, and propitious responses of oracles (H). Of the many predictions, that of *Josephus* the historian is the most famous, who saluted *Vespasian* with the title of emperor even in *Nero's* reign, and assured him, he should be soon invested with the sovereign power. His prediction is mentioned not only by himself ^c, but likewise by *Suetonius* ^d, who tells us, that *Josephus*, being by *Vespasian's* orders put in irons, boldly affirmed, that in a short time he should by him be set at liberty; but that he should be emperor first. However, that the empire was, by the laws of fate, by predictions and prophecies, foretold and ordained to *Vespasian*, and his sons, was, says *Tacitus*, what we believed, after we had seen them emperors ^e.

^c JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 12.
CIT. hist. l. i. c. 86. & l. ii. c. 78.

^d SUET. c. 5. ^e TA.

(B) The antients take notice of many prodigies prefaging his future grandeur. In his grounds, says *Tacitus* (1), while he was in the bloom of his age, a cypress-tree, signally tall, fell suddenly; but the day following rose again, and resumed fresh growth and verdure; which was, according to the concurring testimony of the soothsayers, an omen of extraordinary grandeur in the state; yet at first the whole preface seemed to have been literally fulfilled by his being honoured with the triumphal ornaments, which he acquired by his conduct in *Britain*; by his bearing the dignity of consul; and by his renown in vanquishing the *Jews*. But when he had passed through these honours, he began to believe, that the empire was the thing prefaged. He was confirmed in this belief by the answer returned him by *Basilides* priest of the god *Carmel*, so called from mount *Carmel*, on which

stood the altar of that deity; a deity, as *Tacitus* observes, not distinguished by any statue or temple, but only by an altar. As *Vespasian* offered sacrifice there, and was entertaining great hopes and views, *Basilides* the priest, having diligently surveyed the entrails, addressed him thus: "Whatever design it is which you meditate, O *Vespasian*, whether to build an house, or extend your domains, or to enlarge your train of slaves, to you is granted a mighty and large settlement, infinite bounds, and multitudes of men." These mysterious words were immediately spread abroad by fame, and by all explained as prefaging the empire to *Vespasian*. Many responses of oracles, and prodigies of the like nature, are related by *Suetonius* (2), and *Dio Cassius* (3); but we shall not trespass upon the patience of our readers with a detail of them.

(1) *Tacit. hist.* l. ii. c. 78.

(2) *Suet. in Vesp.* c. 5.

(3) *Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 744.*

VESPASIAN, being encouraged by *Mucianus* governor of *Syria*, by *Tiberius Alexander* governor of *Egypt*, and by all his officers, not to neglect the present opportunity, while two competitors, of all men the most unworthy, were contending for the empire, at length yielded, as we have already related; and was proclaimed emperor at *Alexandria* on the first *Isacknow* of *July* of the sixty-ninth year of the Christian æra; on the *leged* em-
third of the same month, in *Judæa*, where he then was; *peror in*
on the fifteenth, in *Syria*; and a few days after, in all the *the East*
provinces of the East. He was not in himself any-way *ern pro*
changed by so sudden and so mighty a turn of fortune: no *vinces*.
loftiness appeared in his aspect, no arrogance, nor any new *Not*
behaviour, under his new character. He immediately re-*changed by*
warded his friends, raising some to military commands, others *his new*
to be governors of provinces, several to the rank of senators, *dignity*.
most of them men of signal merit and renown, and who afterwards acquired the highest honours in the state. As he thought it below him to court the soldiers by largesses, he promised them no greater donative in the heat of the civil war, than had been given them by others during full peace. In the council which he established at *Berytus* for the direction of all momentous affairs, it was resolved, that *Titus* should pursue the war against the *Jews*, and *Mucianus* march with part of the forces against *Vitellius*. But *Titus* undertook nothing till the next year; and *Antonius Primus*, with the *Illyrian* army, defeated the troops of *Vitellius* before the arrival of *Mucianus*; made himself master of *Rome*, and all *Italy*; and caused the unhappy emperor to be publicly executed as a common criminal: all which transactions we have already related at large.

In the mean time *Vespasian*, having passed some time at *Antioch* the capital of *Syria*, proceeded from thence to *Egypt*, where he received the joyful tidings of the victory gained by *Primus* at *Cremona*. Hereupon he hastened to *Alexandria*, with a design to distress *Rome* by famine, since from *Egypt* chiefly the city was supplied with corn. He was at the same time preparing to invade *Africa* by sea and land, in order to bring upon the enemy, by intercepting their provisions, the calamity of hunger, with that of dissension. But in the mean time many persons of all ranks and degrees arrived from *Italy*, to acquaint him with the fate and fall of *Vitellius*; which were no sooner known, than multitudes flocked from all quarters, notwithstanding it was then winter, to see at the favour of the new emperor; insomuch that *Alexandria*, the greatest city of the empire after *Rome*, proved too small for the vast numbers of ambassadors, deputies, noblemen, officers, &c. who flocked thither. Among the rest, ambassadors arrived

*Receives
news of
the fate of
Vitellius.*

from *Vologeses* king of *Parthia*, who offered to assist him with forty thousand *Parthian* horse. *Vespasian* returned him thanks, and, desiring he would send ambassadors to the senate, acquainted him, that the commonwealth was re-established in peace. The news of the death of *Vitellius* made *Vespasian* alter his measures; for, instead of distressing the city, which had already proclaimed him emperor, with famine, he dispatched thither a great number of vessels laden with corn; which arrived very seasonably, there not being at that time remaining in all the public stores above ten days provision of grains. As the winter-season was far advanced, *Vespasian* continued some months at *Alexandria*, waiting a safe passage from the gentle weather returning with the summer.

Mucianus
arrives at
Rome.

His cha-
racter-

In the mean time *Mucianus* arrived at *Rome*, according to *Josephus*^b, the day after the death of *Vitellius*; and in a moment drew to himself, as he had been invested by *Vespasian* with an uncontrolled power, the whole sway. *Licinius Mucianus* was, according to the character which *Tacitus* has drawn of him, a man remarkable for a strange combination of good and bad qualities; luxury and vigilance, haughtiness and complaisance; when unemployed, excessively voluptuous; of infinite abilities and activity, when business required them. Hence his equal share of praise and reproach; as a public minister, admired; as a private voluptuary, condemned. He was a great master in the several arts of engaging, an able orator, well versed in civil affairs, prompt in foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, mighty in credit with those who were above him, under him, or in equal authority with him; in short, such a man as could easier create an emperor, than be one. *Vespasian*, as he was chiefly indebted to him for the empire, upon his departure for *Italy*, invested him with an unlimited power, and is even said to have trusted him with his signet, as if he had been his partner in the sovereignty. Hence, upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was by all looked upon and revered, rather as the emperor's colleague, than as a subordinate minister. Quite sunk was the power of *Antonius Primus*, and *Arrius Verus*, whom *Vespasian* had already appointed captain of the prætorian guards. As *Mucianus* could not well dissemble his animosity towards them, the city immediately turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herself to the new minion. To him alone court was paid, to him all addresses were made: neither was he wanting to his own grandeur; for he never appeared in public but encompassed with guards, and attended with an equipage be-

He bears
universal
envy.

^f *TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 51. JOSEPH. bel. Jud. l. iv. c. 52. DIO, VAL. p. 702. TACIT. ibid.* ^b *JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 42.*

coming a sovereign. He forsook indeed the name, but performed all the functions, of sovereignty. Soon after his arrival, he caused *Astaticus*, the late emperor's freedman, to atone for his late wicked sway, by suffering the death of a slave. His doom was by every one expected, and even wished for; but the death of *Calpurnius Galerianus* occasioned a mighty and general dread in the city. He was the son of *Caius Piso*, who, in the reign of *Nero*, had aspired to the sovereignty; but had himself no share in that conspiracy, nor had ever offered to disturb the state. However, as he was of an illustrious family, of a graceful person, and greatly beloved by the people, he was, by order of *Mucianus*, committed to the custody of a band of soldiers, sent forty miles from *Rome*, and there put to death by having his veins opened ¹. *He accuses Mucianus to be murdered.*

WHILE *Mucianus* was thus ruling with absolute sway in *Rome*, the *Batavians* were carrying on the war against the *Romans* with stupendous success in *Lower Germany*. Of that war we shall here, as in its proper place (for it was happily concluded this year, the first of *Vespasian's* reign), briefly recount the causes and events. The *Batavians*, originally the same people with the *Cattans*, who dwelt beyond the *Rhine*, being driven thence by a domestic insurrection, settled at the extreme borders of *Gaul*, in an island formed by the mouths of the *Rhine* and the ocean (C). They were not subjects, but allies, of the *Romans*, being obliged to assist them on y with troops commanded by men of the first rank amongst them. They had at this time eight cohorts, men thoroughly exercised in the wars of *Germany* and *Britain*. These *Vitellius* had gained over to his party, and a great share they had in the victory at *Bedriacum*; but, proving afterwards refractory and ungovernable, the emperor thought it advisable to remand them back to their own country. *Julius Paulus* and *Claudius Civilis*, both men of royal descent, greatly surpassed the rest in credit and quality. The former was slain by *Fonteius Capito*, who falsely charged him with rebellion. The latter was put in irons, and sent to *Nero*; but by *Galba* declared innocent, and set at liberty. Under *Vitellius* he was again in danger of his life, being charged with treason: and hence his hatred to the *Romans*, which prompted him to arm his countrymen against them. However, as he was a man of great address, left the *Romans* should look upon him as a public ene-

The Batavians revolt from the Romans, under the conduct of Claudius Civilis.

¹ TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 11. JOSEPH. bel. jud. l. v. c. 42.

(C) According to this description, the *Batavians* possessed *Utrecht*, and the island of *Betaw* in the dukedom of *Guelderland*. *South Holland*, part of the coun-

my, if he once appeared to have revolted from them, in the beginning of the war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, he pretended an attachment to the latter; and was, by letters from *Antonius Primus*, ordered to stop, and drive back, the forces summoned to succour *Vitellius*. *Civilis*, therefore, determined to revolt, but concealing, for the present, his main drift, contented himself with diverting the *Batavian* youth from lifting themselves pursuant to the orders of *Vitellius*. Soon after, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, he assembled the chiefs of the nation, and the most daring among the populace, in a sacred grove, where, when they had caroused till far in the night, and were warm and bold, he acquainted them with his real design, displayed the praises and renown of their nation, enumerated the insults they had suffered, the oppression they groaned under, and all the miseries attending a state of servitude. As he was heard with great applause, he bound them all, with many barbarous ceremonies, in a combination.

Civilis is joined by the Caninefates and Frisians.

HE then dispatched messengers to the *Caninefates*, who inhabited part of the island, to engage them in the same cause and association. The *Caninefates* fell readily into his measures; and, choosing for their leader one *Brinno*, famous for brutal bravery, took the field; and, being joined by the *Frisians*, a people beyond the *Rhine*, forced the winter-encampment of two cohorts, burnt down all the strong-holds in the island, and massacred all the *Roman* victualers and traders, whom they found confidently rambling about, as in time of peace. Hereupon *Civilis*, pulling off the mask, and openly joining the *Caninefates* and *Frisians*, marched to attack the *Romans*, who, under the conduct of *Aquilius*, had retired to the upper part of the island. The conflict was scarce begun, when a band of *Tungrians*, who served under the *Romans*, went over to the enemy. At the same time the *Roman* fleet, consisting of twenty-four vessels, the rowers being for the most part natives of *Batavia*, rowed away directly to the enemy's shore. By this means the *Roman* forces were easily defeated, put to flight, and inhumanly butchered, both by the enemy, and their own companions. Upon the news of this victory, the *Germans* immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Civilis*, with offers of succours. On the other hand, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded the army in *Upper Germany*, ordered *Memmius Supercus* to march out forthwith against the enemy with two legions, all the cavalry of the *Ubians* and *Treverians*, and a squadron of *Batavian* horse, men long since corrupted in their fidelity to the *Romans*, but feigning a great zeal for their cause, purposely to betray them in the very heat of the fight. Accordingly, the two armies having joined battle, the

Puts the Romans to flight.

Batavian

Batavian cavalry, deserting the legions while they were fighting with great bravery; fled over to *Civilis*; then instantly, like enemies, turned upon the *Romans*. Yet the legionaries, though pressed on all sides, still kept their ranks, and stood their ground, till the auxiliary *Ubians* and *Treverians* betook themselves to a scandalous flight, dispersing all over the fields. Against them the *Batavians* bent their fury and pursuit; which gave the legions an opportunity of retiring with safety to the old camp, which, as we have observed in the reign of *Tiberius*, is placed by most geographers near the present city of *Starten* in the duchy of *Cleves*.

ABOUT the same time the eight *Batavian* cohorts, which, Eight *Batavian* cohorts, in obedience to the orders of *Vitellius*, were upon their march to *Rome*, being informed of the revolt of their countrymen, and the advantages by them already gained, returned, and took their route towards *Lower Germany*, there to join *Civilis*. *Herennius Gallus*, who then governed *Bonna*, now *Bonn*, attempted to oppose the passage of the *Batavians*, at the head of three thousand legionaries, and some cohorts hastily raised; but was by them defeated with great slaughter. The conquerors, avoiding *Cologne*, pursued their march, without committing any hostilities, and joined *Civilis*, who, now seeing himself at the head of a regular army, but still dreading the formidable power of the *Romans*, obliged all who were with him to swear allegiance to *Vespasian*, and dispatched ambassadors to the two legions in the old camp, requiring them to take the same oath. The answer they returned, was, That they would not follow the counsels of a known traitor, nor those of a public enemy; and that a *Batavian* fugitive must not interfere in the affairs of the *Roman* state, but prepare to meet the doom due to his enormous crimes. *Civilis*, highly provoked at this answer, roused to arms the whole *Batavian* nation; and, being joined by the *Bruclerans* and *Tencterans*, attacked the camp with a numberless multitude, and a fury hardly to be expressed. But the *Romans*, though scarce five thousand men, made so vigorous a defence, that *Civilis*, despairing of success by the method of force and storming, changed his measures, and blocked them up on all sides, not doubting but they would be soon constrained by famine to capitulate. In the mean time *Hordeonius Flaccus*, understanding that the camp was besieged, immediately dispatched *Dillius Vocula*, commander of the eighteenth legion, and *Herennius Gallus*, with powerful succours, to the relief of the two legions. But, while these two commanders were still encamped at *Gelduba* upon the *Rhine*, now *Gelnub*, a small village near *Ordningen*, in the territory of *Cologne*, news were brought them of the defeat of *Vitellius* at *Cremena*; whereupon

upon the officers immediately declared for *Vespasian*, forced the soldiers to swear allegiance to him, and sent *Alpinus Montanus* to acquaint *Civilis* with the victory, and desire him to lay down his arms, and disband his troops, if with them he meant to assist *Vespasian*, since they all had already acknowledged him emperor.

Defeats
Vocula,
the Roman
command-
er; and is
defeated by
the Gal-
lones.

BUT *Civilis* had something else in view; and therefore, openly declared, that he would never sheath his sword, till he had redeemed both his own country and *Gaul* from the tyrannical yoke of the *Romans*; and that instant dispatched against *Vocula* the veteran cohorts, and the flower of his *German* forces, under the command of *Julius Maximus*, and *Claudius Victor*, husband of his sister. These, coming upon the *Romans* quite unprepared, put them to flight, and made a dreadful havock of them. But in the mean time some *Gaſcon* bands, lately raised by *Galba*, arriving at *Gelduba*, fell upon the enemy in the rear, whilst earnestly pursuing the defeat; filled them with dismay, and inspired the *Romans* with fresh courage; so that they returned to the charge, and, with the assistance of their allies, put the enemy in their turn to flight, and gave them a total overthrow. All the bravest men of the *Bataavian* infantry were cut off; but their horse escaped with the *Roman* standards and prisoners taken in the beginning of the encounter. *Vocula*, encouraged with this success, marched against the enemy besieging the old camp, and, after a most bloody conflict, forced them to abandon the enterprize. In the heat of the engagement, *Civilis*, being thrown by the fall of his horse, was throughout both armies believed to have been dangerously wounded, or slain. and to this report chiefly was owing the victory gained by the *Romans*. *Vocula*, instead of pursuing the enemy when broken, and in disorder, applied himself to fortify the old camp; and, having strengthened it with some new works, returned to *Gelduba*, and thence proceeded to *Novesium*, now *Nuys*, where *Hordeonius Flaccus* lay encamped with part of the army.

The Ro-
man sol-
diers mu-
tiny.

BUT *Vocula* was scarce gone, when *Civilis* again laid siege to the old camp; and, advancing with a strong detachment to *Gelduba*, made himself master of that place; but was put to flight by the *Roman* cavalry near *Novesium*. But in the mean time the soldiers began to mutiny, and claim present payment of their debtative; for they had learnt, that the money was already sent thither by *Vitellius*. *Hordeonius* immediately complied with their demand; but distributed the money in the name of *Vespasian*. The soldiers no sooner received it, than they abandoned themselves without controul to debauchery and good cheer, to nocturnal revelings and cabals; and, when intoxicated with wine, renewed their antient fury and rage against

against *Hordeonius*, who was by them suspected of favouring *Civilis*, because, from a mind well disposed towards *Vespasian*, he had not opposed his first attempts. As none of the general officers dared to check or reprimand them, in the height of their rage, they violently burst into the bedchamber of their general, dragged him out, and then butchered him. *Vocula* would have undergone the same fate, had he not made his escape in the disguise of a slave. They then restored the images of *Vitellius*, tore those of *Vespasian*, and committed, during that night, innumerable disorders. But, their rage being appeated upon the return of the day, dread and consciousness took place. The first, the fourteenth and the eighteenth legions were easily reclaimed by *Vocula*; and led by him, after they had again taken the oath to *Vespasian*, against *Civilis*, who had laid siege to *Magontiacum*, now *Mentz*. Before their arrival, the besiegers were withdrawn; but the *Romans*, coming up with them, as they marched carelessly, and apprised of no danger, fell upon them sword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the dispersed and disorderly multitude ^k.

Murder
Hordeonius Flacus
their
general.

In the mean time, the death of *Vitellius*, the murder of *Hordeonius*, and the burning of the capitol, being divulged through *Germany* and *Gaul*, both these nations rushed into open hostilities against the *Roman* people. A motly multitude of *Castans*, *Uspians*, *Matiacians*, and other *German* nations, joined *Civilis*. The *Gauls* too, laying hold of the present opportunity, while the *Romans* were weakened and broken by such successive civil wars, combined to attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, being strongly moved by the burning of the capitol to believe, that the dissolution of the empire was at hand. The city, they said, had of old been taken by the *Gauls*; but, the mansion of *Jupiter* having escaped, the empire had thence continued to subsist. The druids, too, animated them with vain oracles, that to nations beyond the *Alps* the empire of the world was portended. The chief sway among the *Gauls* was borne at this time by *Classicus*, *Julius Tutor*, and *Julius Sabinus*; the two former *Triverians*, and the latter a native of *Langres*. These three, having in private conferences sounded the minds of the rest, and engaged in their designs such as they judged proper, came at length to a resolution of throwing off all disguises, and openly declaring against *Rome*. The only hesitation which occurred, was, how to dispose of the *Roman* forces then in *Gaul*. Some were for massacring them all, others for putting to the sword only their commanders, since the common herd, bereft of their leaders, would be easily enticed into the confederacy. The latter

The Gauls
revolt.

^k TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 12—36.

opinion prevailed; and this was the substance of their first consultation. The conspirators then dispatched incendiaries into all the regions of *Gaul*, to rouse them to war; but in the mean time feigned great obsequiousness and respect to *Vocula*, who was well apprised of their designs; but thought proper, as he wanted force to thwart them, to dissemble in his turn, and to pursue the same artifices which were pursued against him. With this view he repaired to *Cologne*; but *Classicus* and *Tutor*, who were both commanders of the *Treverian* horse, encamping by themselves, and separating the first time from the legions, he returned back, and, with the legions alone, proceeded to *Novesium*, a numerous body of *Gauls* having pitched in the open fields about two miles from that place.

To the camp of the *Gauls*, as hostilities were not yet begun on either side, daily resorted great numbers of *Roman* soldiers; and there, as they found themselves surrounded with terrors on all sides, they agreed to purchase their own safety by committing an iniquity till then unknown among the *Romans*; which was, to swear allegiance to the *Gauls*, and promise either to murder, or deliver up in chains, their officers. *Vocula* was not unapprised of what passed in the camp of the *Gauls*; but, judging it beneath him to fly, assembled the soldiery; and, having in vain attempted to divert them from so monstrous an iniquity, he retired, with a design to put a present period to his life; but, being restrained by his freed men and slaves, he was soon after murdered by *Emilius Longinus*, a deserter from the first legion, sent by *Classicus* for that purpose. His lieutenants *Herennius* and *Numisus* were only put in irons. After this, *Classicus*, assuming the badges of a *Roman* magistrate, entered the camp; and administered the new oath to the legions there, every one swearing allegiance to the sovereignty and empire of the *Gauls*. Between *Tutor* and *Classicus* was shared the charge of managing the war. The former laid siege to *Cologne*, and forced the inhabitants to take the same oath, as he did all the soldiers who lay farther up the *Rhine*. *Classicus* strove to gain over, by fair promises, the two legions that were shut up in the ancient camp, and were obliged, for want of provisions, after having consumed in food their horses, and other beasts of burden, to support themselves by plucking shrubs and plants, and picking the herbs which sprouted amongst the stones of the walls. But at length upon so much glory and patience they brought a foul stain, by sending deputies to *Civilis*, to beg their lives. Neither were their supplications received, till they had sworn homage and fidelity to the *Gauls*. Then he granted them their lives; but reserved the plunder of the camp to himself, appointing guards

The Roman legions murder Vocula, and swear allegiance to the Gauls.

Cologne, and other cities, take the same oath.

to secure the money, slaves, and baggage, and others to convoy the soldiers thus departing divested of all. When they had marched about five miles, the *Germans* rushed upon them out of an ambush, and cut the greater part of them in pieces. The remainder fled back to the camp; which the *Germans*, by throwing in firebrands, set on fire; so that such of the unhappy *Romans*, as had survived the late slaughter, were all to a man consumed by the flames. *Civilis*, elated with the success of his arms, soon reduced all the neighbouring cities, some of them being willing to follow his fortune, and others awed by his power¹.

IN the mean time *Julius Sabinus*, having pulled down and broken the public tables containing the confederacy with *Rome*, binus de-caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*; and, leading an huge host of his countrymen the *Lingoni*, suddenly invaded the adjacent state of the *Sequanians*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*; but, being by them put to flight, in order to raise a report, that he had perished, he set on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled, and by that means saved his life yet for nine years. By the victory of the *Sequanians*, the fury of the war in *Gaul* was stayed. The several states began by degrees to recover coolness and judgment, the rest following the example of the people of *Rheims*, who published all over the provinces of *Gaul* an invitation for assembling their several deputies, to consult which conduced most to the good of the whole, war or peace. The assembly was held at *Rheims*, where *Tullius Valentinus*, one of the ambassadors of the *Tre-verians*, with great vehemence promoted the war; but was opposed by *Julius Auspex*, one of the chiefs in the state of *Rheims*, who displayed at large the power of the *Romans*, and the blessings of peace. They all extolled the courage and resolution of *Valentinus*, but followed the counsel of *Auspex*, most of them being deterred from pursuing a general confederacy by the mutual jealousy and competition of the several provinces. It was asked, Where must be the head of the war? whither must they recur for supreme authority? and, should all their pursuits prosper, what place would they choose for the seat of empire? Some boasted their alliances, some their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and, from all these, each claimed superior prerogative and rule. At length, after *The Gauls* long and warm debates, they agreed to acquiesce in their present condition. To the *Treverians* letters were immediately upon peace. dispatched in the name of the states of *Gaul*, advising them to lay down their arms while their pardon was yet to be procured, and their friends were ready to intercede for them, if

¹ TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 67. JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 11.

they shewed remorse. But *Valentinus*, a better speaker than commander, opposed this counsel, and shut the ears of the nation against it. What chiefly disposed the *Gauls* to peace, was, the news they received, that an army was advancing full march against them, consisting of four legions from *Italy*, two from *Spain*, and one from *Britain*, under the conduct of two signal commanders, *Annius Gallus* and *Petilius Cerealis*, whom *Mucianus* had dispatched from *Rome*, to put a stop to the further conquests of *Civilis* and *Classicus*. *Sextilius Felix* arrived before them, having, at the head of some auxiliary cohorts, forced a passage through *Rhætia*. To him joined themselves the twenty-first legion, and the squadron of horse surnamed *The Singular*, commanded by *Julius Briganticus*, nephew to *Civilis*, but hated by his uncle, and hating him.

The Treverians ; routed by Sextilius Felix ;

WITH these forces *Felix* attacked and routed the *Treverians* commanded by *Tutor* near *Bingium*, now *Bingen* ; and in a few days obliged the *Tribocians*, the *Vaugiones*, the *Cercetians*, and the *Nemetians*, to desert their countrymen, and return to the *Romans*. After he had thus made himself master of the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, from *Mentz* to the present city of *Basle*, the legions, who had revolted to the *Gauls*, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to *Vespasian* ; and, leaving *Treves*, where they were then quartered, retired to *Mets*, a city confederate with the *Romans*. In the mean time *Petilius Cerealis* arriving at *Magontiacum*, and being informed there, that *Valentinus* was posted at *Rigodulum*, now *Rigol*, with a numerous band of *Treverians*, he drew into one body whatever soldiers he found at *Magontiacum*, with the forces he had brought over the *Alps* ; and, having reached *Rigodulum* in three marches, attacked the enemy's intrenchments, tho' inclosed by the mountains, and the river *Moselle*, and strengthened with deep trenches, and barricades of huge stones. The *Treverians* fought for

and by Cerealis, who takes Valentinus their general !

some time with great resolution ; but were, in the end, forced to abandon their camp, and save themselves by flight over the mountains. The *Romans* pursued them, and, in the pursuit, took many persons of great distinction ; and amongst them *Valentinus* their general. The next day *Cerealis* entered *Treves* ; which city the soldiers were passionate for raising, as the birth-place of *Classicus* and *Tutor* ; but *Cerealis*, dreading to inure his soldiers to licentiousness and cruelty, checked their rage ; for, since the civil wars had ceased, the soldiery

The return of the legions, which had

were more tractable in such as were foreign. Their attention was likewise diverted by another object, the arrival of the legions, which had sworn allegiance to the empire of the *Gauls*. They appeared sad and dejected, keeping their eyes

immove-

immovably fixed upon the ground, and imploring their pardon at-
 tending by silence and weeping, till *Cerealis* comforted them, ^{legiance to}
 ascribing their desertion to the inevitable operations of fate, ^{the empire}
 and assuring them, that neither he nor the emperor would ^{of the}
 remember their past offences. At the same time he caused an
 order to be published throughout the camp, that no one should,
 upon any dispute, reproach his fellow-soldier with mutiny or
 desertion ^m.

In the mean time, *Civilis*, *Tutor*, and *Classicus*, having ^{The Ro-}
 from different quarters assembled all their forces, attacked ^{man in-}
 unexpectedly the intrenchments of the legions now at the ^{trench-}
 very gates of *Treves*, forced them, put the cavalry to flight, ^{ments sur-}
 and seized the bridge of communication over the *Moselle* in ^{prised and}
 the midst of the city. News of this general rout and havock ^{taken.}
 being brought to *Cerealis*, while yet in his chamber, nay, in
 his bed (for he passed not the night in the camp), he started
 up, and, undaunted by all this confusion and distress, strove ^{The gal-}
 with his own hand to stop the fugitives, animated them, tho' ^{lant con-}
 void of armour, with his own example; and, heading such ^{duct of}
 as were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge, and se- ^{Cerealis.}
 cured it by a guard of armed men. Then, hastening to the
 camp, and there rallying the dispersed legions, he not only
 drove out the enemy, but the same day forced their intrench-
 ments, and recovered the city of *Cologne*, where he found the
 wife and sister of *Civilis*, with the son of *Classicus* ⁿ. *Civilis*,
 having after this unhappy fight recruited his forces with incre-
 dible expedition, posted himself in the old camp, where he
 was attacked by *Cerealis*, reinforced by the accession of three
 legions. But, as the fields round about were naturally marshy,
 and *Civilis* had by a great dam diverted the course of the
Rhine, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds,
 the Romans were easily repulsed, and their cavalry put to
 flight, by some German squadrons sallying out against them.

By the issue of this encounter, both the leaders were
 prompted, tho' from different motives, to put the whole to
 the issue of a general battle, *Civilis* eager to pursue his good
 fortune, *Cerealis* to cancel his dishonour. Accordingly the
 next day both armies appeared early in the field, and engaged
 with equal fury and resolution. After the conflict had lasted *Civilis* re-
 many hours, the Germans were in the end put to flight, and *Cerealis* a
 the war had been finished that day, had not the conquerors ^{total over-}
 been prevented, by night approaching, and a sudden storm, ^{throw}
 from pursuing the flying foe. After this overthrow, *Civilis*
 withdrew to the island of the *Batavians* *Classicus*, *Tutor*,

^m Tacit. hist. l. iv c 71—77. ⁿ Idem ibid c 78.

He sur-
prises the
Romans
in their
camp ;

and an hundred and thirteen senators of *Treves*, crossed the *Rhine* to raise new forces ; wherein they were attended with such success, that soon after they returned with a vast multitude, and at the same time made a fourfold assault upon the Roman forces posted at *Avenacum*, *Vada*, *Grinnes*, and *Batavodurum*, now *Arnhem*, *Wogeninger*, *Rhenen*, and *Duerfede*. They were every-where repulsed with great slaughter, and forced to cast themselves precipitately into the river. Notwithstanding this disappointment and defeat, *Civilis*, a few days after, entered in the dead of the night the camp of *Cerealis*, upon the bank of the *Rhine*, made a dreadful havock of the Roman soldiers, while, apprised of no danger, they were reposing in their tents, and carried off a great number of captives. The general, half-awake, and almost naked, escaped through a mistake of the enemy ; for they had carried off the admiral's ship, distinguished by its flag, from a belief, that *Cerealis* was in it. But he had passed that night elsewhere, as many believed, in the embraces of *Claudia Sacrata*, a native of *Cologne*. The centinels borrowed an excuse for their negligence from the dishonour of their general, alleging, that they were enjoined to keep silence for fear of interrupting his repose ; so that, as speaking was restrained, they had dropped asleep.

but is ob-
liged, in
the end, to
abandon
his own
island, and
submit to
the Ro-
mans.

BUT, notwithstanding this advantage, *Civilis* was in the end obliged even to abandon his own island, and retire beyond the *Rhine*. *Cerealis* committed dreadful ravages all over the island of the *Batavians* ; but, through a policy usual to generals, left all the lands and dwellings of *Civilis* untouched, tempting at the same time the *Batavians* with an offer of peace, and *Civilis* with a promise of pardon, which he resolved to accept, finding his countrymen tired of the war, and inclined to prevent the desolation and ruin of the whole nation, by devoting him to punishment. Having therefore desired a conference, the bridge upon the river *Wabal* was broken down in the middle ; and the two generals, stepping forwards on each side, stood upon the opposite extremities. The issue of this conference was, as we learn from *Josephus*, the rest of *Tacitus's* history being lost, an intire submission on one side, and an unreserved pardon on the other. The *Batavians* remained in the same condition they were in before the war broke out, that is, exempt from all manner of tributes, and only obliged to supply the *Romans* with troops when required ; a condition this, bordering upon liberty.

Vespasian
and Titus
consuls.

DURING these transactions in *Germany*, *Vespasian* and *Titus* commenced consuls, the former the second time, and

both absent. The senate was therefore assembled on the first of January by *Julius Frontinus*, city-prætor, when they decreed, that public thanks should be returned to the general officers, to the armies, and to the confederate kings, for having espoused with so much zeal the cause of *Vespasian*. From *Tertius Julianus* they took away the prætorship, for having forsaken his legion, when it was about to declare for *Vespasian*, and transferred the dignity to *Plotius Griphus*. Upon *Hormus*, *Vespasian's* freedman, they conferred the æquestrian dignity. Soon after, *Frontinus* resigned, for what motive, we are no-where told, his office; which was assumed by *Domitian*, whose name was prefixed to all letters and prætor. edicts; but the whole sway remained in *Mucianus*. The young prince, however, boldly exerted many acts of power, at the instigation of his intimates, or his own wanton will (D). But *Antonius Primus* and *Arrius Varus* gave *Mucianus* far greater umbrage: they were both renowned for their late famous exploits in war, in great credit with the soldiery, and beloved by the populace. *Antonius* was besides reported to have solicited *Sextus Pompeius*, the brother of *Piso*, whom *Galba* had adopted, to assume the sovereignty. *Mucianus* therefore, seeing he could not openly crush *Primus*, pretended a great friendship and value for him, heaped publicly mighty praises upon him in the senate, made him great promises in private, put him in hopes of the government of *Hispania*, void by the departure of *Cluvius Rufus*, &c. Having thus intirely gained him, he dismissed the seventh legion, which was inviolably attached to him, to their winter-quarters, at a great distance from *Rome*, and at the same time sent the third legion back into *Syria*, and the rest of the forces into *Germany*, to serve there under *Cerialis*. Having by this *Tranquil-* means quite broken the power of *Primus*, and disburdened the city of those who were apt to rouse tumults and disorder, *Rome* returned to her former tranquillity, the laws resumed their force, and the magistrates their wonted functions.

DOMITIAN, appearing now for the first time in the senate, *Domitian* spoke in few words, and with great modesty, of the absence of his father, and that of his brother, and also concerning his own youth and insufficiency. Then he proposed, that to the senate.

* Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 39.

† Idem, l. v. c. 11.

(D) Nay, *Suetonius* tells us, that, in one day, he disposed of above twenty offices in the city and provinces. and adds, that he was on that account gently

rebuked by the emperor, who, in a letter to his son, returned him thanks for not having displaced him too, and sent one to succeed him.

all the honours, which had been bestowed on *Galba*, but afterwards abrogated by *Otho*, should be restored. *Curtius Montanus* moved, that some public honour should be likewise paid to the memory of *Piso*. The fathers ordained both; but of what regarded *Piso*, nothing was executed. In the next place were drawn by lot commissioners, who were to cause restitution to be made of whatever had been usurped by violence during the war, and to restrain the public expences. To *Tertius Julianus*, as soon as it was known that he had fled to *Vespasian*, the office of prætor was restored; but *Griphus* still retained the ensigns of that dignity. Before the assembly broke up, one of the senators, by name *Junius Mauricus*, made suit to *Domitian*, that he would impart to the senate the register of the late emperors, that they might thence discover who had solicited to be admitted accusers, and against whom. But the young prince judiciously replied, that, in an affair of this sort, the sentiments of the emperor must be first learnt. However, *P. Egnatius Celer*, the accuser of the celebrated *Soranus Barea*, was condemned; but *Mucianus* haranguing in behalf of the informers, and exhorting the fathers to obliterate the impressions of all resentment, and forget the grievances arising from the necessity of the late times, all further prosecutions were dropped.

Mucianus speaks in behalf of the accusers.

Antonius Primus repairs to Vespasian.

THIS year *Mucianus* ordered the son of *Vitellius* to be put to death, pretending, that civil discord would never cease, unless the seeds of war were utterly extinguished. He treated *Antonius Primus* with such haughtiness, that he forced him to retire from *Rome*, and recur to *Vespasian*, by whom he was received without any great marks of friendship or disfavour, the emperor's mind being under a conflict, on one side swayed by the great services of that commander, by whose conduct the war was accomplished, on the other by letters from *Mucianus*. The other courtiers at the same time combined to disgrace him, charging him with arrogance, overbearing and heightening the charge with the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to raise to himself new enemies by his haughty carriage; for, with excessive ostentation, he used to recount his own exploits and deserts, treating the other commanders with the utmost contempt, especially *Gæcina*, whom he used to revile as a captive, and a man of no spirit, who had tamely submitted. Hence, by degrees, he sunk in his character; but, from the emperor, retained to the last some appearance of favour. Of him we find no further mention made by the ancient writers. *Mucianus* likewise displaced *Arrius Varus*, commander of the

prætorian guards; and, to make him some amends for the loss of this employment, bestowed upon him another, that of supplying the city with grain, which had been formerly discharged by persons of the first quality. To soften *Domitian*, who had a great kindness for *Varus*, he bestowed the command of the guards upon *Arretinus Clemens*, who was nearly allied to the house of *Vespasian*, and very dear to *Domitian*. The father of *Arretinus* had discharged the same trust with great credit under *Celigula*, whence his name was well-pleasing to the soldiery. The guards had been hitherto commanded by a *Roman* knight; but *Arretinus* was, as *Tacitus* informs us, by rank a senator.

VESPASIAN, in the mean time, continued at *Alexandria*, *Vespasian* and is said to have wrought some miracles there (E). From *works*
Alex- some mira-
cles.

* *TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 68.*

(F) A blind man, commonly known at *Alexandria*, prostrating himself at his feet, implored a cure for his want of sight, telling the emperor, that he had been warned by the god *Serapis* to recur to him, and beseech him, that, with his spittle, he would condescend to wash his cheeks, and the balls of his eyes. Another, lame in his hand, by the direction of the same god, prayed him to tread upon it. *Vespasian* at first derided them; but, as they continued to importune him, he began to waver, flaring on one side the imputation of vanity, and on the other drawn into hopes through the intreaties of the suppliants, and the arguments of flatterers. At length, considering himself as an instrument chosen by the gods to accomplish the cure, he undertook the task with a cheerful countenance before a vast multitude, intent upon the issue. Instantly the lame hand recovered full strength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke

in. *Tacitus* assures us, that, even in his time, both these events continued to be recounted and averred by those who had been eye-witnesses of them, and could reap no advantage from their flattery. *Vespasian* was hence seized with an eager desire of visiting the residence of the deity, in order to consult him about the state and fortune of the empire. He therefore commanded all to retire from the temple, and then entered himself. While he was there, he suddenly perceived one of the grandees of *Egypt*, named *Basilides*, standing by him, tho' he knew him to be then at a great distance from *Alexandria*, and confined by sickness. However, he examined the priests, whether *Basilides* had that day entered the temple; asked such as he met, whether he had been seen in the city; then by horsemen, purposely dispatched, he fully learnt, that *Basilides* was at that instant eighty miles from thence (4). *St. Austin*, without

(4) *Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 31. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 748. Suet. in Vesp. c. 7.*

Arrives
in Italy.

Alexandria he sailed for *Italy*; and, having visited in his passage the island of *Rhodes*, and several cities of *Asia Minor*, landed, according to *Josephus*, on the south side of the promontory of *Iapygia* or *Otranto*. At *Brundisium* he was met by *Mucianus*, and a great number of senators, and Roman knights; and at *Beneventum* by his son *Domitian*. On his route to *Rome*, he was received every-where with loud shouts of joy, with applauses and acclamations; for every one entertained a mighty opinion of his virtues, and looked upon him as one sent by the gods to restore the empire to its former lustre and tranquillity. As he drew near the city, the far greater part of the inhabitants flocked out to welcome him, and conducted him in a kind of triumph to the capitol, the streets through which he passed being strewed with flowers, and the whole city, like a temple, filled with precious odours and perfumes. Altars were every-where raised, and victims slain, with supplications to the gods, that *Vespasian* might rule the empire many years, and his son *Titus* after him; that the sovereignty might for ever remain in his family, and *Rome* flourish under them.

How re-
ceived at
Rome.

GREAT things were expected of *Vespasian* by all ranks of men, and no one was disappointed in his expectation: for he made it his whole business to re-establish the commonwealth, and restore the empire to its former grandeur; to conform to the laws, and see that all others conformed to them; to consult the good of the whole, and of particulars; to prevent oppression, and to punish it; to promote virtue, and reward it; to enforce the observance of the laws by his example, as well as by his judgments; and to merit the af-

* JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 20.

questioning the truth of these facts, attested by several writers of great authority, observes, that *Vespasian*, according to *Tacitus's* account, ordered the physicians to examine first, whether such lameness and blindness were curable by human aid; who reported, that, in the one, the power of sight was not wholly extinct, but would return, were the obstacles removed; and, in the other, the joints were only distorted, and might be restored with regular

pressure. Hence *St. Austin* concludes, that such cures were not above the power of men, and much less above that of the evil spirits, endowed with a superior knowledge, and on this occasion exerting it, to eclipse, if possible, the miracles wrought by the apostles, and their disciples (5). As for the vision in the temple, it might well have been the effect of a warm and strong imagination.

(*) *S. Aug. civit. Dei*, l. x. c. 16.

sections

factions and fidelity of the people, by his faithful care of them. His first care was, to revive the antient discipline in the army; for the soldiers had abandoned themselves to all manner of licentiousness, and committed innumerable disorders, not only in the colonies, and municipal towns, but in Rome itself. He therefore discharged great numbers of them, especially of such as had served under Vitellius, and had been long inured to rapine and licentiousness; in the others he punished the least transgression with the utmost severity, not sparing even those to whose virtue he owed the empire, nor omitting any opportunity of reforming the antient discipline; of which Suetonius gives us the following instance: A young nobleman, to whom he had given a considerable command, waiting upon him to give him thanks, and smelling fragrantly of rich oils and perfumes, the emperor, with a voice expressing his indignation, told him, that *he had rather he had smelt of garlick*; and took away the commission, which he had given him a few days before. He was no less severe with the marines, who were appointed to carry letters and dispatches from Puteoli and Ostia to Rome; for, upon their petitioning him to have some allowance, besides their usual pay, for shoes, instead of complying with their request, he ordered, that for the future they should discharge their duty barefoot; and caused this ordinance to be immediately put in execution *.

HE scarce ever failed to assist at the debates and deliberations of the senate, without assuming to himself any authority above the other senators, whom he frequently exhorted to speak their sentiments with freedom; telling them, that he had called them not blindly to approve what was his will and pleasure, but to receive their counsel, to trust and to follow it. Having taken upon him, soon after his arrival at Rome, the office of censor, he degraded such of the senators and knights, as he found unworthy of their dignities; and supplied their places with such persons, either from the colonies or provinces, as were recommended to him by men of known integrity. By this means he increased the number of senators to a thousand, which, by infinite massacres, had been exhausted, and reduced to two hundred *. He likewise strictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and there reformed innumerable abuses and grievances, appointed new judges, and caused the laws to be reduced and digested into a far less compass. He frequently administered justice himself in the forum with great impartiality, and universal applause.

* Suet. c. 8.

* Idem, c. 9. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 666.

Embellishes the city.

As *Rome* had lost much of its splendour by the late conflagration, and many houses lay still in ruins, he ordered the proprietors of the ground to rebuild them in a limited time, allowing any one to take possession of the ground, if the edifices were not raised within that term to a certain height. The capitol he had ordered to be rebuilt before he left *Alexandria*, and appointed *Lucius Cornutus*, a *Roman* knight, to direct and oversee the work. By him were assembled the soothsayers, who declared, that the remains of the former temple should be removed to the marshes; that upon the same foundations the new one should be raised; and that to the temple nothing new except height, should be added. With this variation also the new temple was raised in a short time; and this also was judged, wanting to the magnificence of the former. As the late fire had destroyed many public records, he restored three thousand tables of brass, which had been burnt, having with indefatigable pains found out their true copies. In these were recorded all the decrees of the senate, all the ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges, granted to any person or city, and all remarkable occurrences, from the foundation of the city. In these and the like works, he expended vast sums.

His clemency, goodness, and other commendable qualities.

HE was so far from seeking the destruction of any man, that he could not behold, without many sighs and tears, even the greatest criminals led to execution. To all he was courteous and affable, allowing persons of every rank to accost him with freedom, the gates of his palace being kept constantly open. He was so far from concealing the meanness of his former condition, that he frequently discoursed of it himself, and used to deride those who, to flatter him, undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of *Reate*, and the companions of *Hercules*. He despised titles, and, with much ado, was prevailed upon to accept that of the father of his country; a title to which no one had ever a better claim. The king of *Parthia* having written to him thus; *Artabanes, king of kings, to Flavius Vespasianus*; he, without finding fault with the title, or resenting it as an affront, directed his answer thus; *Flavius Vespasianus, to Artabanes, king of kings*; shewing thereby in what contempt he had such titles. He was so far from taking delight in public honours, that, when he triumphed with his son *Titus* over the *Jews*, being quite tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to say, that he deservedly suffered for having, at his age, desired a triumph, as if such an honour had ever been due to his ancestors, or hoped for by himself. He bore with incredible patience the many lampoons, that were dispersed all over the town, reflecting upon his avarice; and the invectives of the philosophers, whom he had

had banished the city (F). He gave no ear to whisperers, nor ever put any one to death, whose crimes were not notorious, and plainly proved (G). Tho' several conspiracies were formed against him, yet he could never be prevailed upon to punish the conspirators with death, saying, that they deserved rather pity than punishment, since they knew not what a weight and burden the empire was. He took the daughter of *Vitellius*, his inveterate enemy, under his protection, married her into a noble family, and allowed her a rich dower.

He never sought to revenge the affronts which he had suffered in the reign of *Nero*; but generously forgave all who had injured or reviled him. Being in that prince's reign forbid the court, and not knowing what to do, he had recourse to *Phæbus*, the emperor's freedman, asking him, whither he should go. *Phæbus* returned him no other answer, but that he might go hang himself; and thrust him out of his room. The freedman coming to beg his pardon after he was made emperor, *Vespasian* was provoked no farther, than to bid him be gone in the same terms. Tho' *Mucianus* assumed far greater authority than was suitable to the rank of a private man, and behaved with much haughtiness towards the emperor himself, bragging, that in his own hands he had had the empire, but freely bestowed it upon *Vespasian*; yet the emperor never rebuked him but in private; and, having once complained of him to a common friend, he ended his complaints with these remarkable words; *Yet I myself am but a man, and consequently not free from blame* *.

THE only fault, with which he is charged by the antients, *Is* gene- is his immoderate love of money, which he was not ashamed rally to procure by means altogether unworthy of an emperor. He charged not only revived the old impositions and taxes, which had with avarice been suppressed by *Galba*; but loaded the provinces with new tributes; bought commodities, that he might sell them to advantage; and descended to some very low and unusual im-

* SUET. c. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14.

(F) One of these, by profession a *Cynic*, by name *Demetrius*, meeting him one day out of town, reviled him in a most outrageous manner; but the good emperor, instead of chastising him for his insolent behaviour, contented himself with telling him, that he was a *Cynic* indeed.

(G) His friends having one

day admonished him to beware of *Metius Pomposianus*, who was born, they said, under a constellation that promised him the empire, he immediately named him consul, adding pleasantly, *When he is invested with the sovereignty, he will, I hope, remember this good turn, and requite it.*

posts,

Several
instances
of it.

poiss, laying one even upon urine : which gave occasion to his son *Titus* to remonstrate to him the meanness of such an imposition ; but he, presenting to his son the first money that thence accrued to him, asked him, whether the smell offended him. Neither did he scruple the selling of any office, nor pardoning any criminal, however enormous his crimes were, provided he could with a sum of money redeem himself from the deserved punishment. He is said to have preferred to the most profitable employments, such of his officers as were noted for their avarice and rapaciousness, and to have made use of them as sponges, *by wetting them when they were dry, and squeezing them when they were wet* 7. He often strove to disguise his shameful avarice by some humorous joke. Thus certain ambassadors having acquainted him, that, by the council of their nation, a considerable sum of money was decreed for erecting him a statue in the form of a colossus, *Here is the basis*, said he, stretching out his hand ; *lay the money down here, and the statue is reared* (H).

Is by many
cleared
from that
blame.

SOME writers think, that he was covetous by nature ; and tell us, that he was upbraided with avarice by an old herdsman, who, earnestly intreating the emperor, upon his accession to the empire, to grant him his liberty without ransom, and, being denied it, cried out so as to be heard by the whole multitude, *The wolf may change his hair, but not his qualities*. But other authors excuse him on account of the urgent necessities of the state, and the emptiness of the exchequer, when he first came to the government ; for he then

7 SUET. in Vesp. c. 16.

(H) One of his chief favourites having one day begged of him the superintendence of his household for one, whom he pretended to be his brother, the emperor put him off for the present ; and, sending afterwards for the person whom he had recommended, he received of him the sum, which was to have been paid to the other for his interest, and bestowed on him the employment. When the favourite returned to solicit in behalf of his pretended brother, *You must find out another brother*, answered the emperor ; *for the person, whom you recommended, proves in the end to be my brother, and not yours*. One day, while he was traveling in a litter, the muleteer stopped, under pretence of having his mules shod, but in reality to give an opportunity to one of accosting the emperor, and craving some favour. Of this *Vespasian* was apprised ; and therefore, having pleasantly asked the muleteer what he had received for shoeing his mules, he obliged him to pay to him half the sum (6).

(6) Suet. in Vesp. c. 16.

publicly

publicly declared in the senate, that the republic could not possibly subsist without a supply of an hundred and forty millions of sesterces. This is, by the generality of writers, thought the most probable opinion, because he always employed his revenue to great and noble purposes, and laid it out with uncommon generosity. His public works and edifices were very expensive. His presents and pensions numerous; his feasts and entertainments frequent and magnificent, &c. He supported a great number of poor senators; allowed five hundred sesterces a year to every decayed consular; restored to their former lustre a great many towns, that had been ruined by fire or earthquakes; repaired the public roads and aqueducts, &c. He was likewise a great encourager of learning, and the first who settled salaries upon the professors of rhetoric both *Greek* and *Latin*, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer. He invited to *Rome*, with great allowances, not only the most celebrated poets, but such artificers and workmen, as were famous in any part of the world. Of the latter, one well skilled in mechanics having offered to convey certain columns of vast weight into the capitol at a very small charge, the emperor rewarded him for his invention; but would not employ him, saying, We must not debar the common people from earning their livelihood². Such was in general the conduct of *Vespasian*. We shall now proceed to the most remarkable actions of his reign, digested according to the order of time.

*Instances
of his ge-
nerosity.*

THO' *Vespasian* had, during his first consulship, restored *Rome* to her former tranquillity, yet he did not resign the fasces on the first of *January*; but, choosing for his colleague *M. Cocceius Nerva*, afterwards emperor, continued to discharge that office till the calends of *March*, when he was succeeded by his son *Domitian*, as was *Nerva* by *Q. Pedius Castus*. This year *Titus*, having, by the taking of *Jerusalem*, quite reduced the *Jewish* nation, returned to *Rome*; where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and soon after honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the senate both to him and his father; for *Vespasian* had begun that war with great success. They both triumphed about the latter end of *April*, displaying on that occasion all the wealth of the *Jewish* nation. To *Titus* was likewise decreed a triumphal arch, describing his noble exploits; which continues to this day almost intire, as a lasting monument of his victories over the *Jews*. The triumph was no sooner over, than *Vespasian* commanded the temple of *Janus* to be shut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the empire. Soon

*Triumphs
over the
Jews with
his son Ti-
tus:*

² Suet. in Vesp. c. 17, 18.

after,

to whom
he imparts
the tribu-
nitial
power.

after, 'the temple of *Peace* was begun ; but not finished, at least not consecrated, till four years after ; when the rich spoils of the temple of *Jerusalem* were deposited there. *Titus*, before his arrival at *Rome*, had been by his father honoured with the title of emperor, and taken for his colleague in the tribunitial power ; so that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he discharged all the functions of sovereignty. He even took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became, as *Aurelius Victor* observes, the most honourable employment in the whole empire. It appears from several antient inscriptions, that *Vespasian* this year built some aqueducts, repaired the streets of *Rome*, and at a vast charge made highways in *Spain* ^a.

Comagene
reduced to
a Roman
province.

THE following year *Cepennius Pætus*, whom *Vespasian* had appointed governor of *Syria* in the room of *Mucianus*, having written to the emperor, that *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and his son *Epiphanes*, had held private conferences with *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, and were disposed to revolt from the *Romans*, the emperor, without examining the charge, which *Josephus* suspects to have been quite groundless, allowed *Pætus* to take what measures he thought most proper. Hereupon *Pætus*, who bore some private grudge to *Antiochus*, entered his dominions in an hostile manner ; and, being joined by *Aristobulus* king of *Chalcis*, and *Sohemus* king of *Emesus*, seized *Samosata*, the metropolis of *Comagene*, defeated *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus*, the two sons of *Antiochus*, and obliged the king himself to take shelter in *Cilicia*, where he possessed some domains. The young princes found a safe asylum at the court of *Vologeses*, who entertained them in a manner suitable to their rank ; but *Antiochus* was, by *Pætus*'s orders, seized in *Cilicia*, and loaded with chains ; which *Vespasian* no sooner knew, than he commanded him to be set at liberty. His kingdom, however, was reduced to a *Roman* province, known by the name of *Augusteuphratesiana*, or *Euphratesiana*, because it extended along the *Euphrates*. *Antiochus* was allowed to retire to *Lacedæmon*, whence he removed soon after to *Rome* ; where both he and his two sons, whom *Vespasian* took under his protection, at the recommendation of the *Parthian* king, were supported suitable to their rank at the public charge ^b.

Vespasian
reduces
Greece,
&c.

THE following year, *Domitian* being consul the second time, with *Valerius Messalinus*, *Vespasian* reduced *Greece*, which *Nero* had declared free, and likewise *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to *Roman* provinces,

^a VORBURG. hist. Rom. Germ. p. 350. ONUPH. in fast. p. 207.

^b JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 9. & l. vi. c. 29. SUET. l. viii. c. 8. Chron. Alexandr. p. 587.

alleging, that they were no longer capable of liberty, since they only made use of it to undo themselves by their intestine dissensions. *Pausanias* seems to acknowledge the truth of this charge (1). This same year *Vespasian* condemned to banishment the celebrated *Helvidius Priscus*. He was a native of *Terracina*, and the son of a centurion; but, by his bright and signal parts, soon distinguished himself in *Rome*. When he was yet very young, he applied himself to the study of philosophy, not, as many did in those days, to disguise indolence under a pompous name, but in order to engage in the public administration with a mind thoroughly fortified against all disasters. Ere he had risen higher than the quaestorship, he was chosen by the famous *Thrasea Patus* for an husband to his daughter. From the character of his wife's father he copied nothing so studiously, as his undaunted liberty in speaking his sentiments, never to be shaken by fear, and ever unmoveable in what he judged conducive to the public welfare. When *Thrasea* was condemned, he was driven into exile, but recalled by *Galba*, and honoured by *Vespasian* in the first year of his reign with the praetorship. As he was a zealous stickler for liberty, he spoke with great freedom in the senate against the arbitrary proceedings of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; neither did he spare *Vespasian*, but inveighed against him with as much bitterness, as his father-in-law had ever done against *Nero*. The emperor, however, patiently bore with him, till he began openly to solemnize the birth-day of *Brutus*, and that of *Cassius*, and to encourage the people to follow their example, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty: then *Vespasian* caused him to be seized; but soon after dismissed him untouched, contrary to the opinion of all his friends. *Helvidius*, forgetful of the kindness the emperor had shewn him, pursued his former course; and was thereupon again accused, and condemned to banishment. As he could not refrain, even in the place of his exile, from inveighing with great bitterness against the emperor, he was at

c PAUS. in Acha. p. 222.

(1) *Rhodes*, *Samos*, and the other islands, were made one province, called, *The province of the islands*, or, *of the Cyclades*, of which the city of *Rhodes* was the metropolis. *Eusebius* speaks of a sedition, which, according to him, was raised at *Alexandria*

in the beginning of this year, by some *Jews*, who had fled from *Jerusalem*. *Vespasian* treated the authors of it with great mildness; but ordered *Lupus*, governor of *Egypt*, to demolish the temple, which the *Jews* had built in the territory of *Helopolis* (7).

(7) *Euseb. in chron.*

length

Is sentenced to death by the senate, and executed. length by the senate sentenced to death. *Vespasian* strove to save him, and sent to countermand the execution; but his orders came too late, *Mucianus* having detained the messengers, under various pretences, till the sentence was put in execution ^d (K).

THE following year *Vespasian* was consul the fifth time, and *Titus* the third. Nothing memorable happened during their administration, except the census which was performed by them in quality of censors, the emperor having assumed his son for his colleague in that dignity. This is the last census we find mentioned in history ^e. They both retained the fasces till the calends of the April of the following year, when *Vespasian* resigned them to *Domitian*, and *Titus* to *Mucianus*. This year the emperor consecrated the temple of Peace, and raised a colossus of brass one hundred and ten feet high, which had been designed for *Nero*; but instead of his head, that of *Titus* was placed upon it, or, as others will have it, the figure of the sun ^f. The two following years, *Vespasian* being consul the seventh and eighth time, and *Titus* the fifth and sixth, nothing happened at Rome, or in any part of the empire, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity (L).

THE next year, *L. Ceionius Commodus* and *D. Novius Priscus* being consuls, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was sent into *Britain* to govern that province, in the room of *Julius Frontinus*. As we shall have frequent occasion to

^d DIO, in excerpt. VAL. p. 705. col. 66. p. 750. SUET. c. 15. JUVENAL. satir. v. PLIN. l. vii. ep. 19. ^e CENSORINUS de die natali. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43. ONUPH. in fast. p. 208. ^f SUET. c. 19. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 7. DIO, ibid.

(K) *Helvidius*, notwithstanding this his unaccountable behaviour, is greatly extolled by *Tacitus* (8), *Pliny* the younger (9), and *Juvenal* (1). As many other philosophers, following the example of *Helvidius*, strove to stir up the populace to sedition, they were all driven out of Rome (2).

(L) We read indeed, in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that, in the eighth consulship of *Vespasian*, a woman, by name *Akippe*, was

delivered at Rome of an elephant; and, in the chronicle of *Eusebius*, that a plague raged in the city with such violence for some time, as to sweep away above twenty thousand persons a day. But neither of that extraordinary birth, nor of so dreadful a plague, any notice is taken by the anti-ents, nor even by *Pliny* the elder, who flourished under *Vespasian*, and was in great favour with him.

(8) *Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 4.* (9) *Plin. l. iv. ep. 21.* (1) *Juvenal. sat. v. ver. 36.* (2) *Suet. c. 8. Dio, l. lxxi. p. 751.*

Speak of this renowned commander, we shall here briefly recount his course of life and pursuits, before he distinguished himself by his mighty exploits in this island. He was born *His birth,* in the colony of *Forojuliana*, now *Frejus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*; *education,* and both his grandfathers were procurators to the emperors; &c. a dignity peculiar to the equestrian order. His father, *Julius Gracinus*, was a senator famous for his eloquence and philosophy, but put to death by *Caligula* for refusing to accuse *Marcus Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, a woman noted for her modesty, brought him up in his tender years under her eye, and with great care. In his early youth he studied philosophy and law in the city of *Marseilles*, with more avidity, as he himself used to declare, than became a *Roman*, and a senator, till the discretion of his mother checked his ardour. Reason and age afterwards qualified his heat; so that he contented himself with a limited measure of philosophy. He learnt the first rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greatest commanders of his age, by whom he was distinguished with particular marks of friendship and esteem. He was not one of those young men, who turn warfare into riot; but studied to acquaint himself with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of such as had experience, to follow such as were worthy and brave, to seek for no exploits out of ostentation, to refuse none through fear. He would not assume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himself well qualified for that command: neither did he make use of it, as many did in those days, to indulge his pleasures with more liberty, or to absent himself from duty; but to encourage others, by his example, to bear with patience the toils attending the profession of arms. As *Paulinus* was engaged in a mighty war with the *Britons*, of which we shall speak hereafter, *Agricola* had an opportunity of improving himself in the knowledge of military affairs under so great a master.

DEPARTING from *Britain* to *Rome*, to enter there upon *His pre-* the public offices, he was first sent into *Asia* as quaestor, where *ferment:* he had *Salvius Titianus* for proconsul. But neither the province, in itself very rich, nor *Titianus*, tho' bent upon all acts of rapine, and ready, upon the smallest encouragement, to have purchased a mutual connivance in iniquity, corrupted his probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people; but passed the year of his tribuneship in repose and inactivity, being well apprised, that, under *Nero*, sloth and heaviness served for wisdom. With the like indolence he held the praetorship, exhibiting, however, as was incumbent upon the praetors, public sports, according to the measure of his wealth, and in a manner no-way favouring of prodigality, but still

deserving popular applause. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to survey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent search, he procured full restitution of all, save what had been sacrilegiously taken away by *Nero*. The year following, his mother was killed by the soldiers of *Otho*, upon her estate at *Intemelium*, now *Ventimiglia*; and the estate itself plundered, with great part of her treasure, which had proved the cause of the murder. As *Agricola* hastened from *Rome*, to pay her the last duty, and solemnize her funeral, he had tidings upon the road, that *Vespasian* had assumed the title of emperor, and instantly espoused his party. Upon his return from *Intemelium*, he was employed by *Mucianus* to levy forces; and soon after, as he discharged that trust with great uprightness and fidelity, preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, their own commander being found void of authority to controul them, and keep them to their duty. *Vespius Bolanus* was at that time governor of *Britain*; but, as he ruled with great gentleness, *Agricola* had no opportunity of distinguishing himself by any military exploits. *Bolanus* was succeeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, who, at his first entrance, attacked the *Brigantes*, reckoned the most powerful people of the whole island; and, after many encounters, some of which proved very bloody, held most part of their country as his conquest, or continued to ravage it by war. Under him *Agricola* had room to display his valour and abilities. For trial of his skill and courage, *Cerealis* often committed to his conduct part of the army; and sometimes, according to the measure of his success, set him at the head of forces still larger, sharing with him both the dangers and the glory. But *Agricola* was so far from vaunting his own exploits, that, on the contrary, he ascribed to his general, as to the author of all, his success and good fortune &c.

Raised to
the rank
of a pa-
trician.

Honoured
with the
consulship.

UPON his return from *Britain*, where he had commanded a legion, he was by *Vespasian* raised to the rank of a patrician, and afterwards appointed governor of *Aquitain*; which trust he discharged with great uprightness, and general satisfaction. He was after three years recalled, and honoured with the consulship; which office he discharged during the two last months of the preceding year. While he was consul, it was generally said, that, for his province, *Britain* would be assigned him, from no words that had dropped from him about it, but because he was deemed equal to that office: and common fame, as *Tacitus* well observes, does not always err, but often directs the public choice. Before he ended his consulship, he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the historian, who was yet

very young, and gave her to him in marriage, as soon as he had resigned the *sacer*. He was then forthwith promoted to *Promoted* the government of *Britain*, and at the same time honoured to the go- with the pontifical dignity^h. But of his exploits in *Britain*, *vernment* and the successful war he carried on there, we shall speak at *of Britain.* large in the history of that island.

VESPASIAN being consul the ninth time, and Titus the seventh, *Julius Sabinus*, who, as we have related above, had stirred up the *Gauls*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Caesar*, was at length discovered, seized, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country dwelling, and set it on fire, in order to raise a report, that he had perished : and truly he was there believed to have suffered a voluntary death ; but, in the mean time, lay concealed with his treasures (for he was immensely rich) in a cave, which he had caused to be dug in a solitary place, and which was known only to two of his freedmen, upon whose fidelity he could depend. He might have easily withdrawn into *Germany* ; but could not prevail upon himself to abandon his wife, whom he tenderly loved (M). *Sabinus*, that no one might doubt of his death, did not for some time even undeceive his wife ; who solemnized his exequies with great pomp, bewailed him with many tears, and at last, no longer able to bear the loss of an husband whom she so tenderly loved, resolved not to outlive him, and began to abstain from all food. Hereupon *Sabinus*, by means of *Martialis*, one of his freedmen, informed her, that he was still alive ; and acquainted her with the place where he lay concealed, warning her at the same time to suppress her joy, lest the secret might be thence betrayed. *Empona*, tho' in the utmost transports of joy, continued to bewail him as dead ; but, in the mean time, passed great part of the night with him, and sometimes whole weeks, pretending business in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave. She concealed the whole with exemplary fidelity, and wonderful address ; nay, she found means even to convey him to *Rome*, upon what motive we know not, and from thence back to his cave, so well disguised, that he was by no one known.

The ad-
ventures
of Julius
Sabinus.

^h TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 9.

(M) She is called by *Dio* that writer, in the ancient lan-
Cassius, *Peponilla* ; by *Tacitus*, guage of the *Gauls*, signified an
Epponia ; and by *Plutarch*, *Em- heroine.*
pona ; which name, according to

He is discovered; BUT, after he had passed nine years in this condition, he was at length discovered by some persons, who narrowly watched his wife, upon her frequently absenting herself from her own house, and followed her to the cave, without being discovered. *Sabinus* was immediately seized, and sent to *Rome*, loaded with chains, together with his wife, who, throwing herself at the emperor's feet, and presenting to him her two tender children, strove with her tears and intreaties to move him to compassion. *Vespasian* could not forbear weeping at so moving an object; but nevertheless condemned both her, and her husband, and caused them to be soon after executed. The two children were saved, and with great care brought up at the public expence (N).

and put to death, with his wife.

Cæcina NOT long after the execution of *Sabinus*, *Alienus Cæcina*, and *Marcellus* of whom we have often spoken in the reign of *Vitellius*, and *Eprius Marcellus*, an abandoned accuser in the reign of *Nero*, entered into a conspiracy against the emperor, and drew into it great numbers of the prætorian guards. But, before the conspiracy was ripe for execution, one of the conspirators betrayed the whole to *Titus*, and even delivered to him a copy of the speech, which *Cæcina* was to pronounce to the soldiers after the assassination, written with his own hand. This was sufficient evidence; and therefore *Titus*, the night after this discovery, having invited *Cæcina* to sup with him, caused him, without any farther inquiry or trial, to be murdered in the banqueting-room. As for *Marcellus*, he was tried and condemned by the senate; but prevented the execution of the sentence, by cutting his throat with a razor ⁱ. Before *Vespasian* resigned the consullship, he was seized with a pain in his bowels, which obliged him to repair from *Campania*, where he then was, to *Rome*; and from thence to *Cutylæ*, his paternal estate in the neighbourhood of *Reate*, which he usually

ⁱ SUET. in Tit. c. 6. DIO, l. lxvi. p. 752. TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 6.

(N) One of them died some time after in *Egypt*; and *Plutarch* tells us, that he saw the other, named *Sabinus*, at *Delpbi*, while he was writing his book of *love*, in which he has inserted this adventure (2). That writer tells us, that nothing more tragical, nothing more displeasing to the public, happened during the whole reign of *Vespasian*, than the death

of *Sabinus* and his wife; nay, to this his unseasonable severity he ascribes all the misfortunes which afterwards befel him and his family. What diverted the emperor from exerting his usual clemency and good-nature, when he might have done it with general applause, and universal satisfaction, we are no-where told.

(2) Tacit. l. β. l. iv. c. 67. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 752. Plut. amat.

visited every summer, in order to drink certain waters in great request on account of their extreme coolness. Here he was seized first with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, occasioned by the immoderate use of the cold waters, which brought him to such weakness, that all about him began to despair of his recovery. However, he still attended the dispatch of business, received ambassadors, and gave audience to his ministers. Once, as he found himself ready to faint away, *If I am not mistaken*, he cried out, *I am going to be a god*, ridiculing the custom of the Romans, who placed their emperors, after their death, in the number of their gods, and honoured them with divine worship. Upon the approach of death, he cried out again with his usual bravery and resolution, *An emperor ought to die standing*: but, while he endeavoured to rise, he expired in the hands of those who sustained him. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of June, in the seventy-eighth year of the Christian æra, after he had lived sixty-nine years, seven months, and seven days, and reigned in years wanting six days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor in the city of *Alexandria*.

His death was universally lamented; and his memory gratefully preserved by such as were true friends to their country. In war, he was next to *Julius Cæsar*, and to *Augustus* in peace; and seemed to have been by Providence raised on purpose to preserve so vast an empire from utter destruction. Greatness and majesty, says *Pliny*, wrought no alteration in him, save that of making his power of doing good answerable to his will. He was the second Roman emperor, if not the first, who died a natural death; and the first who was succeeded by his son (O). He is said to have been so confident, that the empire was by the laws of fate destined to him, and his posterity, that he affirmed in the senate, he should, in

The death
of Vespasian.

Year of
the flood
2428.

Ref. Chr.

78.

Of Rome

328.

His cha

raci.

(O) And here we cannot help observing the rashness of some blind zealots, in ascribing to divine vengeance the fate of such as slew *Cæsar* the dictator. Not one of the assassins, they cry, died a natural death. But neither did *Cæsar*, who destroyed the state, or any of his successors, except *Augustus*, of whom it is also doubted, to the present emperor. *Severus* was smothered by *Maximus* his favourite, *Caligula* was slain by the officers of his guard, *Claudius* was poisoned by his wife *Agrippina*, *Nero* stabbed himself, *Galba* was murdered by the soldiers, *Otho* fell by his own hand, and *Vitellius* was executed like a common malefactor. *Augustus* was thought to have been poisoned by his wife *Livia* (4). Such was the end of these usurpers; and may the like doom overtake all who tread in their footsteps!

(4) *Vide Tacit. annal. i. sub init. & Dio. l. lvi.*

spite of all plots and conspiracies, retain the sovereignty to his death, and be succeeded in it by his two sons. His obsequies were performed with extraordinary pomp by *Titus* (P).

His colonies.

VESPASIAN founded various colonies in different parts of the empire; to wit, one at *Embsaus*, about sixty furlongs from *Jerusalem*, to which place he gave the name of *Nicopolis*, or *The city of victory*; one at *Cæsarea*, which was from him called *Flaviana*, with the addition of *Prima*, as being the first in dignity of all the cities in *Palæstine*. *Develte*, or, as some call it, *Deulte*, in *Thrace*, *Sinope* in *Pontus*, and *Flaviobrigia* in *Spain*, now *Bilbao*, are by some writers reckoned among the colonies founded by *Vespasian*^k. *Neapolis* in *Samaria*, called formerly *Sichem*, *Samosata* the capital of *Comagene*, *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, *Chalcis*^o and *Philadelphia* in *Syria*, *Cyrene* in *Libya*, *Critia* in *Bithynia*, and *Eumeneæ* in *Phrygia*, bore each the name of *Flaviana*; whence some writers conclude *Roman* colonies to^a have been settled in all these cities, either by *Vespasian* himself, or one of his children^l. Several writers flourished in *Vespasian*'s time; but of them we shall speak in our notes (Q).

VESPASIAN

^k Vide SPANH. l. vi. & BAUD. p. 291.
p. 769. & NORIS de epoch. Syro-Macedon.

^l Vide BAUD.

(P) The *Romans* were at this time so preposterously fond of mimics and farces, that they were exhibited even at the funerals of persons of quality, when the pantomimes used to personate the deceased, counterfeit their speech, and imitate their actions. At the obsequies of *Vespasian*, a celebrated pantomime, by name *Favor*, personating the deceased emperor, demanded aloud, what the whole expence of the ceremony amounted to; and being told, to one hundred thousand sesterces, *Give me the money*, said he, stretching out his hand, and counterfeiting the emperor's speech, *and throw my carcase, if you please, into th. Tiber* (5).

(Q) These were, *Suetonius*

Paulinus, of whose warlike exploits we shall speak in the history of *Britain*. He likewise distinguished himself in the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, and was, without all doubt, one of the best commanders of his age. He left behind him an account of an expedition, which he undertook beyond mount *Atlas*, in the year 41. of the Christian æra, and the last of *Caligula*'s reign, against the *Moors*, who took up arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their prince, murdered by *Caligula*, as we have related in the reign of that prince. This account has not reached our times; but is quoted by *Pliny* (6). He outlived *Otho*, whose cause he had espoused; but from *Pliny* it

(5) *Supt. c. 19.*

(6) *Plin. l. v. c. 1.*

appears,



TITUS.

born at Rome, reigned
2 Years, 2 Months, 20 Days,
died in the Year of CHRIST 81.

C. Grignon Sculp.

VESPASIAN was succeeded in the empire by his eldest son *Titus de-Titus*, who was born the 30th of *December*, about the time of *clared em-*
the *peror*.

appears, he was dead in the year 77 that is, in the eighth year of *Vespasian's* reign (7) Some writers, through a strange mistake, have confounded *Suetonius Paulinus* with *Suetonius Lenis*, the father of *Suetonius* the historian, who served only as a military tribune in the army of *Otho*, which *Suetonius Paulinus* commanded in quality of general (8) *Lucius Mucianus*, who is often quoted by *Pliny* in what relates to the history and geography of the eastern countries (9) In the year 75 the seventh of *Vespasian's* reign, he was busy in collecting the discourses and letters of the ancient *Romans*, and had already published eleven volumes of speeches, and three of letters (1) He is supposed to have died in the eighth year of *Vespasian's* reign *Pliny* tells us, that he always carried about with him a living fly, which he superstitiously looked upon as a preservative of the sight (2) *Julius Secundus*, who is one of the persons introduced in the dialogue of orators commonly ascribed to *Tacitus*, wrote the life of one *Julius Asiaticus*, and promised the lives of other illustrious persons. He likewise published some speeches or orations highly commended by *Quintilian* (3) In the same dialogue, *Vipsanius Messala* acts the chief part He was tribune of the seventh legion, sprung from an illustrious fami-

ly, and the only one, as *Tacitus* informs us, who engaged in the civil war between *Vespasian* and *Vitellius* upon worthy designs. He pleaded with great eloquence in the senate, though not yet arrived at the age of a senator, in behalf of his brother *Aquilus Regulus*, charged as the accuser and destroyer of many illustrious citizens in the reign of *Nero* (4). He wrote, as appears from *Tacitus* (5), an account of the war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*; and is supposed to have published some other histories (6) *Modycratus* the *Pythagoric*, a native of *Cadix*, lived about this time, and published several philosophical tracts (7) *St Jerom* commends him on account of his eloquence (8), and *Origen*, if *Porphyrius* is to be credited (9), perused with attention his writings, and improved by them *Curvatus Maternus*, a famous civilian and poet, flourished under *Vespasian*, and wrote several tragedies, one of which, intitled *Cato*, made a great noise, and would have given great offence to any of the emperors who preceded *Vespasian*. He is introduced in the dialogue of orators, speaking in defence of poetry (1) *Salvius Bassus* wrote several poems in the reign of *Vespasian*, which were highly esteemed by *Quintilian*, and *Vespasian* himself, who countenanced, and with great generosity re-

(7) *Plin* l v c 1
l v c 27

(3) *Quint* l x c 1
c 14
hist philosoph. c 5
l vi c 19.

(8) *Vide* *Voss* l ft Lat l i c 76
(1) *Tacit* orat c 7

(4) *Tacit* hist l iv c 42

(6) *Voss* hist Lat l i c 28.
(8) *Fuseb* chron

(1) *Tacit*. orat c. 2, 3 11

(9) *Plin*.

(2) *Plin* l xxvii c 2.

(5) *Tacit* orat

(7) *Jonsius* de script
(5) *Idem* hist l i f.

His edu-
cation, stu-
dies, &c.
before his
accession to
the empire.

the death of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 40. of the Christian æra ; so that he was now thirty-nine years of age. He was brought up with *Britannicus* in the court of *Nero*, and is said to have tasted the poison which was given to the young prince at the emperor's table. We are told, that an astrologer, being consulted by *Narcissus*, the celebrated freedman of *Claudius*, about the lot of *Britannicus*, returned answer, that, by the laws of fate, the empire was not destined to him, but to *Titus*, who happened to stand by him. He lived in great friendship with *Britannicus* ; whence, soon after his accession to the empire, he erected two statues to his memory, one of gold in the palace, and another of ivory, which was by his order publicly carried, among other statues, at the *Circensian* games. *Titus*, from his tender years, followed with great application the study of rhetoric and poetry, and made great progress in both, being commended by the ancients as an excellent poet ; and an eloquent speaker upon any subject whatever, and without premeditation. He served first in quality of tribune in *Germany*, and afterwards in *Britain* ; and in both provinces gained no less reputation by his modest and engaging behaviour, than by his courage. Upon his return from *Britain*, he betook himself to the bar, and pleaded some causes of great importance with uncommon applause. While he was yet very young, he married *Arpicidia Terulla*, whose father was only a *Roman* knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon her death, he married *Martia Furnilla*, descended of an illustrious family ; but divorced her after he had one daughter by her named *Julia Sabina*. After his quæstorship, which he discharged with great applause, he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into *Judea* in quality of his lieutenant. In that war he distinguished himself, as appears from *Josephus*, in a very eminent manner ;

warded, the poet (2). *Cluvius* wrote the history of *Nero's* reign, and of the civil wars preceding that of *Vespasian* (3) ; and is frequently quoted by *Tacitus*. Most writers take him to be the same person with *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, who governed *Spain* in the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. Of him *Tacitus* observes, that he was in great favour with *Nero*, and acquired mighty

wealth, without injuring any man either in his life or fortune (4). He was, as the same writer observes, an eloquent man, and well qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war (5). None of the writings of these authors have reached our times, except some sentences quoted by the ancient grammarians.

(2) *Tacit. orat. c. 5. Quintil. l. x. c. 1. n. 20.*

(4) *Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 49.*

(3) *Tacit. annal. l. xiii.*
(5) *Idem, l. i. c. 8.*

reduced, while he served under his father, some strong-holds; and gained the reputation both of a brave and prudent leader. Being sent by *Vespasian* to congratulate *Galba* upon his accession to the empire, and to receive his directions concerning the prosecution of the war against the *Jews*, it was rumoured abroad by the populace at *Rome*, that *Galba* had sent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was administered, as *Tacitus* observes, by the condition of the emperor, ~~antient~~ and childless, and the great character of *Titus*, who was judged equal to any degree of fortune, however elevated. But, having received at *Corinth* certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, he returned to his father, and reconciled to him *Mucianus* governor of *Syria*; for, between *Vespasian* and him, as the one ruled over *Judæa*, and the other over *Syria*, great animosities reigned, occasioned by their governing two neighbouring provinces ^m.

He was left by his father in *Judæa*, to prosecute the war *Is left by* against the *Jews*. Upon their parting, *Titus* gave a signal *his father* instance of his good-nature and affection towards his brother *to carry* *Domitian*. For the emperor, being informed that *Domitian* *on the war* had already abandoned himself to all manner of debauchery, *against the* and assumed more authority than was suitable to a son only, *Jews*. was highly incensed against him. *Titus* therefore, upon the departure of his father for *Italy*, pleaded with great affection *His kind-* and earnestness in favour of his brother, warning the emperor *ness, to his* to beware of being rashly incensed by intelligence *brother* from such as brought criminal representations. "To *Domitian,*
 " your own son (said he) it is but just you should bear
 " a spirit of gentleness, free from all prejudice. Not from
 " fleets, not from legions, are such powerful bulwarks found
 " for the support of the imperial dignity, as from a numerous
 " issue in the imperial house. The number of our friends is
 " diminished with time; they often desert us, to follow fortune, or because we cannot gratify their desires. But,
 " from our own blood, we may always promise ourselves
 " ready assistance, and unshaken fidelity. In our good fortune many will partake with us; but our nearest in kindred alone will bear us company in our adversities. Even
 " between brothers (added he) concord and unanimity will
 " not prove lasting, if their common parent sets them not
 " first an example." *Vespasian*, who, by this reasoning, was not so much reconciled to *Domitian*, as charmed with the tender affection of *Titus*, desired him to be of good cheer,

^m TACIT. hist. l. ii. c. 77. SUET. in Tit. c. 1, 2, 3. 5. PHILOSTR. in vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29.

and to study how to aggrandize the commonwealth by war, and the exercise of arms; adding, that it should be his task to insure the public peace, and that of his family^a. Of the conduct and military achievements of *Titus*, during the war which he carried on with stupendous success against the *Jews*, the reader will find an account in our history of that nation.

Returns to Rome, and triumphs.
AFTER the reduction of *Jerusalem*, instead of returning to *Rome*, he went to *Alexandria*, where he assisted at the consecration of the ox *Apis*, wearing a diadem; which, together with his putting off from time to time his journey into *Italy*, and his giving a private audience at *Zeugma* to the ambassadors of the *Parthian* king, occasioned a report, as if he designed to revolt from his father, and make himself emperor of the East. This rumour obliged him to hasten his departure for *Rome*, where he was received with loud shouts of joy, and, a few days after, honoured with one of the most magnificent triumphs the city had ever beheld. He was dignified by the senate with the title of *Cæsar*, and by his father taken, in a manner, for his colleague in the empire; for, with him, he exercised the censorship, the tribunitial power, seven consulships, and managed all the affairs of the empire, writing even letters, and drawing up all edicts, in his father's name.

Is charged, while yet a private man, with pride, cruelty, and avarice.
TACITUS tells us, that he was more strict and reserved in his own reign, than in that of his father; and *Suetonius* charges him with pride, cruelty, and even avarice. When any one, says the latter writer, gave him, by his unguarded conduct, the least umbrage, he hired people to demand his doom in the theatre, and in the camp of the prætorian guards, and then condemned him without further proof or trial. In administering justice, he was easily biased by presents, sold several employments of great trust unknown to his father, and indulged himself in festivity and pleasures, spending great part of the night in riotous banquets, with the most dissolute of the *Roman* youth, with young eunuchs, and a numerous herd of catamites and prostitutes. His passion for *Berenice* the daughter of *Agrippa the Great*, and sister of *Agrippa II.* king of *Ituræa*, was highly censured by the *Roman* people, who looked upon him as a second *Nero*; so that scarce ever any man arrived at the empire with a more sullied reputation, or more abhorred by the populace^o.

Governs with great moderation
BUT, upon his accession to the empire, all these accusations turned to his praise and advantage, no prince having ever governed with greater moderation, humanity, and good-nature.

^a TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 52.
ibid.

^o SUET. c. 6, 7. TACIT.

Soon after his father's death, he dismissed the beautiful queen *Berenice*, who had followed him to *Rome* with her father *Agrippa*, the last king of *Judæa*; and obliged her not only to withdraw from the city, but from *Italy*, though he was passionately fond of her; and this merely out of complaisance to the senate and people, who were displeased to see their emperor thus captivated with the charms of a foreign woman ^{P.} Though his brother *Domitian* pretended to an equal share in *His con-* the government, and raised great disturbances in the city, by *duſt to-* giving out, and arrogantly maintaining, that his father had *wards his* left him partner in the empire, but that the will had been *brother.* falsified; yet he could not prevail upon himself either to punish or banish him; but, on the contrary, treated him as his colleague in the empire, conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother who bore him a sincere and tender affection, and was willing to allow him a due share in the administration ^{9.} *Pliny* observes, that *Julius Bassus* dreaded *Titus*, on account of his intimacy with *Domitian*; but that he received no injury at the hands of the former, whereas he was banished by the latter. The emperors, ever since the reign of *Tiberius*, had paid no regard to the ordinances of their predecessors granting to cities, or particular persons, privileges, immunities, or exemptions, till such grants were confirmed by themselves; which they did with great reserve, causing the charters to be first carefully examined, as if they had been first granted by themselves. But *Confirms Titus*, without suffering any one to apply to him, confirmed *all the* them all by one general edict; and his example was followed *grants of* by most of his successors. He could not prevail upon himself *his predecessors.* to dismiss any, who applied to him, dissatisfied, or without some hopes of success; whereupon, being admonished by some of his friends, that he promised more than he could well perform, he replied, that no man should depart dissatisfied from the presence of a prince. It is well known, that, being told one night he had bestowed no favour that day, he expressed his dissatisfaction and regret with that memorable saying, *My friends, I have lost a day.*

He treated the people with extraordinary kindness and complaisance. Having designed to exhibit a shew of gladiators, he *His com-* signified by a proclamation, that it should be exhibited, not *plaisance* according to his own taste and pleasure, but that of the people *to the people.*; and he was so far from refusing what they desired, that he earnestly solicited them to declare what they liked best, complying with their taste, though disagreeing with his own. He allowed free access to him, even while he was bathing; and

* *Suet. c. 7.*9 *Idem in Dom. c. 2, & 9.*

received all with great affability and condescension, yet so as to maintain the dignity of his rank, and the majesty of an emperor. No man's property he ever coveted; nay, he often refused the usual presents, and such contributions as were due to him; and nevertheless, of all his predecessors, none was more generous than he, nor expended larger sums in private bounties, in shews, in buildings, &c. After he dedicated the famous amphitheatre, and finished with incredible expedition certain baths close to it, he exhibited, at an immense charge, a shew of gladiators, a naval battle in the old naumachia, and brought into the arena five thousand wild beasts of all kinds.

His clemency.

WHEN he entered upon the office of chief pontiff, he solemnly declared, he took upon him that dignity in order to preserve his hands undefiled, and pure from the shedding of blood; and truly from that time he never was accessory to any man's death, though he might have exerted his revenge with great justice; but, however provoked, he spared the criminals, declaring, that he had rather die himself, than put another to death. Of this his great clemency he gave the following instance: Two patricians, having conspired against him, were discovered, convicted, and sentenced to death, by the senate. But the good-natured emperor freely forgave them, admonishing them only in private, that in vain they aspired to the empire, which was given by destiny, exhorting them to be satisfied with the rank in which by Providence they had been placed, and offering them any thing else which it was in his power to grant. At the same time he dispatched a messenger to the mother of one of them, who was then at a great distance, and under deep concern about the fate of her son, to assure her, that her son was not only alive, but out of danger. He invited them the same night to his table; and, having the next day placed them by him at a shew of gladiators, when the weapons of the combatants were, according to custom, presented to him, he desired them to survey them.

Abolishes the law of majesty.

The law of majesty he utterly abrogated, and would not suffer any person to be prosecuted for speaking disrespectfully of himself, or the other emperors his predecessors; saying, "If they blacken my character undeservedly, they ought rather to be pitied than punished; if deservedly, it would be a crying piece of injustice to punish them for speaking truth. As for my predecessors, if they are truly gods, they are in a condition to revenge, when they think fit, the injuries done them, and stand in no need of my assistance and power." The accusers were the only persons against whom he proceeded with unrelenting severity, causing them to be

His severity to-

publicly whipped, to be exposed to open view, and to the insults of the populace in the forum, the amphitheatre, and the circus, and then to be either sold for slaves, or banished to desert islands¹. In short, he was a prince, according to *Suetonius*, in whom all virtues centred, without the alloy of one single vice.

TOWARDS the end of the year 79. of the Christian æra, and first of *Titus's* reign, *Campania* was alarmed with a most dreadful and almost incredible eruption of mount *Vesuvius*, which laid waste the country to a great distance, and utterly consumed a great many cities with their inhabitants, and, among the rest, *Pompeii* and *Herculanum*. The former had suffered much by an earthquake in the year 63. of the Christian æra; but had been rebuilt, and embellished with several stately edifices, especially a theatre, in which the people were assembled, and intent upon the public shews, when the city was swallowed up by an earthquake, which attended the eruption of the flames from the mountain. The cities of *Puteoli* and *Caieta* were greatly damaged, partly by the earthquake, partly by the burning ashes; which, if the antients are to be credited, reached *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*, and at *Rome* turned suddenly, to the great terror of the inhabitants, day into night. *Pliny* the elder, who was then at *Misenum*, where he commanded the fleet riding there, having discovered this cloud on the first of *November*, and not yet knowing whence it issued, went immediately on board one of the galleys, and sailed towards mount *Vesuvius*. He was soon met by great numbers of persons, who, in small boats, were flying from the dreadful conflagration; but nevertheless, prompted by his curiosity, he pursued his course, though stones, ashes, and earth, began already to shower down upon his vessel; nay, we are told, that, to his great surprize, he found a new cape formed by the earth, and huge stones thrown out by the mountain. However, he proceeded with great intrepidity; and, reaching *Stabia*, between *Pompeii* and *Surrentum*, though the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, passed the night there, the better to observe, during the darkness, the mountain, which seemed all on a blaze. The same night a dreadful earthquake happened at *Stabia*, and such an huge quantity of stones fell, that *Pliny* resolved to put to sea, but was prevented by contrary winds. At length the fire approaching, he attempted to save himself by flight; but, though supported by two of his domestics, he soon fell, suffocated, as is supposed, by the thickness of the air, and the insupportable stench of sulphur. His body was found three days after, and interred

wards the
informers.

A dread-
ful erup-
tion of
mount Ve-
suvius.

The death
of Pliny
the elder.

by his nephew *Pliny* the younger, who was then at *Misenum*, and narrowly escaped the same fate, as he himself relates at large in his epistles ^u. In this calamity the poet *Cesius Bassus* was consumed, with his house, by the flames; and likewise *Agrippa* the son of *Claudius Felix*, formerly governor of *Judea*, and of *Drusilla* daughter to *Agrippa* the last king of the *Jews* ^w. This is the first eruption of mount *Vesuvius* we find mentioned in history.

*Agricola's
second
campaign
in Britain.*

*Titus re-
pairs the
damages
done by the
eruption of
mount Ve-
suvius.*

*and by a
fire at
Rome.*

THE same year *Titus* assumed the title of emperor with the usual solemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave *Agricola* had gained in *Britain* during his second campaign in that island. The following year, *Titus*, now consul the eighth time, with his brother *Domitian*, the seventh, gave many remarkable instances of his humanity and good-nature, in repairing, at his own expence, the losses which the unhappy inhabitants of *Campania* had suffered by the late eruption of mount *Vesuvius*. He sent into *Campania* two consuls, with large sums, to be employed in rebuilding the cities which had been overturned; and applied to the relief of the poor sufferers the goods and estates of such as had perished on this occasion, and left no heirs; nay, went in person into *Campania*, and with his own hand distributed immense sums among those who seemed most worthy of his compassion ^x. While he was in *Campania*, a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which lasted three days, and as many nights, and reduced to ashes a great many private and public buildings, the library of *Augustus*, with all the books lodged in it, great part of the capitol, the theatre of *Pompey*, &c. *Titus* was no sooner informed of this calamity, than he hastened back to the city, and publicly declared, that the whole loss should fall upon him; and that, at his own charge, he would repair the damage suffered by particulars. He was as good as his word; for, though many cities, and foreign princes, by whom he was no less beloved than by the *Romans*, offered to bear their share in the expence, he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offers, as *Nero* had done on the like occasion; but chose rather to sell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palace and country-houses, in order to raise money wherewith to defray the immense charges he was at in rebuilding the temples, the public edifices, and the dwellings of particulars. This conflagration was followed by the most dreadful plague that had ever raged in *Rome*. *Dio Cassius* ascribes its rise to the ashes of mount *Vesuvius*, which had covered the country all round to a great distance ^y.

^u PLIN. l. vi. epist. 16. 20.

^w JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 5.

^x SUET. c. 8.

^y DIO, l. lxxvi. p. 756.

TITUS left no remedy, human or divine, unattempted, to *Exerts his* abate the malignity of the distemper; exerting at the *good-na-* same time all the care and regard of a prince, all the tender-*ture de-* ness and compassion of a father; comforting the distressed mul-*ring a* titude with his edicts, and relieving them with large and *plague at* daily bounties². Towards the end of this year he finished the *Rome.* famous amphitheatre, which is elegantly described by *Martial*^a, *Finishes* who likewise mentions the baths that were ended about the *the amphi-* same time (R). The emperor *Titus*, in his eighth consul-*theatre.* ship, and consequently this year, repaired some antient aque-*Year of* ducts, and at a vast expence paved with large stones the road *the flood* from *Rome* to *Ariminum*, cross the *Apennines*, where is still *2430.* to be seen, not far from the present city of *Fossombrone*, an *Of Chr.* huge rock cut through on this occasion^b. *80.*

THE next consuls were *Sex. Annii Silvanns* and *T. Arnius Verus Pollio*. The latter is by some writers supposed to be the grandfather of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, who was, according to *Capitolinus*, raised by *Vespasian* to the rank of a patrician, discharged twice the office of consul, and governed *Rome* with general satisfaction. This year the senate, not out of flattery, but a sense of gratitude, conferred new honours upon *Titus*. What honours these were, we are no-where told; *New ho-* but the good emperor lived not to enjoy them, being sud-*nours con-* denly snatched away, to the inexpressible grief of the *ferred up-* *Roman* people. *Suetonius* tells us, that he exhibited certain *on Titus.* shews (during which he shed many tears in the presence of the multitude), and retired, as soon as they were over, into the country of the *Sabines*, greatly grieved, because the victim, while he was sacrificing, had broken loose; and a dreadful clap of thunder had been heard, though the day was quite bright, and not a cloud to be seen. The first night he lay out of *Istakenill,* *Rome*, he was seized with a burning fever; but nevertheless *and leaves* pursued his journey in a litter, being desirous to end his days *Rome.*

² DIO, l. lxvi. p. 756. Suet. c. 8. ^a MART. lib. de spect. epigr. 1. ^b ONUPH. in fast. p. 210. GOLTZ. p. 56.

(R) The amphitheatre, where- custom, that noble and stately of the stately remains are still to edifice, exhibited most magni- be seen, had been begun by *Ves-* ficent shews, which lasted an hun- pasian, and stood, as we learn from dred days, and raised the spirits of *Dio Cassius*, in the midst of the city, though its ruins lie in the of the people ready to sink under the calamities they had suffered outskirts of modern *Rome*. *Titus*, (6). - when he dedicated, according to

(6) *Dio*, p. 757. *Marc. Vesp. monument. August. lapid.* 35.

in the same house where his father died (S). Having with *His death.* much ado reached *Cutylæ*, his paternal estate, he expired Year of there soon after his arrival, on the thirteenth of *September*, in the flood the forty-first year of his age, after having reigned two years; 2431. two months, and twenty days (T). He far excelled, in the Bef. Chr. opinion of the antients, all his predecessors, even *Vespasian* 81. himself, in every virtue becoming a prince; and was equaled by Of Rome few of his successors. He knew no purpose of being higher 831. than others, but to do good to all. He was a stranger to all parade and ostentation, choosing to live with his people rather as a father with his children, than a prince with subjects; whence he was deservedly stiled, *The love and delight of human kind*. What pity that such princes, such friends to the world, and protectors of mankind, should ever die! His death was no sooner known, than a general sadness, an universal consternation, appeared in *Rome*, which in a short time spread all over the provinces, to the most distant bounds of the empire. The senators, without being summoned according to custom, hastened to the palace; and, having caused the doors of the chapel, where they met, to be shut for a while, in order to indulge their grief, they opened them again, and, in the presence of the multitude, heaped more praises upon him after his death, than they had ever done while he lived amongst them; a plain proof of the sincerity of their esteem and affection. *Domitian* caused him to be ranked among the gods, and was the first who paid him divine honours; but at the same

His character.

Is universally lamented.

(S) We are told, that, finding himself on the road greatly indisposed, and not doubting but his end approached, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, complaining, that he was thus to be cut off in the vigour of his age, when, during the whole course of his life, he had been guilty of one action only, which seemed to require repentance. What action that was, he did not declare; but *Dio Cassius* is of opinion, that it was his freely forgiving his brother *Domitian*, who had conspired against him, when, by inflicting upon him the deserved punishment, he might have

prevented the many evils and calamities which the excellent emperor was well apprised his brother, when invellied with the sovereignty, would bring upon the state (7). Others think, that the criminal conversation he was said to have had with his brother's wife, occurred then to his memory. But *Suetonius* clears him from this aspersion, upon the solemn protestation of *Domitia* herself, who, had the charge been true, would have rather gloried in it, as she did in all other crimes, than denied it (8).

(T) *Philostratus* tells us, that he was poisoned by his brother

(7) *Dio*, l. lxvi. p. 758.

(8) *Suet.*



C. Grignon Sculp.

same time studied, both in private and in public, to revile his memory, and lessen the esteem and veneration which all orders of men had for so worthy and deserving a prince. *Titus* left only one daughter, named *Julia Sabina*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the following reign.

Titus was succeeded by his brother *Domitian*, who, without the least opposition or contradiction, was immediately acknowledged emperor, notwithstanding the bad opinion which many entertained of him. He was born on the twenty-fourth of October of the year 51. of the Christian æra, his father being then consul elect, and appointed to discharge that office the month following. He is stiled, on several medals, which have reached our times, *Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitianus*.^d He passed his youth in great poverty, and is said to have been a pathic to *Nerva*, who succeeded him, for hire, and likewise to one *Glopius Pollio*, formerly prætor, who kept a note, under *Domitian's* own hand, by which he bound himself, for a sum of money, to comply, when required, with his lewd and unnatural desires. He did not apply himself, from his tender years, to the study of history, poetry, eloquence, or any other liberal art or science: hence in all his speeches and harangues he made use of the eloquence of others. He took great delight in archery, in which he was so wonderfully expert, that he was frequently seen to shoot a great number of arrows between the fingers of one of his domestics, whom he placed at a great distance with his hand expanded, telling before, between which fingers the arrow would pass, and never missing his aim. He was naturally cruel, suspicious, and addicted to revenge; greedy of honours, but impatient of the least toil or labour; affected the reputation of a brave commander, but carefully avoided exposing himself to any danger. *Suetonius* thinks, that his cruelty was chiefly occasioned by his timorousness, and no way natural to him. Be-

^c Suet. in Domit.

^d GOLTZ. p. 58. Suet. c. 1.

^e Suet. c. 19.

Domitian (9). *Plutarch* ascribes his death to the immoderate use of baths (1); and adds, that one *Regulus*, who, out of complaisance, used to bathe with him, died of an apoplexy. *Suetonius* writes, that *Domitian*, who had ever sought the destruction of his

brother, caused the room to be cleared before he was dead, ordering all those, who could afford him any assistance, to withdraw; but that writer does not charge *Domitian* with any other kind of violence (2).

⁽¹⁾ *Philostat. vit. Apol. T. 2. l. vi. c. 14.*
⁽²⁾ *Suet. in Domit.*

⁽¹⁾ *Plut. de senit. p. 2. 4.*

ing at *Rome* when his father assumed the title of emperor, *Vitellius* placed guards about him; but he might nevertheless have easily escaped, several messengers having, by various disguises and shifts, reached him from *Antonius Primus*, and shewed him from what place he might fly, and upon what guard and security depend; nay, even those who guarded him, offered themselves for companions of his flight; but he, apprehending from thence, that they designed to betray him, could not by any means be prevailed upon to make his escape^f. Upon the burning of the capitol, whither he had retired with his uncle *Sabinus*, he concealed himself in the room of one of the ministers of the temple; and the next morning was conveyed, by his freedman, beyond the *Tiber*, in the disguise of one of the priests of *Isis*.

It saluted
Cæsar.

WHEN *Primus* had made himself master of the city, and all apprehensions of hostility had ceased, he discovered himself to his father's generals; and was, by the soldiers thronging about him, saluted *Cæsar*^g; which title was confirmed to him the day following by the senate. From that time, to the arrival of his father, he bore the chief sway in *Rome*; but gave no attention to the cares of government, abandoning himself to all manner of voluptuousness, and making use of his power only to indulge his vicious inclinations with more liberty. He took *Domitia Longina*, the daughter of the famous *Domitius Corbulo*, from her husband *L. Aelius Lamia*, married her some time after, and had a son by her, who was honoured with the title of *Cæsar*, but died an infant, and was, by *Domitian*, ranked among the gods^h (U).

He re-
solves to
head the
army a-
gainst Ci-
vilis.

In the beginning of his father's reign, being jealous of the glory which his brother had acquired in the *Jewish* war, he resolved to go into *Gaul*, and take upon him the command of the army which was employed against *Civilis*. *Mucianus* did all that lay in his power to divert him, as he

^f TACIT. hist. l. iii. c. 59.
c. iii. SPANH. p. 650.

^g Idem, c. 74.

^h SUET.

(U) That he had other children, tho' not mentioned by any historian, appears from the epigraph of one *Pierius*, still to be seen at *Rome*, who is stiled the emperor's freedman, and preceptor to his children. The monument was raised by *Flavia*

Nicea, wife to *Pierius*, with the permission, as is expressed in the inscription, of *Hermas*, the chief freedman of *Domitia Augusta*; for with this title *Domitius* honoured his wife *Domitia Longina*, in the second year of his reign (3).

was quite unexperienced in military affairs, from such a resolution : but *Domitian* continuing obstinately bent upon that expedition, *Mucianus* resolved to attend him, in order to check his ardour ; lest, following the impetuosity of his age, and instigated by evil counsellors, were he once master of an army, he might disconcert all measures, whether for peace or war. After many procrastinations and delays, they both set out at length ; but received, ere they reached the *Alps*, tidings of the defeat of the *Treverians*. Hereupon *Mucianus* communicated, as no more than his own sentiments upon the present occasion, what he had long proposed and concealed ; to wit, that since, by the favour of the gods, the forces of the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would *Domitian* proceed, now the war was nigh concluded, and rob another of the whole glory. He added, that, were the empire threatened with danger, it behov'd the emperor's son to venture his person in battle ; but to contend with the *Cunines* and *Batavians*, was beneath him. Let *Domitian*, continued he, retire to *Lyons*, and from thence display the power and fortune of the empire at hand ; neither engaging in small hazards, nor failing to meet such as are greater. Thus *Mucianus* prevailed upon him to retire to *Lyons*. From thence *He at-* *Domitian* was believed to have tried, by secret interagents, to tempt to corrupt the fidelity of *Cerealis* ; and to have proposed, whe- corrupt ther he would commit to him the army and empire, if he *Cerealis*. came in person. It remained uncertain, what designs he fostered ; whether he meditated a war against his father, or intended to arm himself with power and forces against his brother ; for *Cerealis*, by several evasions, eluded his suit, as that of one, who, with a childish fondness, longed for things to which he was not equal.

DOMITIAN, perceiving that *Cerealis* despised his youth, relinquished all functions of government, even the smallest ; and, burying himself in solitude, feigned a zeal for learning, *Retires,* especially for poetry ; thence to conceal his ambition, and *and feigns* other passions, and to escape the jealousy of his brother i (W). *a love for* But, while he pretended to place his whole delight in study, *learning* and *and poetry.*

¹ TACIT. hist. Liv. c. 86.

(W) Some writers tell us, have admired his poetical compositions (4), and likewise *Quintilian* (5) ; for both cry them up ; not through flattery, says *Vossius*, as is manifest from the

(4) *Plin. in præfat.*

(5) *Quintil. l. x. c. 1.*

and affected a fondness for solitude, the king of the *Parthians* having demanded succours against the *Alani*, as we have hinted above, he earnestly solicited his father for the command of those troops; and, when he found the emperor now inclined to assist the *Parthians*, he applied to the eastern princes, soliciting them with promises and presents to desire supplies, and himself to lead them. But *Vespasian* was too well acquainted with his views and temper, to trust him with the command of an army. Upon the death of his father, he deliberated a long time with himself, whether he should openly revolt, and tempt the fidelity of the prætorian guards, by offering them a larger donative than his brother had promised them; but, his courage failing him, he bore no other title, during the reign of *Titus*, but that of *Cæsar prince of the Roman youth*; a title now peculiar to the presumptive heir to the empire^k. His brother no sooner expired, than he hastened to *Rome*; and, repairing to the camp of the prætorian guards, was there, by the soldiery, after having promised them the usual donative, saluted emperor. At the same time he assumed, as appears from several ancient inscriptions, all the other titles annexed to the sovereignty, which other emperors had taken successively^l (X).

Has some thoughts of revolting.

DOMITIAN, now invested with the sovereign power, which he had long and impatiently coveted, performed, in the first place, the obsequies of the deceased emperor, and pronounced himself his funeral oration, with an affected concern, bewailing the loss of a brother so dear to him, and by whom he was so tenderly beloved: but that his grief was

^k Suet. c. 2. ONUPH. in-fact. p. 210.

^l Idem ibid.

translation of *Aratus*, which has reached us, and was, without all doubt, done by *Domitian* (6). *Lactantius* ascribes to him the learned comment on that translation (7); but *Vossius* is of a different opinion (8). *Valerius Flaccus* the poet, who flourished under *Vespasian*, speaks of a poem, written by *Domitian*, on the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* (9). He likewise wrote a book in prose, about the means of preserving the hair,

which is quoted by *Suetonius* (1).

(X) Some medals, which have reached our times, give us room to suppose, that, in the first year of his reign, he took upon him the title of *Germanicus*, probably on account of his journey to *Lyons*, during the revolt of the *Gauls* and *Batavians*; for we know of no other expedition, which could give him, however vain and ambitious, the least colour for assuming that surname or title (2).

(6) *Voss.* poet. Lat. c. 3. p. 115.
(9) *Val. Flac.* l. ii. ver. 12.
Mirag. numf. p. 131, 132.

(7) *LaF.* l. i. c. 22.

(1) *Suet.* c. 18.

(8) *Voss. bist. Lat.*

(2) *Vide*

only assumed, he soon made appear, by publicly reviling the memory of that excellent prince, by blaming his conduct, and persecuting all those whom he had distinguished with particular marks of his favour; nay, he openly declared in the senate, that to him both his father and brother were indebted for the empire; and that they had only restored to him what was his own gift. However, in the beginning of his reign, he studied to gain the affections of his people, by a conduct worthy of a great prince, disguising his vices, and affecting the opposite virtues. He shewed such an abhorrence to to all manner of cruelty, that he once resolved, by an express edict, to forbid the sacrificing of oxen, or any living creature. He was so far from betraying any bias to avarice, that, on the contrary, he gave daily instances of a temper truly princely and munificent, presenting his officers and ministers with large sums, in order to raise them above the temptation of accumulating wealth by methods fordid and mean. He could not be prevailed upon to accept such inheritances as were left him by persons who had children: and because one *Ruscus Cæpio*, by his will, obliged his heir to pay a certain sum to every new senator, he declared the will void, and would not suffer it to be executed to the prejudice of his own children. All debts above five years standing, which were owing to the exchequer, he freely forgave; and, after the division of lands amongst the veterans, restored the remainder to the antient proprietors, tho' he might, after the example of other emperors, have appropriated it to himself. He forbid, on pain of banishment, all the officers of the treasury to sue any one for debts that were not clear and undoubted^m. He confirmed at once, as *Titus* had done, all the grants made by his predecessors, increased the pay of the soldiers, and finished, at an immense charge, all the public buildings, which had been begun by *Titus*.

PLUTARCH tells us, that he expended above twelve thousand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that nevertheless each hall and gallery of his own palace far excelled that stately temple in magnificenceⁿ. To the antient edifices, which he either repaired or built, he added an incredible number of new ones; having a great passion for building, and seeming desirous, as *Plutarch* expresses it^o, to change every thing into stones and gold. He was assiduous, and quite unbiassed, in the administration of justice; punished, with the utmost severity, such judges as were convicted of having received bribes; and kept the magistrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in such awe, that they were

He reviles the memory of his brother.

His conduct in the beginning of his reign.

His magnificence in public buildings.

^m *SUET.* . 9.

ⁿ *PLUT.* vit. Public.

^o *Idem* *ibid.*

*Repairs
the public
libraries.*

never known to have behaved with so much modesty as in his time; tho', after his death, many of them abandoned themselves, as *Suetonius* informs us, to all manner of rapine and extortion^p. Tho' after his accession to the empire he utterly neglected all kind of literature, and was never known to have perused any book, except the memoirs of *Tiberius*, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in his brother's reign; procuring copies of such as had been consumed in the flames, and sending persons to *Alexandria*, to transcribe those that were lodged in that famous library^q. Authors observe, as a thing very remarkable in *Domitian*, that, in the beginning of his reign, he used to retire every day, for some time, into his room, where his whole employment was to catch flies, and pierce them with a sharp bodkin; which custom gave occasion to *Vibius Priscus*, when he was asked, whether any-body was with the emperor, to answer pleasantly, *Not so much as a fly*^r.

*Enacts several
unwholesome
laws.*

DOMITIAN, in the first year of his reign, took upon him, as other emperors had done, the conduct of liberty; and chose for his colleague *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, his cousin-german, the son of *Flavius Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, who was put to death in the reign of *Vitellius*, as we have related above. The emperor resigned the fasces on the thirteenth of *January*; but to whom, we are no-where told; and assumed the title of censor; which office he discharged with great applause, restraining, with several edicts, the licentiousness, which generally prevailed amongst all ranks of men. He enacted severe laws against the authors of such writings as any-way reflected on persons of distinction; degraded a senator, by name *Cæcilius Rufinus*, for no other reason, but because he took great delight in dancing. From such women as led scandalous lives, he took away the privilege of being carried in litters, and declared them incapable of enjoying legacies or inheritances. He struck a *Roman* knight out of the list of judges, for taking his wife again, after he had divorced her for adultery. One of his freedmen having erected a monument for his son, with the stones which were designed for the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he caused it to be demolished, and the bones and ashes of the deceased to be thrown into the sea. He would not suffer the comedians and pantomimes to act on the public stage; but confined them to private houses and gardens. Many persons, of both sexes, convicted of adultery, he punished with death, &c^s. These

^p *SUET.* c. 8. ^q *Idem*, c. 20. ^r *Idem*, c. 3. *AUR. VICT. DIO*, l. lxvii. p. 766. ^s *SUET.* c. 7, 8. *DIO*, p. 765. *PLIN. PANEGYR.* *ZONAR.* p. 197.

regulations, and acts of justice, were received with great applause ; but the death of *Flavius Sabinus*, which happened in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, occasioned an universal dread in the city ; for the emperor, without any regard to his own blood, caused him to be assassinated, for no crime of his own, but only because the public crier had, by mistake, instead of consul, proclaimed him emperor in the assembly of the people ¹. *Sabinus* had married *Juliz*, the daughter of the emperor *Titus* ; which marriage proved the source of *Domitian's* jealousy, if *Philostratus* is to be credited ², and the chief cause of *Sabinus's* death. Puts Flavius Sabinus to death.

DOMITIAN, in the second year of his reign, undertook an expedition against the *Cattans*, whom *Tacitus* describes as attacks the most polite and most warlike nation in Germany. *Domitian* attacked them without the least provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war ; laid waste part of their country, took a small number of peasants prisoners, and then, upon advice that the enemy were drawing their forces together, hastened back, and returned to Rome with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror ³. The senate, for this pretended victory, decreed him a triumph ; in which were led before his chariot great numbers of slaves, by him bought, and attired like *Germans*. On occasion of this mock-victory he promised to increase the pay of the soldiers ; but, not having wherewith to discharge his promise, and at the same time supply his other extravagances, he soon after betook himself to all manner of rapine and violence. From this time forward *Domitian* constantly wore in the senate, and at all public assemblies, the triumphal robe ⁴. and for his mock-victory is honoured with a triumph. Year of the flood 2433. Of Christ 83. Of Rome 833.

IN the mean time *Agricola*, having intirely reduced *Britain*, acquainted *Domitian*, by letters, with the success that had attended his arms there. The account he conveyed to him was plain and modest, without ostentation, or any pomp of words. The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but with anguish in his heart ; being well apprised, that his late mock-triumph over the *Germans* was held in public derision ; whereas, now, a true and mighty victory, gained by the slaughter of so many thousands of the enemy, was every-where sounded by the voice of fame, and received with universal applause. He could not brook, that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the prince : to the emperor alone,

¹ Suet. c. 10.² Philostrat. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3:³ Idem, l. lxvii. p. 760.⁴ Idem ibid. Suet. c. 12. Zonar.

p. 196.

he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with these anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being shut up in secret, a certain indication, that he was meditating some bloody design, he at last judged it the best course, upon this occasion, to smother his rancour, till the fame of these conquests, and the affection of the army to *Agricola*, were somewhat abated.

Yet causes triumphal honours to be decreed to him. To him therefore he caused to be decreed by the senate the triumphal ornaments, a statue crowned with laurel, and whatever else is bestowed instead of a real triumph; heightening these honours with many expressions full of esteem and respect; but, in the mean time, he resolved to recal him: and that this might not be ascribed to jealousy, or envy, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that to *Agricola* was destined the province of *Syria*, a government then vacant by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, a man of consular dignity; since the *legatus* was reserved only for persons of the first rank. There were many who believed, that an imperial freedman, one much trusted with the secret designs of his master, was by him dispatched to carry the instrument appointing *Agricola* governor of *Syria*, with orders to deliver it to him, were he still in *Britain* (for he had already named him a successor); that the freedman met *Agricola* crossing the chanel, and, without so much as speaking to him, returned directly to *Domitian*. Whether this account be true, or only a fiction, framed in conformity to the character and genius of *Domitian*, is, according to *Tacitus*, uncertain. *Agricola* had already surrendered to his successor, probably *Sallustius Secundus*, the province now settled in perfect peace and tranquillity. To avoid all popular distinction, and concourse of people to meet him, he entered *Rome* by night, and by night went, as he was directed, to the palace; where he was received by the emperor with a short embrace, without a word said; and then passed undistinguished amongst the croud of courtiers.

He recalls him.

FROM this time forward, to lessen the reputation he had acquired of a military man, and a gallant commander, a name ever distasteful to those who live themselves in idleness, he resigned himself intirely to inactivity and repose. In his dress he was modest; in his conversation affable and free, and never found accompanied by more than one, or at most two of his friends; insomuch that many, especially such as judge of great men from their retinue and parade, when they beheld and observed *Agricola*, could not conceive whence proceeded his mighty fame; and indeed few there were, who could account for the motives of his conduct. Notwithstanding the retired life he led, he was frequently accused in his absence

Agricola leads a retired life.

the retired life he led, he was frequently accused in his absence

sence before *Domitian*, and as often in his absence acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor any thing else, save the glorious character of the man, and the perverse disposition of the emperor, hating all excellence, and every virtue. With these causes concurred the worst sort of enemies, such as extolled him, in order to destroy him. Besides, such times afterwards ensued, as would not suffer the name of *Agricola* to remain unmentioned; so that he was in constant danger of being sacrificed to the jealousy of the emperor, but nevertheless lived nine years longer: whence we shall have occasion to speak of him again in this reign.

THE same year *Carismerus*, king of the *Cherusicans*, a ^{Domitian} *German* nation, being driven out by the *Cattans*, because he ^{unwilling} had submitted to the *Romans*, and delivered hostages to ^{to engage} them, had recourse to *Domitian* for assistance. But the ^{in a war} emperor, not caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented him ^{with the} with conveying to his friend and ally a sum of money, instead of troops, which, he said, he could not at that juncture well spare. About the same time one *Ganda*, a *German* virgin, and prophetess, and revered in *Germany* as a deity, arrived at *Rome*; and, being there well received by *Domitian*, after some private conferences with him, returned to her own country.

THE year following *Domitian* was consul the eleventh time; and had for his colleague one *Fulvius*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be *T. Aurelius Fulvius*, or *Fulvus*, the grandfather of *Titus Antoninus*. He was a native of *Nismes*, twice consul, and governor of *Rome*. This year *Domitian* took the title of emperor four times; but for what victories we find no-where recorded. We read indeed in *Dio Cassius*, that the *Suevians* and *Lygians*, whom that writer places in *Mæsia*, solicited *Domitian* for succours, who sent them only an hundred horsemen; which so provoked the *Suevians*, that, joining the *lasygians*, a people of *Sarmatia*, they advanced, with a design to pass the *Danube*, and lay waste the *Roman* territories^b. *Dio Cassius* does not acquaint us with the issue of this bold undertaking; but *Tacitus*, having told us in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* entered into an alliance against *Rome*^c, adds in another^d, that, soon after the return of *Agricola* out of *Britain*, the *Romans* lost intire armies in *Mæsia*, in *Dacia*, in *Germany*, and in *Pannonia*, all by the bad conduct of their generals, either altogether cowardly, or fool-hardy. From

^y *TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 38—42.*

^z *DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 760.*

^a *Idem, p. 761.*

^b *Idem ibid.*

^c *TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 2.*

^d *TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 41.*

several medals it appears, that *Domitian* returned this year to *Rome* from some expedition, of which not the least mention is made by the historians: perhaps he marched in person against the *Suevians* and *Iazygians*; at least several medals were stamped this year, in memory of a signal victory, real or pretended, gained over the *Germans*.*

Domitian puts many persons of distinction to death.

THE emperor, after his return to *Rome*, abandoning himself to all manner of cruelty, caused the nativity to be cast of all the illustrious persons in the city, and put such of them to death, as were said, by the astrologers, to be destined to the empire. *Mtius Pomposianus*, against whom some ill-designing persons had, on the same account, endeavoured in vain to stir up the emperor *Vespasian*, was on this occasion banished *Italy*, and confined to the island of *Corfica*; where he was soon after, by *Domitian's* order, put to death. *Nerva*, who succeeded him in the empire, would have suffered the same doom, had not an astrologer assured the emperor, that he had no reason to be afraid of *Nerva*, who could not live many days. He encouraged informers more than any other prince had done; tho' in the beginning of his reign he had treated them with great severity, and solemnly declared, that he would never give ear to their informations (Y).

AUTHRS observe, that this year multitudes of senators and knights were accused of treason; and either sentenced to death by the senate, or ordered by *Domitian* to dispatch themselves. Of these the most illustrious was *Ælius Lamia*, whom he caused to be publicly executed only for a jest; for the emperor, who, as we have observed above, had taken away his wife, commending one day his voice, *Lamia* answered, *Yet, alas! I must be silent. Civicus Cerealis* was murdered during his proconsulship of *Asia*; under colour, that he designed to raise disturbances in the state, but, in reality, be-

* Vide BIRAG. numism. p. 134. & NORIS. ep. consul. p. 175.

(Y) Amongst these, the most famous were *Metius Carus*, *Catullus Messalinus*, and *Bebius Massa*, three robbers, as *Pliny* calls them (3), who enriched themselves, and the emperor, with the spoils of many thousand illustrious and innocent persons. *Carus* is often mentioned by the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*, and by *Pliny*, against whom he presented a memorial to *Domitian* (4). *Catullus Messalinus* was blind; but, nevertheless, one of the most mischievous informers who frequented the court; he died about the latter end of *Domitian's* reign; whence it is plain, that *Catanæus* was mistaken in supposing him to be the same person with *Catullus*, governor of *Cyrene*; who died, according to *Josephus*, in the reign of *Vespasian* (5).

(3) *Plin. panegy.* (4) *Idem. l. iii. ep. 4.*
in not. ad *Plin. jun. et Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 39.*

(5) Vide *Catan.*

cause he had accepted the government of *Asia*, which had fallen to him by lot. Hence *Agricola*, when to his lot the proconsulship of *Asia* or *Africa* was to fall, declined the employment, and presented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excused. *Domitian* not only granted him his request, but suffered himself to be on that account presented with formal thanks. Neither to *Agricola* did he give the salary which was wont to be paid to proconsuls, and which he himself had continued to some. *Salvius Cocceianus* was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor *Otho*, who was his uncle by the father's side; *Salustius Lucullus*, who had succeeded *Agricola* in the government of *Britain*, for suffering a new kind of lances to be called after his own name; *Junius Rusticus* for publishing a writing in commendation of the celebrated *Thrasea*, and of *Helvidius Priscus*; *Maternus*, a renowned philosopher, for having declaimed in public against tyranny and tyrants. All the professors of philosophy, and every laudable science, says *Tacitus*, were expelled, and driven into exile; and, that nothing which was worthy and honest might any-where be seen, not only against persons, but against books, commending virtue or patriotism, a new kind of cruelty was exerted; for, in the forum, the works of men famous for their genius and parts were publicly burnt †.

EVERY thing gave the jealous tyrant fear and offence. *The deplorable condition of Rome.* Was a man nobly born, and popular? he withdrew the affections of the people, rivaled the prince, and threatened a civil war. Was he afraid of popularity, and lived retired? he gained fame by shunning it, was still an eye-sore, and his best fate was, to leave his country. Was he virtuous, and his life and morals without blame? he was another *Brutus*, and, by the purity of his manners, upbraided the vicious behaviour of the emperor. If a man seemed dull and inactive, he only put on the disguise of stupidity and sloth, till he found room for some bloody purpose. If he had a different character, and was a lively and active man, then it was plain he did not so much as feign a desire of private life and recess, but avowed a bustling republican spirit. If he was rich, he was too wealthy for a subject; and great wealth in private hands boded ill to princes: if he was poor, he was thence the more enterprising and desperate. In short, no man could possess any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to his fellow-citizens, and a blessing to his country, to his friends, or to himself, but such quality and advantage were sure to awaken the jealousy and vengeance of the tyrant, and

† SUET. c. 20. TACIT. vit Agr. c. 2.

procure his doom. Hence *Tacitus*, speaking of these unhappy times ; “ Mighty (says he) was the testimony which we gave of our patience ; for, as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate perfection of liberty, so did we of bondage ; since, through dread of informers, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech. Nay, with our utterance, we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget, as to be silent *. Against the defence of innocence accused, against the ~~truth~~ ^{truth} and justice, the ears of the emperor were ever shut ; but calumny, whispered by any informer, had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witnesses.” “ Falshood and flattery (says *Dio Cassius*), envy and rapaciousness, passed for evidence ; justice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage ; the tribunals erected for justice, and preservation of life and property, were turned into shambles ; and what had the names of pains and penalties, were, in truth, robbery and assassination.”

Encourage.
informers.

THE persons of the accusers were considered as sacred and inviolable ; the more they were detested by the public, the more they were protected by the emperor ; and, in proportion as they deserved death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vilest forgeries, convicted and owned, against the lives and fortunes of the greatest men, drew down no punishment upon them ^h. In the midst of his cruelties, he

Abandons
himself to
all manner
of lewd-
ness.

abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and was on that score no less infamous than the most vicious of his predecessors. His avarice was equal to his lewdness and cruelty ; not that he had any natural bias to that vice, says *Suetonius* ; but, having exhausted his treasury by the many buildings he raised, by the magnificent sports and shows which he exhibited, by increasing the pay of the soldiers, and by other wild and extravagant expences, he betook himself to

His avarice and
extortions.

all sorts of rapine and extortion, seizing, upon the least information, the estates of the most wealthy citizens : the least action or word against the majesty of the prince, was made use of as a pretence for stripping them of whatever they possessed. He confiscated inheritances, appropriating to himself all the effects of persons whom he never knew, if he could find but one witness to depose, that he had ever heard the deceased say, that *Cæsar* was his heir. With these, and such-like artificial contrivances, he reduced to beggary the most opulent persons, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. His officers and procurators exacted the tributes and taxes with the greatest rigour and se-

* *TACIT.* vit. Agr. c. 2. ^h *DIO*, l. lxxvii. p. 759.

verity imaginable ; but, above all, he oppressed the *Jews* in a most cruel manner, not excepting even such of them as had renounced their religion ; and with the like severity treated those, says *Suetonius* (meaning, no doubt, the Christians), who lived in *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, and seemed to profess the same superstition ¹.

THE heavy tributes, and the rigour used by the officers in exacting them, occasioned great disorders, and frequent revolts, in the distant provinces. In *Africa*, the *Nasamoni*-*The Nasamoni*, whom most geographers place in the province of *Cyrene*-*monians* *naica*, no longer able to bear the heavy imposts with which they were loaded, and the insults and extortions of the collectors, rose up in arms this year, defeated *Flaccus* governor of *Numidia*, stormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the sword. But *Flaccus* was soon revenged on them ; for, being informed that, elated with their success, they had abandoned themselves to jollity and carousing, he rallied his men, and, coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the *Roman* camp, he cut them all off to a man (Z). *Domitian*, elated with the victory gained by his lieutenant over the *Nasamoni*s, bragged in the senate, that he had cut off the whole nation ; for to himself he ascribed, as *Dio Cassius* observes ², all the advantages gained by his officers, though he bore not the least share in them, and to others every miscarriage, however occasioned by a strict observance of his orders. As he hated and suspected every man of parts, especially such as had acquired any military renown, the commanders of the armies, to recommend themselves to his favour, carefully avoided signalizing themselves by any military exploits, choosing rather to bear the insults of the enemy, than to expose themselves to the dangers arising from the jealousy of the prince ³. The same year he first assumed, according to *Eusebius*, the title of *Lord*, and that of *God*, not being ashamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his

but are utterly cut off.

Domitian assume the title of

¹ Suet. c. 12. l. viii. epist. 14.

² Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 709.

³ Plin.

(Z) *Zonaras* seems to insinuate, that he extirpated the whole nation, without any regard to sex or age (6) ; and *Aristides* tells us, that, by an order from one of the emperors, the whole race of the *Nasamoni*s

was cut off (7). However, that some of that race outlived this dreadful slaughter, is evident from *Ptolemy* the geographer, who places them, as people still in being, to the south of *Libya Marmarica* (8).

(6) *Zonar.* p. 197.

(7) *Arist.* p. 194.

(8) *Ptol. l. iv. c. 5.*

Lord, and secretaries, to begin it thus; *Our Lord and our God orders that of* and commands, &c. About the same time he enacted a law, obliging all to pay him divine worship; and from that time forward no man dared to call him by any other name but that of *Lord*, and of *God*^m; nay, some writersⁿ tell us, that, by an express law, all other titles, either in speaking or writing to him, were to be suppressed (A).

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his twelfth consulship, having *Servius Cornelius Dolabella* for his colleague. This year were instituted the *Capitoline* sports, so much spoken of by the writers of those days, according to whom they were to be exhibited once in five, but, according to our way of reckoning, once in four years; for they were celebrated, as the *Olympic* sports, at the end of four years complete, and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the emperor presided at them in person, attended by the priest of *Jupiter*, and the college of the *Flavian* priests^o. To this year *Eusebius* fixes the war with the *Dacians*, the most bloody and dangerous which the *Romans* sustained during the reign of *Domitian*. The *Dacians* were

The institution of the Capitoline sports.
Year of the flood 2837.
Of Chr. 87.
Of Rome 837.

^m SUET. c. 13. ⁿ AUR. VICT. & OROS. l. vii. c. 10.
^o SUET. c. 4.

(A) Of this impious flattery we have many instances in the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*. *Pliny* complains, that all the streets leading to the capitol were constantly crouded with droves of victims to be sacrificed before his statues (9). He pretended to be, and would be called, the son of *Minerva*, for which goddess he professed a particular veneration. He would not suffer any statues to be erected to him in the capitol, but such as were of pure gold or silver, and of a fixed weight. He filled the city with triumphal gates and arches, and, by an immense number of monuments, raised at a vast charge, endeavoured to transmit to posterity the memory of his pretended

victories (1). He was the first who was ever known to have been seventeen times consul. Not satisfied to have assumed the title of *Germanicus*, on account of his pretended victory over the *Cattans*, he caused the month of *September* to be distinguished with the same name, and the month of *October* with that of *Domitian*; because in the latter he was born, and in the former declared emperor. In short, before the end of the fourth year of his reign, he surpassed, if *Dio Cassius* is to be credited, all his predecessors, *Nero* not excepted, in pride, cruelty, rapaciousness, and all other vices which complete the character of an accomplished tyrant (2).

(9) *Plin. paneg.* p. 99.
Val. p. 710.

(1) *Suet.* c. 13.

(2) *Dio in excerpt.*

looked upon by the *Romans* as the most warlike nation they *Some ac-* were then acquainted with. They were not only men for the count of most part of great strength, but of equal courage, despising *the Da-* death, which they considered as the end of a transitory, and *cians.*

the beginning of an happy and lasting life ; whence with much intrepidity they braved the greatest dangers. This doctrine they had learnt of an antient philosopher, by name *Zamolxis*, whom some suppose to have been the disciple of *Pythagoras* ; others, to have flourished long before his time P (B). At this time one *Duras* ruled over the *Dacians* ; but, after having for some time held the sovereignty, by an instance of moderation hardly to be matched in history, resigned it of his own accord to one *Decebalus*, whom he judged better qualified than himself for the discharge of so great a trust ; for *Decebalus* was a man of great prowess, and experience in war, and equally skilled in affairs of state P (C).

As to the issue of the war which he maintained against *They make* *Rome*, *Tacitus* speaks thus, without descending to any parti- *war upon* culars : “ In the commonwealth there ensued such times, as *the Ro-* “ would not permit the name of *Agricola*, lately returned *mans.* “ from *Britain*, to remain unmentioned ; so many were the

P STRABO, l. vii. p. 297. SUID. Phot. c. 166. Q DIO IN excerpt. VALES. p. 709—761.

(B) *Dio Cassius* observes, that these people were by some *Greek* writers called *Geta* ; but by the *Romans* *Daci*, which was their proper appellation ; for the *Geta* dwelt beyond mount *Hemus*, near the mouth of the *Danube*, and the *Euxine* sea ; but the *Dacians* more to the west, and nearer *Germany* ; that is, according to the opinion of most modern geographers, in the countries now known by the names of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Transylvania*. But, the emperor *Aurelian* having afterwards placed them on this side the *Danube* (we speak with respect to *Rome*), they gave their name to that part of *Illyricum* which they possessed ; and

this is the province, which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was known by the name of *Dacia*. As for the antient *Dacia*, it was then held by the *Goths*, whom *Jornandes*, throughout his history, confounds with the *Dacians* (3).

(C) He is by *Jornandes* (4), and *Orosius* (5), called *Dorpanæus*, and *Diurpanæus* ; for a prince of that name reigned, according to them, in *Dacia*, when the defeat of *Fuscus* happened, of which we shall speak anon ; and, on the other hand, we are told by *Dio Cassius*, that *Fuscus* was overthrown in battle by *Decebalus*.

(3) Vide Lloyd, *diſt. historic.* p. 405. Baud. p. 237. *Jornand. Got. c. 12,*
13, &c. (4) *Jornand. c. 13.* (5) *Oros. l. vii. c. 20.*

Domitian
jealous of
Agricola.

“ armies we had lost in *Mæsia*, *Dacia*, *Germany*, and *Pannonia*, all by the misconduct of our generals. The question and contest were not now about maintaining the limits of the empire, and guarding the rivers which served for its boundaries, but about defending the standing encampments of the legions, and preserving our own territories. Thus, when public calamities were following one another, and each year was become signal for slaughters and misfortunes, *Agricola* was, by the common voice of the populace, required for the command of our armies; for all men were comparing his vigour, his resolution, and experience in war, with the sloth and timidity of the others. The best of *Domitian*’s freedmen advised and pressed him to this choice, out of pure affection and duty; as did the worst, out of violence and envy, hoping by that means to compass the destruction of *Agricola*. But that jealous and distrustful prince dreaded nothing so much, as to see a man of courage and reputation at the head of an army.” Thus much *Tacitus* in general of the war with the *Dacians*, in which the *Romans*, according to that historian, sustained great losses, and had many armies slaughtered, many brave officers killed, and many taken prisoners. For a more particular and distinct account of this destructive war, we must recur to, and depend upon, *Jernandes*.

The Romans
defeated by
the Dacians,
and their
general killed.

ACCORDING to him, the *Dacians*, dreading the effects of the emperor’s avarice, broke the alliance which they had made with his predecessors, crossed the *Danube*, drove away the troops stationed on the banks of that river; and, falling upon *Appius*, or *Oppius Sabinus*, governor of *Mæsia*, defeated and killed him, committing every-where most dreadful devastations, and seizing all the forts and castles raised in their neighbourhood by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Domitian*, having with all possible expedition raised a formidable army, marched himself at the head of it into *Illyricum*. Upon his approach, *Decabalus* dispatched ambassadors to him, declaring, that he was ready to put an end to the war, and renew the former treaties. But *Domitian*, instead of returning any answer to the deputies, ordered the flower of his forces to advance against the *Dacians*, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuscus*, captain of the prætorian guards. He was, according to *Tacitus**, of an illustrious descent, and had in his early youth, from a passion for solitude and repose, divested himself of the senatorial dignity. Upon the death of *Nero*, he declared for *Galba*, by whom he was created procurator of *Illyricum*. Afterwards he

* *TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 41.*
c. 86.

† *TACIT. hist. lib. ii.*

joined the party of *Vespasian* against *Vitellius*, and to the use of war added, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, fresh blood; for he took not so much delight in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves. He was second in the command of the forces under the famous *Antonius Primus*, and honoured in the senate, after the death of *Vitellius*, with the ornaments of the prætorship. *Domitian* conferred upon him the command of the prætorian guards. But, after all, he was not, if *Venul* is to be credited^t, sufficiently qualified for the chief command of an army. Hence *Decebalus*, despising such a general, sent a fresh embassy to *Domitian*, offering to conclude a peace with him, upon condition that each *Roman* should him yearly two *oboli*; and threatening, if they rejected the proposal, to pursue the war with vigour, and destroy their territories with fire and sword. The *Romans* were so provoked with the insolence of this proposal, that they demanded to be led forth with against the enemy. Accordingly *Fuscus*, being caused his army to pass the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered the *Dacian* territories, where, after several mischances, *Decebalus* and *Fuscus* agreed to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement. Both armies fought with equal bravery and resolution, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly routed, *They are* *Fuscus* himself slain. The *Dacians* took one eagle, a defeated a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vast second number of captives, who were afterwards found in the enemy's time, and killed, and released by the emperor *Trajan*^u. *Fuscus* *their general killed*. THE news of this defeat alarmed *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, where he made a no less dreadful ha-
rak of the senate and people, than the *Dacians* had done of soldiery. He strove at first to smother the dismal tidings; but, finding they were by common fame divulged all over the city, and even magnified, he left *Rome* a second time, giving command, that he would head the army in person. But, arriving in *Moesia*, he stopped in a city of that province, and sent forward his generals against the enemy. Many bloody battles were fought with various success, fortune being sometimes favorable to the *Romans*, sometimes to the *Dacians*^w. *Julia* The *Dacians* re-obliging his soldiers to write their names on their bucklers, receive a great o-
t he might by that means the more effectually encourage great o-
upbraid each particular^x. On this occasion *Vezinas*, who, northro

^t JUVEN. sat. iv. ver. 112.

^u JORNAND. de reb. Goth.

^v 13. OROS. l. vii c. 8. DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 773 JUV. sat. iv.

^w TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 2.

^x DIO, l. lxxvii.

762. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 709.

among the *Dacians*, was next in authority to *Decebalus*, finding no other means to make his escape, concealed himself amongst the dead, and in the night retired undiscovered. *Decebalus*, apprehending the *Romans* might, after their victory, lay siege to his capital, felled, during the night, a great number of trees in a neighbouring wood, covered the trunks of them with armour, and, by that contrivance, prevented the *Romans*, who mistook them for soldiers, from pursuing the advantages of their victory. However, *Decebalus* was at length reduced to great straits, and obliged to sue for peace; which *Domitian* would not grant him upon any terms whatsoever. But, instead of pursuing the war with vigour, and forcing him, as he might easily have done, to submit at discretion, he turned his arms against the *Quadians* and *Marcomanians*, because they had sent him no succours during the war with the *Dacians*.

THESE two nations, though signal in force and renown, declining to involve their respective countries in an unnecessary war, sent deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hostilities, which they were not conscious to themselves to have provoked. But *Domitian*, instead of hearkening to their intreaties, caused their ambassadors, in defiance of the right of nations, to be murdered; which so provoked those warlike people, that, drawing together all their youth, they took the field, engaged *Domitian*, and put him to flight. Then the cowardly prince, now no less dejected upon his defeat, than lately elated with his victory, dispatched ambassadors to *Decebalus*, with offers of peace upon very advantageous terms; which the *Dacian* thought it adviseable to accept, since his army had been greatly weakened by the many battles he had fought. However, he refused to go in person to *Domitian*; but sent his brother to treat with the emperor, whom *Domitian* received with particular marks of friendship and esteem, delivering to him a diadem for *Decebalus*, and by that means acknowledging him for king. Besides the diadem, he presented him with large sums; sent to him, at his request, a great number of artificers and workmen of all professions; and engaged to pay him yearly a certain sum, which, to the reign of *Trajan*, was punctually conveyed to him; but that prince would not submit to the payment of so shameful a tribute, saying, That he had never been overcome by *Decebalus*. *Domitian*, upon the conclusion of such an opprobrious peace, acquainted the senate by letters, that he had at length

Domitian
defeated
by the Mar-
comanians.
Concludes
a disbo-
nourable
peace with
the Da-
cians.

† D10, l. lxvii. p. 762. & l. lxviii. p. 771. MART. lib. v. epigr. 3.

obliged the *Dacians* to submit to the *Roman* yoke; and at the same time dispatched to *Rome* the ambassadors of *Decabalus*, with a letter written to him by that prince, or, as was most commonly believed, feigned by the emperor himself, wherein the *Dacian* owned himself conquered, and no longer able to withstand the gallantry of the *Roman* troops, led on by so brave and valiant a commander as *Domitian*.

HEREUPON the senate decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return, triumphing at the same time over the *Dacians*, of whom he had, with an annual tribute, purchased a peace, and over the *Quadians* and *Marcomanians*, by whom he had been utterly defeated, and driven out of the field^a; for his triumphs, says *Pliny*, were ever certain proofs of signal advantages gained by the enemy. However, the poets who flourished under him, extol these mock-victories, and compare them to those gained by the *Scipio's* and *Cæsars*. *Domitian*, before he left *Dacia*, caused a stately monument to be erected to the memory of *Cornelius Fuscus*^b (D).

THE following year *Domitian* was consul the thirteenth time with *L. Saturninus*; but nothing happened, during their administration, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. But, the following year, when *Domitian* was consul the fourteenth time, with *L. Mæcius Rufus*, is remarkable for the celebration of the *secular games*, so called, because they were to be solemnized once in an age. They had been celebrated but forty-one years before by *Claudius*; but *Domitian* computed the time from their being exhibited by *Augustus*^c. They ended, as appears from several medals which have reached our age, some time after the ides of *September*, in the eighth year of *Domitian's* reign^d, while *Tacitus* the historian was prætor^e. *Domitian*, pursuing this year the carnage he had begun before he left *Rome* to wage war with the *Dacians*, filled the city with funeral, putting all

^a DIO, p. 761. SÜET. c. 6. EUSEB. in chron. ^b PLIN. paneg. p. 21.

^c MART. l. vi. ep. 76.

^d SÜET. c. 4.

^e ONUPH. lud.

^f TACIT. annal. l. xi. c. 12.

(D) *Pliny* complains, that *Domitian*, in his marches and journeys, behaved more like an enemy than a prince, exacting immense sums from the inhabitants of the countries through which

he passed, pillaging their houses, laying waste their fields, and obliging them to supply, at a vast charge, with all manner of provisions, both him and his numerous retinue (6).

(6) *Plin. paneg. p. 35, 36.*

those to death, who, on account of their birth or virtue, gave him the least umbrage^f.

THIS general slaughter was, in all likelihood produced by the revolt of *L. Antonius*, which happened this year. *L. Antonius* was governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had two legions under his command. Being provoked with the tyrannical conduct of the emperor, and depending upon the fidelity of his soldiers, whose affections he had gained by his mild and obliging behaviour, he at once took upon him the imperial title, and, as such, was acknowledged by the forces he commanded, and likewise by most of the *German* nations, who promised him powerful succours, not from any esteem or kindness they had for him, but through hatred to *Domitian*. The news of this revolt no sooner reached *Rome*, than *Domitian*, quitting the city, hastened to suppress it, leading with him the prætorian bands, and the flower of the troops quartered in *Italy*, all the senators, and the greater part of the *Roman* knights, even such as had absented themselves from the city, and long led a retired life, lest they should be afterwards accused of having abandoned the emperor in time of danger; a charge which might have cost them their lives. But he had not proceeded far on his march, ere he received certain account of the total overthrow of *Antonius*, whose army was intirely cut off, and he himself slain, by *L. Maximus*, according to some writers, or, as others will have it, by *Appius Norbanus*^g (E). While the armies of *Antonius* and *Maximus* were engaged on the banks of the *Rhine*, the river swelled on a sudden to such an height, that the *Germans*, who came to the assistance of *Antonius*, could not cross it; so that his army was intirely destroyed. *Antonius* himself being killed in the battle, his head was cut off, and sent to *Rome*^h (F). *Maximus* on this occasion

who is defeated, and killed.

^f EUSEB. in chron. ^g DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 764. Idem in excerpt. VAL. p. 709. PLUT. in vit. Æmil. ^h SUET. c. 6. DIO, in excerpt. VAL. p. 709.

(E) Perhaps these four names belonged to one and the same person; at least, a letter written by *Domitian* to *L. Appius Maximus* has reached our times (7); and one *Appius Maximus* is said, in an antient inscription, to have

happily ended the war in *Germany* (8).

(F) *Suetonius* tells us, that, the very day on which the battle was fought, an eagle, placing herself upon one of the emperor's statues at *Rome*, covered it with

(7) Vide Ouseb. in fast. p. 216.

(8) Idem ibid.

sion displayed no less prudence after the victory, than he had done courage in gaining it; for, upon the death of *Antonius*, he seized and burnt all his papers, that the emperor might not make use of them to the prejudice of any man.

DOMITIAN, however, made a diligent search after his accomplices, torturing in a most cruel manner persons of all ranks and conditions, upon the least suspicion of their having been privy to the conspiracy, or having lived in friendship and intimacy with *Antonius*. On this occasion great numbers of *Great* persons were executed or banished, and their estates seized *numbers of persons executed.* Of the many who were accused, two persons only escaped unpunished, to wit, a tribune of senatorial dignity, and a centurion, who saved their lives at the expence of their reputation, by making it appear, that they had been pathics, and consequently incapable of engaging in any hazardous enterprize, or having any interest in matters of this nature, either with the general, or the army. After this revolt, *Domitian* would not suffer two legions to be quartered in the same camp during the winter; but kept them all separate, and at some distance from each other, lest, depending upon their strength, they should form dangerous designs, and raise new disturbances*. This year another counterfeit *Nero* appeared in *Asia*; and having, with a great multitude of followers, struck terror into the neighbouring provinces, retired to the court of the *Parthian* king, who received him with great marks of distinction, supplied him with a chosen body of troops, and seemed inclined to quarrel, on his account, with the *Romans*. But in the end he was prevailed upon by *Domitian* to deliver him up to the governor of *Syria*¹ (G).

THE following year, *T. Aurelius Fulvius* and *L. Atratinus* *Domitian* being consuls, *Domitian* took the title of emperor three times; *takes the*

¹ *SUET.* c. 10. ² *DIO*, p. 764. ³ *TACIT.* hist. l. i. c. 2.
SUET. c. 6.

her wings, making a noise which expressed a kind of joy; and that at the same time a report prevailed all over the city, that *Antonius* was overcome, and utterly defeated; nay, that he was killed, and that his head was brought to *Rome*; which several persons affirmed they had seen (9).

(G) This, without all doubt, is what gave occasion to the poet *Silius* to celebrate the emperor's triumphs, and extol his victories over the *Ganges*, the *Bactrians*, and, in short, over all the countries of the East (1).

(9) *Plut. in Æmil.* p. 489. *Suet.* c. 6.

(1) *Sil.* l. iii. v.

title of
emperor
three
times.

Acilius
Glabrio
put to
death.
Domitian
exhibits
magnifi-
cent shows.

but for what exploits, we know not (H). The next consuls were *Domitian* the fifteenth time, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*, who was afterwards raised to the empire, the second time; for he had been consul in the second year of *Vespasian's* reign (I). Nothing happened this year, either at *Rome*, or in the provinces, which the few historians who have written of these times, and whose works have reached us, thought worth recording. The consuls of the following year were *M. Ulpius Trajanus*, who succeeded *Nerva* in the empire, and *Acilius Glabrio*. As *Glabrio* was a man of great strength and activity, the emperor obliged him to fight in the arena with an huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The people with loud shouts applauded his victory; which roused the jealousy of the emperor, who thereupon, under colour of some crime or other, banished him, and soon after caused him to be murdered in the place of his exile, as if he had attempted to raise disturbances in the state (K). This year *Domitian* exhibited a great many shows, both in the amphitheatre, and the circus, which are celebrated by the writers of those times as the most costly and magnificent that *Rome* had ever beheld. Near the *Tiber* he caused a vast lake to be dug, in which a

^m Dio, p. 766. SUET. c. 10.

(H) Some writers, and, among the rest, the learned cardinal *Noris*, are of opinion, that *Domitian* this year undertook a second expedition against the *Germans* (2); the more, because the poet *Statius* supposes the *Germans* to have been by *Domitian* twice conquered (3). But these triumphs were in all likelihood only for pretended victories, and real overthrows. Thus we have seen him triumph over the *Dacians*, of whom he had purchased a peace, by engaging to pay them an annual tribute; and over the *Marcomanians* and *Quadians*, by whom he had been shamefully put to flight.

(I) Some modern writers (4)

tell us, that, having been banished by *Domitian* the year before, in this he was recalled, and honoured with the consulship. They quote *Dio Cassius*; but in that writer we find no such account. *Philostatus* indeed writes, that *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, was banished to *Tarentum*; but from his words it is manifest, that *Nerva* did not incur the displeasure of *Domitian*, till he had finished his second consulship (5).

(K) A modern writer would vain persuade us, that he was put to death for professing the Christian religion (6); but the arguments he makes use of are destitute of all solidity, and quite trifling.

(2) *Noris*, *op. usq.* 17c.
de Calais,
en. ad ann. 74.

(3) *Stat. Theb. l. i. ver. 19.*
(5) *Phil. vit. Apoll. 93. l. vii. c. 3.*

(4) *Patev.*
(6) *Bas-*

sea-fight was represented, with such numbers of ships as amounted to complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but women, entered the lists. In the amphitheatre two great combats were exhibited, one of horse, the other of foot: with the former, which was quite new, the populace were so taken, that, forgetting the emperor's cruelties, they bestowed upon him higher encomiums than they had ever given either to *Vespasian* or *Titus*. During the sea-fight, a violent shower fell; but nevertheless the emperor continued till the fight was ended, often changing his cloaths, and would not suffer any of the spectators to retire; whence, as the shower lasted some hours, many were seized with distempers, and some even died ⁿ (L).

ⁿ Suet. c. 4. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 762, 763.

(L) *Dio Cassius* describes at large an entertainment, to which the emperor invited the principal men among the senators and knights; an entertainment, says that writer, which, more than any thing else, displays his tyrannical temper, and how wantonly he abused his power. At the entrance of the palace, the guests were received with great ceremony, and conducted to a spacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated with a few melancholy lamps, which were only sufficient to discover the horror of the place, and the several coffins, upon which were written, in capitals, the names of the several senators and knights invited. Great was their fright and consternation at the sight of so dismal a scene; for the emperor had often publicly declared, that he could not think himself safe so long as one senator was left alive, and that amongst the knights there were few whom he did not look upon as his ene-

mies. After they had long waited, expecting every moment their last doom, the doors were at length all on a sudden burst open, when a great number of naked persons, having their bodies all over dyed black, entered the hall, with drawn swords in one hand, and flaming torches in the other. The guests, at this dreadful appearance, giving themselves up for lost, already felt all the agonies of death; but those whom they looked upon as their executioners, having for some time danced round them, at once set open the doors, and acquainted them, that the emperor gave the company leave to withdraw. Thus did *Domitian* insult these two illustrious orders, shewing, says *Dio Cassius*, how little he feared them, and at the same time with how much reason they might dread his resentment, since it was in his power to cut them all off, without exposing himself to the least danger (7).

(7) *Dio*, l. lxxvii. p. 769.

His edict
against
planting
of vines.

THE next consuls were, *Domitian* the sixteenth time, and *Q. Volusius Saturninus*. This year the emperor observing a vast plenty of wine, and as great a scarcity of corn, concluded from thence, that the husbandmen neglected the tillage of the earth, to attend the cultivating of their vines. To prevent therefore this inconvenience for the future, he published an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in *Italy*, and commanding half the vines in the provinces to be immediately rooted up. Hereupon the cities of *Asia* sent a solemn embassy to him, begging he would suspend the execution of the edict with respect to their lands, since their chief revenues accrued from wine, and the neighbouring provinces abounded with corn. At the head of this embassy was *Scopelianus*, professor of eloquence at *Smyrna*, who, insinuating himself with wonderful address into the emperor's favour, prevailed upon him, if *Philostratus* is to be credited^o, to repeal the edict, and allow all nations subject to *Rome* full liberty of planting and cultivating what vines they pleased (M).

The death
of Agri-
cola.

THE following year *Pompeius Collega* and *D. Priscus* were consuls. *Pliny* names the former among the consulars, who were still living in the reign of *Trajan*^p (N). This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated *Agricola*. His end proved afflicting to his family, says *Tacitus*, sorrowful to his friends, and matter of trouble even to foreigners, and such as knew him not. The common people, during his sickness, were not only frequent in their visits to his house; but in all public places, in all private companies, made him the subject of their conversation: nor, when his death was divulged, was there a soul found, who did not lament it as a public misfortune. What heightened the general concern was a

^o PHILOSTR. vit. Apol. Ty. c. 17.

^p PLIN. l. ii. epist. 11.

(M) *Suetonius* tells us, that to this he was chiefly prompted by the general discontent, which his edict produced amongst persons of all ranks, both in the city, and the provinces, where many lampoons were published; one among the rest, importing, that, in spite of all edicts, wine would not be wanting for the sacrificing of *Cæsar* (8). But, after all, *Eutropius* (9) and *Vopiscus* (1) speak of this edict as continuing in full

force in most provinces of the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Probus*, that is, for the space of almost two hundred years.

(N) From an antient inscription it appears, that both consuls resigned the fasces on the thirteenth of *July*; the former to *M. Lollius Paulinus Valerius Asiaticus*; and the latter to *G. Antius Julius Quadratus*.

(8) *Suet.* c. 14.

(9) *Eutrop.* p. 240.

(1) *Vopisc.* p. 245.

prevailing rumour, that he was dispatched by poison. That Domitian there was any proof of this, *Tacitus*, his son-in-law, will *suspected* not take upon him to aver. However, he tells us, that, *of having* during the whole course of his illness, *Domitian* caused frequent visits to be made him, indeed much more frequent than princes are wont to make, both by his favourite freedmen, *caused him to be poisoned*, and his most trusty physicians; whether from real concern for his health, or eagerness to learn the probability of his death, our historian will not determine. It is certain, that, on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were by messengers, purposely placed, every instant transmitted to the emperor, informing him how fast his end was approaching; and no one believed he would have been thus eager to hear tidings, had he been to feel any sorrow from hearing them. However, upon the news of his death, he affected to shew in his countenance some grief and concern; for, being now secure against the object of his hatred, he could more easily dissemble his present joy, than lately his fear. It is incredible how great was the satisfaction which he expressed, when, upon reading the last will of *Agricola*, he found himself left joint-heir with his excellent wife, and tender daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice; so blinded he was by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no prince, but a tyrant, did ever any good father bequeath his fortune.

Year of
the flood
2443.
Of Chr.
93.
Of Rome
843.

AGRICOLA was born, according to *Tacitus*, on the thirteenth of *June*, during the third consulship of the emperor *Caligula*, and died on the twenty-fourth of *August*, during the consulship of *Colliga* and *Priscus*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the ninety-third of the Christian æra, and twelfth of *Domitian's* reign (N).

TACITUS delivers the following glorious and affecting character of him: "If posterity desires to know his make and *His cha-*
person, he was rather genteel and well-proportioned, than *raiser.*
tall: in his aspect there was nothing terrible; his looks
were extremely gracious and pleasing: a good man you

9 *TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 44.*

(N) As to the time of *Agricola's* birth, some mistake has certainly crept into the text of *Tacitus*, there being but fifty-three years, two months, and some days, from the thirteenth of *June*, of the year of the Christian æra 40. when *Caligula* was the third

time consul, to the twenty-fourth of *August*, in the year 93. *Agricola* therefore either died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, or was born in the second consulship of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 38. of the Christian æra.

Tacitus's
affecting
address to
him after
his death.

“ would have readily believed him, and been glad to have
 “ found, that he was a great man. The’ he was snatched
 “ away, while his age was yet in full vigour ; yet, if his life
 “ be measured by his glory, he attained to a great length of
 “ days. For every true felicity, namely, such as arises from
 “ virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had
 “ been likewise distinguished with the consular and triumphal
 “ honours, what more could fortune add to his lustre and re-
 “ nown ? Excessive wealth he coveted not ; an honourable
 “ share he possessed. As behind him he left surviving his
 “ daughter and his wife, he may be even accounted happy,
 “ since, by dying while his credit was no-way stained, while
 “ his fame was in its full splendor, and his relations and
 “ friends in a state of security, he escaped the evils to come,
 “ and the misery of the latter times.” We shall close our
 account of this great commander, this virtuous citizen, with
 the tender and affecting words of *Tacitus*, who thus addresses
 him after his death : “ Happy therefore art thou, *Agricola*,
 “ not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was
 “ seasonable ! Thou didst, as I am informed by those who
 “ heard thy last words, accept thy fate cheerfully, and with
 “ firmness ; as if, for thy part, thou wouldst have saved the
 “ credit of the prince. But to myself, and thy daughter,
 “ besides the grief of having our father snatched from us, it
 “ proves a further accession of sorrow, that we had not an
 “ opportunity of attending thee in thy sickness, of cherishing
 “ thy drooping spirits, and pleasing ourselves with seeing and
 “ embracing thee. We should greedily have received thy
 “ instructions and precepts, and engraved them for ever in
 “ our hearts. This is our grief, this our unspeakable misfor-
 “ tune, that, by our long absence from thee, thou wast al-
 “ ready lost to us four years before thy death. Thou wast,
 “ no doubt, abundantly supplied with whatever thy condition
 “ required, by thy loving wife, the best of mothers, who
 “ attended thee. Yet fewer tears were shed at thy funeral,
 “ and at thy last hour somewhat was wanting to satisfy thine
 “ eyes. If for the manes of good men any place be allotted ;
 “ if, as philosophers hold, the spirits of great men perish
 “ not with their bodies ; pleasing be thy repose ! Recal us,
 “ thy family, from this our weakness in bewailing thee, to
 “ the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjust
 “ to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory
 “ with immortal praises, and by following, as far as our
 “ weakness will allow, and adopting, thy excellencies. This is
 “ true honour, this the duty incumbent upon every near re-
 “ lation. Thus I would have thy daughter and wife to re-
 “ verence the memory of a father and husband, and to be
 “ ever

“ ever ruminating upon all his doings and sayings ; and rather
 “ to adore the image of his mind, than that of his person.
 “ Not that I mean to condemn the use of statues in marble
 “ or brass ; but, as the persons of men are frail and perishing,
 “ so are likewise the images of them : the form of the
 “ mind is eternal, and cannot be represented or preserved by
 “ art or materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwise but by
 “ a conformity of manners. What we loved in *Agricola*,
 “ what we admired, remains, and will for ever remain, im-
 “ printed in the minds of men, and conveyed through a con-
 “ tinual succession of ages by the voice of fame to the latest
 “ posterity. Many of the antients lie buried in an obscure
 “ and inglorious oblivion ; but *Agricola* shall live recom-
 “ mended to future ages, and his fame continue for ever.”
 Thus far *Tacitus*, who wrote the life of *Agricola* in the reign
 of the emperor *Trajan* ; without which, and a short passage
 in *Dio Cassius*, the memory and exploits of one of the greatest
 commanders, and best citizens, *Rome* ever bred, would have
 been buried in oblivion (O).

THE same year *Bebius Massa*, an infamous accuser, was *Bebius*
 himself accused of extortion by the *Bithynians*, whom he *Massa*, a
 had plundered and oppressed in a most tyrannical manner, noted ac-
 while he governed that province. The senate appointed cuser, ar-
Pliny the younger, and *Herennius Senecio*, originally a *Bithy*
nian, and formerly quæstor in the same province, to plead raigned.
 the cause of the *Bithynians* ; which they did so effectually,
 that *Bebius* was condemned by the senate, and the consuls
 were ordered to seize his estate and effects. But as they,
 taken up with more pressing affairs, put off from day to day
 the execution of the judgment, *Senecio*, fearing the delinquent
 might in the mean time privately convey away part of his
 goods, resolved to apply to them for an immediate execution
 of the sentence, and begged *Pliny* to act therein in concert
 with him. *Pliny* at first declined engaging in an affair, which
 he thought foreign to the profession of a pleader ; but *Senecio*

† *TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 45, 46.*

(O) *Tacitus*, as he himself in-
 forms us, had, together with his
 wife, been four years absent from
Rome, when his father-in-law
 died ; but where, or on what
 account, we are no-where told.
 Some writers, without the least
 foundation, suppose him to have

been banished by *Domitian* ; but
Lipsius is of opinion, that he re-
 tired of his own accord from the
 city, not being able, as he was
 a man of a virtuous and humane
 spirit, to behold the sufferings of
 the *Romans* under so cruel and
 bloody a tyrant (2).

(2) *Lips. vit. Tacit.*

continuing

The constancy and firmness of Pliny.

Domitian's expedition against the Sarmatians.

The calamity of the times.

continuing obstinate in his resolution, he at length consented to solicit jointly with him the consuls, to seize without delay the effects of *Bebius*, that reparation might thence be made of the losses sustained by the *Bithynians*. Accordingly they went together to the consuls, where they found *Bebius*, who, upon hearing their suit, was so provoked against *Senecio*, that he summoned him before the emperor, as guilty of treason. The very name of treason struck the whole assembly with terror. But *Pliny*, without betraying the least fear, addressing *Bebius*, told him, he was sorry he did not charge him with the same crime, since, by his not accusing him, as well as *Senecio*, of treason, men might believe, that he had not acted against him with equal zeal; and that he should be grieved, if he knew, that any one entertained of him so bad an opinion. This firmness and intrepidity in *Pliny* was by all highly applauded; and *Nerva*, who was at that time in exile at *Tarentum*, congratulated him by letters upon his steady conduct. *Pliny* himself wrote to *Tacitus*, acquainting him with what had passed, and begging him to insert it in his history, which he looked upon as a work that would never die; but the letter of *Pliny* has outlived that part of *Tacitus's* history *. This year *Domitian* undertook an expedition against the *Sarmatians*, who had cut in pieces a whole legion, with the officer who commanded them †: but, as to the issue of this war, we are quite in the dark: all we know is, that, on this occasion, he quarreled likewise with the *Marcomanians*; and, on his return, assumed the title of emperor for the twenty-second and last time. He returned to *Rome* in the month of *January*, and, instead of triumphing, contented himself with presenting a crown of laurel to *Jupiter Capitolinus* ‡. *Statius* § and *Martial* ¶ make frequent mention of this war, extolling, with their usual flattery, the supposed exploits, and pretended victories, of their hero.

THE following year, *L. Nannius Asprenas* and *Sextilius Lateranus* being consuls, *Domitian* began to rend the commonwealth with cruelties without all respite, as *Tacitus* expresses it †, and to put in execution the design, which he had long since formed, of utterly extirpating the senate, and destroying all who were any-way considerable either for their birth or virtue. That historian describes the miseries of these calamitous times in general terms thus: “The islands were

* *PLIN.* l. vii. epist. 33. & l. iii. epist. 4.

† *Idem* *ibid.* § *STAT.* syl. l. iii. p. 398, &c.

‡ *l. vii. epigr.* 1, 4, 7. & l. viii. epigr. 8, 15, &c.

¶ *vic. Agr.* c. 44.

† *SUET.* c. 6,

‡ *MART.*

§ *TACIT.*

“ and blood. But more hideous still were the ravages of
 “ cruelty at *Rome*. It was treasonable to be noble ; capital
 “ to be rich ; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to
 “ have declined them ; and the reward of worth and virtue
 “ was quick and inevitable destruction. Nor were the iniqui-
 “ ties of the informers more shocking, than their great and
 “ distinguishing rewards ; for upon some were bestowed, as
 “ the spoils of the state, the pontifical dignities, and those of
 “ the consulship ; others were sent with the character of pro-
 “ curators into the provinces ; some were made prime mi-
 “ nisters and confidants at home ; and in every station exert-
 “ ing all their terrors, and pursuing their hatred, they con-
 “ trouled and confounded all things. Slaves were suborned
 “ against their masters, freedmen against their patrons ; and
 “ such as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their
 “ friends. The age, however,” continues our historian,
 “ was not so utterly destitute of all virtue, as not to afford
 “ commendable examples of friendship and magnanimity.
 “ There were mothers, who accompanied their banished sons ;
 “ wives, who followed their husbands into exile ; in relations
 “ were found resolution and succour ; in sons-in-law con-
 “ stancy and duty ; in slaves such fidelity, as baffled all the
 “ menaces and horrors of the torture ; illustrious men strug-
 “ gling under the greatest distress, supporting it with con-
 “ stancy, and displaying a fortitude in death equal to that of
 “ the most celebrated antients .” The same writer, after
 having recounted the death of *Agricola* ; “ He saw not,”
 adds he, “ the court of the senate besieged, nor the senate
 “ inclosed with armed men, nor the butchery of so many
 “ persons of consular dignity, nor the flight and exile of so
 “ many women of the prime nobility, all effected in one
 “ continued havock. Even *Nero* with-held his eyes from
 “ scenes of cruelty : he indeed ordered murders to be per-
 “ petrated, but saw them not. The principal part of our
 “ miseries under *Domitian* was to be obliged to see him, and
 “ be seen by him, at a time when all our sighs and sorrows
 “ were watched and marked down for condemnation ; when
 “ that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a settled
 “ red, whence he hardened himself against shame and blush-
 “ ing, served him to observe all the pale horrors at once pos-
 “ sessing so many illustrious men .” Thus *Tacitus* describes
 in general terms the calamities of those unhappy times.

THE persons whom he mentions in particular to have been
 this year put to death by *Domitian*, are *Helvidius*, *Rusticus*,
 and *Senecio*. *Helvidius* was the son of the celebrated *Helvi-*

Helvidi-
us, *Senecio*, and
Rusticus,
 put to
 death.

* *Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 2.*

* *Idem, vit. Agr. c. 44.*

dius Priscus, of whom we have spoken above. He had been raised to the consulship, in what year we know not; and was, on account of his extraordinary virtue, abilities, and accomplishments, in great credit with persons of all ranks, tho' he endeavoured, through fear of giving the emperor umbrage, to shun the applauses of the multitude, and conceal his talents in solitude and retirement. However, he was accused of treason; and it was pretended, that in a poem, by him composed, he had, under the borrowed names of *Paris* and *Oenone*, reflected on the emperor for divorcing his wife *Domitia*. When the accused appeared to plead his cause before the senate, one of the judges, by name *Publicius Certus*, formerly prætor, seized him with the assistance of some other senators, and, without allowing him to speak in his own defence, dragged him to prison, where he was, by the emperor's order, soon after executed ^b. As for *Certus*, he was named for the consulship, which he seems to have discharged four years after, that is, in the second year of *Nerva's* reign, when *Pliny* demanded leave of the senate to arraign him as a criminal, in order to clear his friend *Helvidius*, and make his innocence appear, at least after his death, since no one had been allowed to speak in his favour while living. The senate put a stop to all prosecutions of this nature, but yet degraded *Certus*, and deprived him of the consular dignity; whence he died a few days after in great agonies and terror, imagining, as he himself owned, that *Pliny* pursued him with a drawn sword. *Pliny* published the speech, which he pronounced against him in the senate; but it has been long since lost ^c. *Herennius Senecio* was, as we have related above, accused of treason by *Bebius Massa*, whom he had accused of extortion at the suit of the *Bithynians*. The charge alleged against him was, that he had written the life of *Helvidius Priscus*, at the request of *Fannia* his widow, and made use of the memoirs with which she had furnished him. Tho' *Senecio* had, with all possible care, avoided such expressions as might seem in the least to reflect on the emperor, yet, because he could not help commending a man whom the prince had condemned, *Domitian* caused him to be sentenced to death, and the sentence to be without delay put in execution.

FANNIA owned, of her own accord, that she had persuaded *Senecio* to write the life of her husband, and supplied him with materials for it. For this crime she was, by a decree of the senate, confined to a desert island, whither she

*Fannia,
she wife*

^b Suet. c. 10. Plin. l. ix. epist. 13.
13. & l. vii. epist. 33.

^c Plin. l. ix. epist.

carried with her, as her only comfort, the history of her of ~~Seneca~~ husband's actions, which had been the cause of her banishment, tho' it was declared capital to read or keep it. *Arria*, her mother, the widow of the famous *Pætus Thrasea*, was likewise banished; but they were both called home in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva*^d. The emperor, as *Tacitus* informs us^e, did not content himself with condemning *Senecio* for celebrating the praises of *Helvidius Priscus*, and *Arulenus Rusticus*, of whom anon, for those of *Pætus Thrasea*; but ordered the magistrates to commit their books to the flames, imagining, that, in the same fire, he should abolish the voice and utterance of the *Roman* people, with the liberty of the senate, and all the ideas and memory of mankind. The third person, mentioned by *Tacitus* to have been sacrificed by *Domitian* this year, was *Lucius Junius Arulenus Rusticus*. He professed the philosophy of the *Stoics*, was tribune of the people when *Pætus Thrasea* was condemned by a decree of the senate in the reign of *Nero*, and, as such, would have interposed against it, had not *Thrasea* himself restrained him^f. He was prætor in the short reign of *Vitellius*, by whom he was sent to *Petilius Cerealis*, one of *Vespasian's* commanders, to mediate an accommodation. On which occasion he was wounded by the soldiery, who sternly rejected all terms of peace; and, notwithstanding the character of an ambassador, altogether sacred, would have been massacred, had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by *Cerealis*^g. The crime laid to his charge by *Domitian* was his having, in a book published by him, commended *Thrasea*, and likewise *Helvidius Priscus*, as men of honour and integrity. He was accused by one *Marcus Regulus*, who even published a book filled with most bitter invectives against him^h (P).

JUNIUS

^d PLIN. l. vii. epist. 19, & l. ix. epist. 13. DIO, l. lxvii. p. 765. Suet. c. 10. ^e TACIT. vii. Agr. c. 2. ^f TACIT. annal. l. xvi. c. 26. ^g Idem, annal. l. iii. c. 80. ^h TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2. Suet. c. 10. DIO, l. lxvii. p. 765. PLIN. l. i. epist. 5.

(P) *Pliny* seems to have entertained a mighty opinion of his accomplishments and integrity⁽³⁾; as does likewise *Plutarch*, who tells us, that he was, by *Domitian's* orders, put to death for no

crime of his own, but merely to remove from the emperor's sight one, who, by his exemplary life, seemed to reproach him with his debaucheries. That writer adds, that, while he himself was

Several
illustrious
persons banished.

All philo-
sophers
driven out
of Rome.

JUNIUS MAURICUS, the brother of *Rusticus*, who is highly commended by *Pliny* ⁱ, was banished; as was likewise *Pomponia Gratilla*, the wife of *Rusticus*; but they were both recalled by the emperor *Nerva* ^k. At the same time was executed, by the emperor's orders, one *Hermogenes of Tarsus*, being accused of speaking disrespectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in an history which he composed: all those, who were concerned in transcribing or selling it, were condemned to be crucified ^l. The same year, and chiefly out of hatred to *Rusticus*, who, as we have hinted above, professed the philosophy of the *Stoics*, all philosophers were, by a decree of the senate, driven out of *Rome*, and every laudable science expelled *Italy*, that nothing, which was worthy and honest, says *Tacitus*, might any-where be seen ^m. *Epictetus*, the famous *Stoic*, was, in virtue of this decree, obliged to abandon the city ⁿ. *Lucius Telestinus*, who had been consul in the reign of *Nero*, chose rather to retire from his native country, as a philosopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing that profession ^o. *Pliny* bestows mighty encomiums upon the philosopher *Artemidorus*, who, on this occasion, left *Rome*. He had contracted great debts, but for laudable purposes, says *Pliny*, who supplied him with money to discharge them, when his other friends, tho' possessed of great wealth, abandoned him in his distress. The philosopher would afterwards have reimbursed *Pliny*; but he generously presented him with the sum which was owing to him ^p. *Pliny* went frequently to visit him in the place of his retirement; by which means he exposed himself to no small danger, his actions and conduct being the more narrowly observed, as he was at that time prætor.

ⁱ PLIN. l. i. epist. 14.

^k PLIN. ibid. & l. v. epist. 13.

^l SÛET. c. 10.

^m TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2.

ⁿ GELL. noct.

Attic. l. xv. c. 11.

^o PHILOSTR. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vii. c. 5.

^p PLIN. l. iii. epist. 11.

one day declaiming in public, a soldier, entering the assembly, presented to *Rusticus*, who was hearkening to him with great attention, a letter from the emperor. Hereupon he immediately interrupted his discourse; but *Rusticus*, putting the letter, without even opening it, into his

bosom, desired him to pursue his speech, and would not open the letter till *Plutarch* had done (4). *Dio Cassius* writes, that *Domitian*, not long before he was killed, dreamt, that *Rusticus* was pursuing him with a drawn sword (5).

(4) *Plut. curios. p.* 927.

(5) *Dio, l. lxxvii. p.* 767.

HE was himself well apprised, that *Domitian* suspected *Pliny* him, as he had lived in great intimacy with *Senecio*, *Helvidius*, and *Rusticus*. And truly, had not *Domitian* been seasonably cut off, *Pliny* would have undergone the same doom which most of his friends had suffered: for, after the emperor's death, a memorial was found among his papers, presented to him against *Pliny* by the celebrated informer *Metius Carus* &c. Some philosophers, dreading the resentment of the emperor, renounced their profession, and increased the herd of informers. Some, abandoning *Italy*, fled to the most western coasts of *Gaul*; and others to the deserts of *Libya* and *Scythia*. *Dio Chrysostomus*, a celebrated sophist, took shelter in the country of the *Gætæ*, where he earned a livelihood by tilling the ground, and carrying water, having always with him, to comfort him in his distress, a treatise of *Plato*, and an oration of *Demosthenes* &c. In the height of this persecution, *Apollonius Tyaneus* came to *Rome*, in *Philostratus* is to be credited &c; and was there received with great marks of esteem and veneration by *Cæsparius Ælianus*, commander of the prætorian guards. Apollonius Tyaneus comes to Rome.

HE had not been long in the city, ere he contracted a strict friendship with *Nerva*, *Rufus*, and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, whom he solicited to conspire against *Domitian*, and to deliver the world from so bloody a tyrant. The author of his life tells us, that the conspiracy was actually formed; but that the conspirators putting off, for want of courage, the execution of it, the emperor, in the mean time, suspecting their design, accused them of treason before the senate: the charge was not proved; but nevertheless *Rufus* and *Orfitus* were confined to the islands, and *Nerva* to the city of *Tarentum* &c. *Orfitus* was soon after put to death in the place of his exile. Of *Rufus* we find no farther mention made by the writers of those times. As for *Nerva*, if he was banished, as *Philostratus* writes, he returned home the same or the following year; for he was at *Rome*, as is plain from *Dio Cassius* &c, when *Domitian* was murdered: nay, that writer takes no notice of the banishment of *Nerva*; which makes us suspect the truth of what *Philostratus* writes, who is often guilty of very considerable mistakes (Q).

THE

¹ PLIN. l. vii. epist. 27. ² PHILOSTR. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vii. c. 2.
³ Idem ibid. c. 4. ⁴ Idem ibid. c. 3, 4. ⁵ SUET. c. 10.
⁶ DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 767.

(Q) *Sulpitia*, a Roman lady upon the expulsion of the philosophers; wherein she inveighs with

The conspiracy of
Juvenius
Celsus.

THE following year *Domitian* entered upon his seventeenth and last consulship, having for his colleague *Flavius Clemens*; of whom we shall speak anon. This consulate of *Domitian* is the subject of one of the poet *Statius's* poems ^x. In the beginning of the year was discovered a dangerous conspiracy against the emperor; at the head of which was *Juvenius Celsus*, whom some writers take to be the celebrated civilian *Publius Juvenius Celsus*, who was prætor in the reign of *Trajan*, and consul in that of *Adrian*, and is highly commended by *Pliny* ^y. Be that as it will, *Celsus*, finding himself betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor; in which, throwing himself at his feet, and accosting him as a deity with the titles of *Lord* and of *God*, he protested, that, as to himself, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, provided he was allowed a short respite, discover all those who were concerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt. Hereupon the emperor dismissed him untouched; but *Celsus*, putting off, under various pretences, from time to time, the promised discovery, escaped by the death of *Domitian*, which happened the following year, the danger that threatened him ^z. *Dio Cassius* observes, that *Domitian*, about this time, caused the road to be paved leading from *Sinuessa* to *Puteoli* ^a; and *Statius* speaks of another road by him repaired at a vast expence, that, as we conjecture from the poet's word, which led from *Rome* to *Baiæ* ^b.

The second
general
persecu-
tion.

Year of
the flood

2445.

Of Chr.

95.

Of Rome

845.

THIS year, the fourteenth of *Domitian's* reign, and 95th of the Christian æra, is remarkable for the cruel persecution, which was, by the bloody tyrant, raised against the Christians, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at *Rome*, and in the provinces, the emperor having dispatched letters and edicts into the most remote provinces of the empire, commanding all those, who professed that religion, to be treated as declared enemies to the state ^c (R).

AMONG

* STAT. syl. l. iv. c. 1. y PLIN. l. vj. epist. 5. z DIO, ibid. p. 765. a Idem, p. 766. b STAT. syl. l. iv. c. 3. c OROS. l. vii. c. 10. TERTULL. apol. c. 5. LACTAN. perf. c. 3. EUSEB. chron. c. 17.

with great bitterness against *Domitian*, and even threatens him with death. She is highly commended by *Martial* for the purity of her manners, and the elegance of her composition (6);

for she published several other pieces; but was not, as she seems to boast, the first *Roman* of her sex known to the muses (7).

(R) This persecution is taken notice of by *Suetonius*, who tells

(6) *Mart. l. x. epig. 35.*

(7) *Vide Voss. poet. Lat. c. 2, 3.*

AMONG the many illustrious persons, who suffered in so good a cause, we may deservedly reckon the emperor's own relations; to wit, *Flavius Clemens*, his cousin-german, and *The death* colleague in the consulship, and the two *Flaviæ Domitillæ*, of *Flavius* the one the wife, the other the niece, of *Flavius Clemens*. *Clemens*. He was the son of *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of *Vespasian*, who was killed by the soldiers of *Vitellius*, while he was governor of *Rome*, as we have related above. His eldest son, named likewise *Fl. Sabinus*, was consul with *Domitian* in the ~~first~~ year of his reign; and soon after, by the emperor's order, put to death. *Fl. Clemens* married, in compliance with the emperor's desire, *Fl. Domitilla*, who was nearly related to *Domitian*, but not his sister, as *Philostrophus* writes ^d; *Domitilla*, his only sister, being dead before *Vespasian* was raised to the empire ^e. *Flavia Domitilla* was, as appears pretty plain from *Dio Cassius* ^f, and *Quintilian* ^g, the daughter of *Domitilla*, and the niece of *Domitian*. ^h By her *Clemens* had two sons, *Some ac-* to whom *Domitian*, as he had no issue of his own, resolved *count of* to leave the empire; and therefore changed their names, *that illu-* causing one of them to be called *Vespasian*, and the other *strious* *Domitian*. *Quintilian* tells us, that he was charged with *person*. the care of instructing and educating the two grandsons of the emperor's sister; which is a convincing proof, that *Flavia Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, was daughter to *Domitilla*, the emperor's sister; for these two youths were, without all doubt, the sons of *Clemens* by *Flavia Domitilla* ⁱ. *Clemens* was this year consul; but had scarce resigned the fasces, when he was, upon a slight and groundless suspicion, says *Suetonius* ^j, cut off by the emperor's orders. *Dio Cassius* tells us, that he was accused of impiety or atheism; a crime, says that writer, for which many others were at that time condemned, who had adopted the manners of the *Jews* ^k. Thus the Christians are constantly described by the pagan writers, as is evident

^d PHILOST. vit. Apol. Ty. l. viii. c. 10. ^e SUET. vit. Vesp. c. 3. ^f DIO, l. lxvii. p. 766. ^g QUINTIL. l. iv. p. 105. ^h DIO, ibid. ⁱ SUET. c. 15. ^k DIO, l. lxvii. p. 760.

us, that he obliged those, who is evident; for all the pagan lived at *Rome* after the manner historians, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, constantly speak of them as of the *Jews*, to pay the same taxes, as if they were really *Jews*, and treated them with no less manners, tho' not originally of rigour and severity (8). That that nation. *Suetonius* meant the Christians,

(8) *Suet. c. 12.*

from *Origen*, and other Christian writers of the primitive times ¹. As for the crime of impiety or atheism, this was one of the charges commonly brought against the Christians, on account of their refusing to pay any worship to the pretended deities of the gentiles ^m. *Suetonius*, speaking of *Flavius Clemens*, says, he was no-way to be feared, in respect of his sloth and inactivity; which was another charge, as *Tertullian* observes ⁿ, brought against the Christians, on account of the retired life they led, and their despising the dignities, which by others were so ambitiously coveted. It is therefore, in our opinion, pretty plain, that the only crime alleged against *Flavius Clemens* was his professing the Christian religion; and consequently, that he ought to be ranked among those illustrious heroes, who have sealed their faith with their blood (S).

FLAVIA DOMITILLA, wife to *Flavius Clemens*, was likewise arraigned of impiety; and, besides, refused to comply with the orders of the emperor, commanding her to marry another person a few days after the death of her husband ^o. She was therefore banished to the island of *Pandataria*, in the bay of *Putcoli*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria* (T). As

Flavia
Domitilla
banished.

¹ ORIG. in Cels. l. i. p. 5.

^m Vid. JUST. apol. i. p. 56.

ⁿ TERT. apol. c. 42.

^o PHILOST. vit. Apol. Ty. l. viii. c. 10.

(S) A modern writer of great note supposes St. *Clement*, who at this time was bishop of *Rome*, to have been of the imperial family (9); but therein confounds him, as we conjecture, with *Clement* the consul, ascribing to the former what he must have read of the latter.

(T) *Eusebius* mentions another *Flavia Domitilla* confined at the same time, and for the same cause, to the island of *Pontia*, near that of *Pandataria*; and supposes her to have been the daughter of *Clemens's* sister (1). *Scaliger* takes this *Domitilla* to be the same with the wife of *Flavius Clemens*, not

aware that *Eusebius* follows therein and quotes a *Roman* historian, by name *Brutius*, who flourished in those times, and whom some writers take to be *Præfens*, named also *Brutius*, to whom one of *Pliny's* letters is inscribed (2). To these two illustrious women *Tacitus* perhaps alluded, when he wrote, that *Domitian*, towards the latter end of his reign, drove into exile several ladies of the prime nobility (3). St. *Jerom* mentions *Domitilla* in particular, whom he honours with the title of *saint*, and tells us, that she suffered a long martyrdom in the island of *Pontia*, to which she was

(9) *Pearson* episc. *Cestrien*, annal. *Paulin*. p. 215.

(1) *Euseb.* in

chron. p. 205.

(2) *Plin.* l. vii. epist. 3. *Voss.* l. vii. p. 693.

Scal. in *chron.* p. 205.

(3) *Tacit.* vit. *Ag.* c. 45.

As to *Clemens's* two sons, to whom *Domitian* designed, as we have observed above, to bequeath the empire, we find no farther mention made of them by the ancient historians; but we suppose, that, if they were not put to death by *Domitian*, the excellent princes *Nerva* and *Trajan*, who were enemies to all bloodshed and slaughter, suffered them to live unmolested (V).

* DURING this persecution *St. John* was confined to the island of *Patmos* in the *Archipelago*, where he wrote the *Apocalypse*; and a great many illustrious champions of the Christian faith, mentioned by the ecclesiastic writers, suffered, in the same glorious cause, death or banishment, with a constancy and firmness worthy of the religion which they professed (U). This same year *Domitian* caused *Epaphroditus*, formerly freedman and secretary to *Nero*, to be put to death for having aided that prince in dispatching himself, when he ought to have defended him. By this instance of severity, he hoped to deter his own freedmen from any attempts upon his life; and this, as *Dio Cassius* observes, was the only motive, which prompted him to exert such rigour against one, whom he had admitted to his confidence, and honoured with the same employment which he had enjoyed under *Nero* ^P (W).

THE

^P DIO, p. 766. PLIN. panegy. SUET. c. 14.

confined by *Domitian* for professing the Christian religion (4).

(V) *Gruter* proves, from an ancient inscription, that *Clemens* had likewise a daughter, named *Flavia Domitilla*, who was married to one *T. Flavius Onesimus* (5); but no historian speaks either of her, or her husband. *Trebellius Pollio*, in his history of the thirty tyrants, under the emperor *Gallienus*, mentions a celebrated commander, by name *Domitian*, descended from *Flavius Clemens*, and the niece of the emperor *Domitian* (6); whence it is plain, that the children of *Clemens* had issue.

(U) *Laſtantius* will have this

cruel persecution to have ended with *Domitian's* life, and not before; for then all his acts were annulled by the senate, and consequently the edicts, which he had enacted against the Christians (7). But two of the most ancient ecclesiastic writers, to wit, *Hegeſippus* quoted by *Eusebius* (8), and *Tertullian* (9), tell us, in express terms, that *Domitian*, before his death, put a stop to the persecution, which he had raised against the church, and recalled all those, whom he had banished on the score of their religion.

(W) This is, as is commonly believed, the *Epaphroditus*, to

(4) *Hier. epist.* xxviii. c. 1.
hiſt. trig. tyr. c. 11. p. 131. edit. Paviſ.
L. III. c. 20.

(5) *Tert. ap. l.* c. 5.

(6) *Gruter.* p. 24.

(7) *Lact. perſ.* c. 3.

(8) *Tr. b. Pell.*

(9) *Euseb.*

THE next consuls were *Caius Fabius Valens*, and *Caius Antistius Vetus*, of whom the former was ninety years old when he entered upon his consulship, and seems to have died before it expired ^q. Many prodigies are said to have happened this year at *Rome*, and in the provinces. The city was for eight months together almost daily alarmed with dreadful claps of thunder, and flashes of lightning : the capitol, the temple of the *Flavian* family, and the emperor's own chamber, were thunderstruck ; the inscription upon one of the emperor's triumphal statues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the storm, carried into a neighbouring monument ; the tree, which had been thrown down in *Vespasian's* time, as we have related above, and rose up again, fell down the second time ; the oracle at *Præneste*, which had always returned favourable answers, and promised him good fortune and success at the beginning of each year, presaged nothing now but calamities and slaughter ; *Domitian* himself dreamed, that *Minerva*, to whom, as his tutelar deity, he paid a particular worship, and whose feast he annually celebrated on the *Alban* mount, had withdrawn herself from the chapel, which he had consecrated to her ; telling him, that *Jupiter* had disarmed her, and that she could protect him no longer. But nothing terrified him so much, as the answer of an astrologer, by name *Afcletarion*, and what ensued thereupon ; for, he being accused of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, *Domitian* asked him, Whether he knew what would be his own doom. The astrologer answered, He was to be, and that in a short time he should be, devoured by dogs. Hereupon the emperor, to convince the world of the falshood of his art, ordered him to be immediately put to death, and his body to be burnt. The first part of the sentence was put in execution ; but, before the body was half consumed by the flames, it was blown down, together with the funeral pile, by a violent storm, and devoured, pursuant to the prediction, by the dogs ^r. Another astrologer, by name *Larginus Proculus*, foretold publicly in *Germany*, that the eighteenth of *September* would prove the last day of *Domitian's* life. Hereupon he was apprehended by the governor of the province, and sent to the emperor, in whose presence he maintained the truth of his prediction, and was, on that ac-

^q DIO. p. 766. ONUPH. p. 313. IDAT. in fast. &c. ^r Suet. c. 5. DIO, p. 767. Chron. Alexand. p. 590.

whom *Josephus* inscribed, at least then in great favour with the three years before, his antiquities ; a plain proof, that he was emperor.

count, condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of the aforesaid month ; but *Domitian* being murdered the day before, as *Proculus* had foretold, he was not only dismissed unhurt, but presented by *Nerva* with a large sum, and ever after had in great esteem *.

No wonder, therefore, that *Domitian*, terrified with these *He lives* predictions and prodigies, and moreover alarmed by his own in continual guilty conscience, lived in continual disquiet : there was no accidental or trivial, no person so contemptible, as not to diminish and may hurt, and put him upon sanguinary precautions. Of the apprehensions of eminent persons, either of the senatorial or equestrian order, he was under perpetual apprehensions, and making daily victims : their wealth and race, their poverty, names, and quality, frightened him : he feared friends and enemies : those who advised him in council, those who diverted him at his leisure-hours, his most intimate friends and confidants, were all martyrs to his jealousy and fury : he dreaded all men, and every thing : several of his freedmen he put to death, deposed the commander of the prætorian guards, discharged great numbers of officers, &c. But the more he made others suffer, the faster he multiplied his own torments. At length he would not permit any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had first secured his chains in his hands †. A young child, with whom he used to divert himself, having one day, while the emperor was asleep, taken a paper from under his head to play with it, the empress, happening to meet him, desired to see it ; when, to her great surprize, she found it contained the names of several illustrious persons destined to slaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with those of *Norbanus*, of *Petronius Secundus*, captains of the prætorian guards, and of *Parthenius*, the emperor's chamberlain.

To these *Domitia* immediately communicated the whole, *A conspiracy* and by them a resolution was, without further deliberation, taken, to dispatch the tyrant, before he had time to put his bloody design in execution †. Of this *Suetonius* takes no notice ; but nevertheless tells us, that *Domitian* perished by a conspiracy of his friends and freedmen, not without the privity of his wife *. The death of *Clemens* hastened, according to the same writer, his own ruin ‡, either because the cruelty he exercised towards those of his own family, occasioned a general dread and despair, or because it provoked *Stephanus*, who was freedman and procurator to *Domitilla*,

* Dio, p. 767. Suet. c. 16.
 † Ibid. ‡ Suet. c. 14.

* Dio, p. 766.
 † Ibid, c. 15.

‡ Idem

His jealousy.

He seems to have some knowledge of his death.

the wife of *Clemens*, and, besides, was at that time accused of having embezzled part of her effects ^γ. Be that as it will, *Stephanus* not only joined the conspirators, but, as he was a man of great strength, took upon him to dispatch the tyrant ^z. *Domitian* had, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, long before, an apprehension, not only of the year and day, but of the hour and manner of his death, having been forewarned of what in the end befel him, when he was but a child. One night his father *Vespasian*, who gave great credit to the predictions of astrologers, and retained one of them, by name *Seleucus*, constantly about him, observing that *Domitian* at supper abstained from mushrooms, derided him as one ignorant of his own fate, since he seemed to be under greater apprehension of poison, than of the sword. This *Domitian* ever after remembered, and was thence strangely affected by the bare sight of a drawn sword, or any other weapon. From this diffidence and fear it was, that, however ambitious, he refused the new and extraordinary honour that was decreed for him; namely, that, as often as he was consul, a certain number of *Roman* knights, chosen by lot, should walk before him amongst his lictors, in their robes, with lances in their hands. When the time, which he chiefly dreaded and suspected, drew near, his jealousy increased to such a degree, that he caused the gallery, in which he usually walked, to be set round with a certain stone called *phengites*, by which images were reflected as in a looking-glass; so that he could discover what was done behind him ^a.

THE day before he was murdered, he ordered some choice fruit, which were presented to him, to be reserved against the next day, adding, *If it be my fortune to use them: then turning to those about him, To-morrow, said he, the moon will appear bloody in Aquarius, and something will happen, which will be much talked of.* About midnight he was so terrified, that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the forum to administer justice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, the time which he chiefly dreaded. Having therefore asked, what time of the day it was, one of the conspirators, on purpose to deceive him, told him, it was noon. Whereupon overjoyed, as if he had happily escaped all danger, he thought of nothing but abandoning himself to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the *Roman* fashion, before dinner, *Parthenius*, his chief chamberlain, accosting him, told him, he had something of great importance to impart to him,

^γ PHILOST. vit. Apol. Ty. l. viii. c. 10.
Suet. c. 17.

^a Suet. c. 14.

^z Dio, p. 766.

and such as could not be deferred. Hereupon the emperor, ordering all his attendants to withdraw, retired to his chamber, where *Parthenius* introduced *Stephanus* to him, who, the better to disguise his design, had appeared for some days with his left arm wrapped up, and in a sling, as if it had received some hurt. He presented to *Domitian* a memorial, wherein he pretended to discover a dangerous conspiracy formed by his cousin *Flavius Clemens*, whom he averred to be still alive; and by several others, whose names were all set down, with the places of their abode. While the emperor was reading the memorial with great attention, *Stephanus*, drawing suddenly a dagger, which he kept concealed, struck it into his belly. The emperor, finding himself wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and to run for assistance; but under his pillow was found only the scabbard, and the doors were all locked, and well secured. *Domitian*, notwithstanding his wound, struggled some time with *Stephanus*, and even threw him with great violence to the ground, striving to wrest the dagger out of his hand, and with his finger, tho' all cut and mangled, to thrust out his eyes. At length *Parthenius*, who had withdrawn when *Stephanus* came in, fearing some of the guards might, in the mean time, hearing the noise, come to his relief, opened the door of the chamber; and, falling upon the emperor with *Claudianus*, *Maximus*, *Saturnius*, and a celebrated gladiator, dispatched him with many wounds. Many, who were not privy to the conspiracy, alarmed at the noise, hastened to the emperor's apartment; by him, and, finding him wallowing in his blood, killed the brave *Stephanus*. The other conspirators made their escape as soon as the murder was perpetrated ^b.

Thus died *Domitian*, notwithstanding all his precautions, and his pretended divinity, after having lived forty-four years, ten months, and twenty-six days, and reigned fifteen years, and five days. For his death the common people shewed neither grief nor joy; but the soldiers, whose pay he had increased, and with whom he often shared his rapines, bewailed him more than they had done either *Vespasian* or *Titus*; and would have raised great disturbances, had not their officers, as most of them were concerned in the conspiracy, restrained them. The troops quartered in the country of the *Getae* were ready to revolt, when they understood he had been assassinated; but the philosopher *Dio Chrysostomus*, who had retired to that province, as we have related above, checked their fury,

^b SUET. a. 17. DIO, p. 676. PHILOST. in vit. Apol. Ty. p. 485.

by a speech which he made to the mutinous legion upon the guilt of tyrants, and punishments due to such as abuse their power to the oppression of the people committed to their care ^c. But, on the contrary, the senate could not disguise their joy: they assembled in haste, and after having, in the most opprobrious manner imaginable, reviled his memory, they commanded ladders to be immediately brought, in order to pull down, and tear to pieces, all his images. An infinite number of statues of gold and silver, erected to him in the different quarters of the city, were, by their orders, broken and melted down; his triumphal arches were overturned, and his name declared infamous; nay, they enacted a decree, commanding all inscriptions, in which he was mentioned, to be rased, his name to be struck out of the consular tables, his body to be thrown into the *Tiber*, and his memory to be abolished for ever ^d. Several ancient inscriptions are still to be seen, in which the name of *Domitian* is rased ^e. All his acts were annulled, and those whom he had banished recalled. A woman, by name *Phyllis*, who had been charged with the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, caused his body to be privately conveyed upon a bier, as that of a person of the meanest condition, to a country-house she had at a small distance from the city; where she burnt it, and, carrying the ashes, without being observed, to the temple, which he had built for the *Flavian* family, mixed them with those of *Julia* the daughter of *Titus*, whom she had likewise brought up. *Domitian* was the last emperor of the *Flavian* family, and likewise the last of those princes, who are commonly styled the twelve *Cæsars*.

As the celebrated philosopher *Apollonius Tyaneus* acted a chief part in the late revolutions of the *Roman* empire, and made at this time a great figure in the world, a succinct account of his life and actions cannot be looked upon as foreign to the present subject, nor be ill received by our readers. Of the other writers, who flourished under *Domitian*, we shall speak in our notes (X). *Apollonius* was born three or four years

^c Suet. c. 22. Philost. vit. Apol. Ty. p. 492.

^d Suet.

ibid. Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 769. Macrobian. Saturn. l. v. c. 12. Lact. perfec. c. 3.

^e Goltz. p. 234.

(X) These were *Quintilian*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Martial*, *Statius*, *Juvenal*, *Silius*, &c. *Marius Fabius Quintilianus* was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Ause-*
nius, a native of *Calagorina*, now *Calaborra*, in *Old Castile*. What profession his father followed, we find no-where recorded; for all we know of him is, that he wrote some

years before the common Christian æra ; for he is said to have lived an hundred years, and died soon after the accession of

Nerva

some declamations, which are quoted by his son (1). Our *Quintilian* studied rhetoric under *Domitius Afer*, who was advanced in years when *Quintilian* was very young (2); and died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (3), in the fifth year of *Nerva's* reign. Hence it is manifest, that *Quintilian* did not come first to *Rome* with the emperor *Galba*, as *St. Jerom* supposes (4); neither can we conclude, as some have done (5), from his having studied at *Rome*, while he was very young, that he was born there. He pleaded several causes at *Rome* before queen *Berenice* (6), and consequently under *Vespasian*; for in his reign *Berenice* came to *Rome*, and was by *Titus* sent back to her own country, in the very beginning of his reign. *Vespasian* having settled a salary upon the professors of eloquence, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, *Quintilian* was the first who opened a free school at *Rome*. He discharged that important office with great reputation, and to the satisfaction of all, for the space of twenty years; during which time he acquired great wealth, both by his salary, and by the presents made him by the parents of the children whom he instructed (7). Both *Juvenal* and *Martial* speak of him as an able orator; and *Pliny* the younger, who was one of his disciples, seems to have entertained an high opinion

of him. After he had taught publicly for twenty years, he resigned his charge, and wrote a book about the causes of the decay of eloquence (8). Whether this be the dialogue which is commonly ascribed to *Tacitus*, we will not take upon us to determine, there being, as to this particular, great disagreement amongst authors. When *Quintilian* had finished this treatise, he was prevailed upon by his friends to undertake a more laborious work; to wit, his twelve books of rhetoric, which will be ever admired by all persons of taste and judgment. This performance cost him two years labour, and it was much against his will, that he published it before he had kept it by him for some time, in order to examine it as the work of another. It is inscribed to one *Marcellus Victorius*, and filled with commendations of *Domitian*, altogether unworthy of a man of *Quintilian's* character (9). While he was employed in composing this work, *Domitian* charged him with the education of his sister's grandsons, as we have related above (1). He was afterwards honoured with the consular ornaments, at the recommendation of *Flavius Clemens*, then in great favour with the emperor. *Ausonius* (2) seems to insinuate, that, after having acquired considerable wealth at *Rome*, he was, by what misfortune we know not,

(1) *Quint.* l. ix. c. 3.

(2) *Idem.* l. v. c. 7.

(3) *Tacit. annal.* l. xiv.

c. 19.

(4) *Hier. c.*

(5) *Vid. P. Pagi, p. 432.*

(6) *Quint.*

l. iv. c. 7.

(7) *Martial.* l. ii. epig. 98. *Auson. de Mos. p. 268. Sidon.*

car. ix. ver. 318.

(8) *Quint. præfat. & l. vi. p. 177.*

(9) *Idem;*

l. iv. præfat.

(1) *Idem ibid.*

(2) *Auson. corf. f. 387.*

Nerva to the empire, which happened in the ninety-sixth year of the Christian æra. The surname of *Tyaneus* he borrowed

reduced to earn a livelihood by teaching rhetoric at *Besancon* and *Lyons*. Perhaps, upon the death of *Clemens*, who was his chief patron, he was banished *Rome* (3). Whether it was to him, or to another of the same name, that *Pliny* the younger presented, in a most genteel and obliging manner, a considerable sum, on occasion of the marriage of his daughter with *Nonius Celer*, has, by some writers, been questioned (4). *Sidonius Apollinaris* bestows high encomiums upon *Quintilian*, and equals him to the most elegant writers of antiquity (5). As for the declamations, which pass under the name of *Quintilian*, and are frequently mentioned by the antients, it is evident they were not written by him, but either by his father, or, as a modern author conjectures (6), by his grandfather, since *Seneca* the elder, the father of *Seneca* the philosopher, who flourished in the reign of *Augustus*, speaks of the author of these declamations, as a person more antient than himself (7). This is the opinion of *M. Pithou* concerning the declamations ascribed to our *Quintilian*, which he published in 1580. and inscribed to the celebrated *Thuanus*. Besides these, there are nineteen declamations more, commonly thought to have been written by *Quintilian*; but

by *Vossius* ascribed to *Posthumus* the younger, who, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history, assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and that of *Augustus*, in *Gaul*, about the year 200 (8).

C. Valerius Flaccus, Setinus Balbus was a native of *Padua*, as is evident from *Martial* (9), and not of *Setia* in *Campania*, as some have conjectured from the name of *Setinus*. He wrote an epic poem on the voyage of the *Argonauts*, divided into eight books, which he began in the reign of *Vespasian*, to whom it is inscribed, and continued under *Domitian*; for he was, according to *Vossius*, prevented by death from putting the last hand to it (1). He died while *Quintilian* was writing his books of rhetoric, that is, in the latter end of *Domitian's* reign. *Quintilian* (2) and *Martial* (3) commend his performance; but the most able critics amongst the modern writers speak of it with the utmost contempt, discover in it a great many material faults, and few, if any, beauties (4).

The poet *M. Valerius Martialis*, so famous for his epigrams, was a native of *Bilbilis* (5), which stood at a small distance from the present city of *Calataind*, in the kingdom of *Arragon* (6). He was born in the reign of *Clau dius*, came to *Rome* in that of

(3) *Auson. conf. p. 38.*

(4) *Plin. l. vi. epist. 32. P. Pagi, p. 247.*

(5) *Sid. Apollin. l. v. epist. 10. & l. ii. car. ver. 190. & l. ix. ver. 318.*

(6) *M. Pithou, in præf. ad Thuan.*

(7) *Sen. declam. l. x. p. 105.*

(8) *Voss. libet. c. 15.*

(9) *Mart. l. i. epigr. 62, 77.*

(1) *Voss.*

poet. l. at p. 46.

(2) *Quint. l. x. c. 1.*

(3) *Mart. libid.*

(4) *Voss.*

Bail. poet. c. 1152. p. 336.

(5) *Mart. l. xii. epigr. 18.*

(6) *Baudr.*

& Bail. poet. p. 412.

rowed from the city of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, the place of his nativity. His birth was foretold, and accompanied, if the

Nero, being then twenty years old, and lived there thirty years, favoured by the emperors, especially by *Domitian*, whom, on all occasions, he flatters in a most shameful manner. Upon that prince's death he left the city, and retired to his own country; where, after three years, which he passed without writing, he was prevailed upon by *Terentius Priscus* to compose his twelfth book, in which he speaks of the emperors *Nerva* and *Trajan* (8). *Pliny*, in whose commendation he had written an epigram, had a particular kindness and esteem for him; whence he presented him, upon his departure from *Rome*, with a sum of money to defray the expences of his journey (9). As to his writings, the emperor *Lucius Verus* used to call him his *Virgil* (1); but few, either before or since that prince's time, seem to have entertained such a mighty opinion of his compositions. *Scaliger* approves of what he himself wrote of his epigrams; to wit, that some of them were good, some indifferent, and some bad. Most critics have found fault with his thoughts, his stile, and, above all, with his puns, which are often very low, and with his pretended witticisms (2). Besides, some of his epigrams are, for their lewdness, infamous, perhaps beyond any thing written in the *Latin* tongue. His epigrams are comprised in fourteen books; besides which,

that *de spectaculis* is commonly ascribed to him, tho' *Vossius* takes it to be a collection of verses written partly by *Martial*, and partly by other poets of that time, upon the shews which *Titus* exhibited in the eightieth year of the Christian æra (3). *Martial* died, as we conjecture from *Pliny's* letters, about the end of the first century. He is by *Lampridius* (4) surnamed *Cocus*, perhaps because his father, or he himself in his youth, followed that mean profession.

Statius flourished at the same time; but is never mentioned by *Martial*, which some ascribe to jealousy, *Statius* being highly esteemed by *Domitian*, on account of his making, with extraordinary ease, extemporary verses upon any subject whatever; which *Martial* durst not attempt. He wrote two epic poems; to wit, the *Thebais*, comprised in twelve books, and the *Achilleis*, which consists only of two, the poet being prevented by death from accomplishing that work (5). They are both inscribed to *Domitian*. Besides these two poems, he wrote several other pieces upon various occasions, which have likewise reached us, under the title of *ſylvæ*, and are comprehended in five books. His compositions were mightily esteemed at *Rome* in his own time, and are still admired by the young poets; nay, *Julius Scaliger* is of opinion, that, of all the antient

(7) *Voss. poet. Lat. p. 46. epig. 34.*

(9) *Plin. l. iii. epist. 21.*

(2) *Vide Bail. poet. p. 412. Alex. p. 120.*

(8) *Mart. l. xii. p. æf. epig. 18, 4, 6, 8. & l. x.*

(1) *Lamprid. vit. Ver. p. 17.*

(3) *Voss. poet. Lat. c. 3.*

(5) *Bail. libid. p. 425.*

the author of his life is to be credited ^f, by many prodigies. When he was but fourteen years old, he applied himself to the

^f *PAILOST. vitæ Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 3.*

poets, he comes nearest to the inimitable *Virgil*. But better judges look upon *Statius* rather as a bad historian, than a good poet, and despise his bombast style, and odd expressions. His *ſylvæ*, which were for the most part written off-hand, and without premeditation, are by most critics more esteemed than his epic poems, there being in them some very good thoughts, mixed with such as are quite trivial and common (6). Some writers have confounded *P. Statius Papinius*, who was a native of *Naples*, with *Statius Surculus*, or rather *Ussulus*, who was born in *Tolouse*; and, in the reign of *Nero*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* (7). *Statius* acquired great fame by his *Thebais*, but no wealth; whence he was obliged to write pieces for the theatre, and support himself by that means (8). One *Placidus Laſtantiuſ*, who flourished in the sixth century, wrote a learned comment upon *Statius*, which has not reached our times (9).

Decius Junius Juvenalis was cotemporary with *Statius* and *Martial*, and continued to write under *Nerva* and *Trajan*; for he speaks of the banishment of *Marius Priscus*, who was condemned in the third year of *Trajan's* reign, and the hundredth of the Christian æra (1). He was born at *Aquinum*, whence he came to *Rome* while he was yet very

young, and there gained great credit by his satires, which were read by many *Romans*, who perused no other book (2). It were much to be wished, that, in censuring the manner of others, he had not shewn himself quite destitute of modesty, nor inveighed against the abuses which prevailed in his time, in a manner rather calculated to teach his readers to be vicious, than to inspire them with aversion to vice. From his life, written many ages since, and quoted by *Sidonius Apollinaris* (3), it appears, that a player, in great favour at court, offended at some verses of his seventh satire, had interest enough with the emperor to get him removed from *Rome*, and sent into *Egypt*, to command a legion quartered in the utmost bounds of that province; where he died soon after of grief, being fourscore when he was obliged to undertake that journey. Some writers conjecture this player to have been one *Pylades*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Quintilian*, in all likelihood, alluded to *Juvenal*, when he wrote, that in his time lived some poets, authors of satires, who would one day be ranked amongst the best writers (4). *Salmaſius* is of opinion, that the antient scholiast of *Juvenal* was cotemporary with *Spartianus*, who flourished under *Dioclesian*, and *Constantine the*

(6) *Bail. poet. p. 426.*

vi. ver. 83.

l. xxviii. p. 374.

l. x. c. 1.

(7) *Voss. poet. Lat. p. 45.*

(8) *Juv. sat. iv.*

(9) *Sid. Apoll. carm. ix. ver. 274.*

(1) *Juv. sat.*

(2) *Ammian.*

(3) *Quint.*

the study of the *Pythagoric* philosophy, first at *Tarsus*, the *He applies* capital of *Cilicia*, and afterwards at *Ægæ*, another city of *himself to* the study of the *Pytha-*

goric phi-
losophy.
Great (5). *Julius Scaliger*, and
sothe other critics, prefer *Juven-*
nal to *Horace*; but now-a-days
few, if any, men of taste, ac-
quiesce to their judgment, think-
ing they sufficiently honour *Ju-*
venal, by placing him amongst
the *Latin satirists* next to *Horace*,
but next to a great distance.

Caius Silius Italicus wrote a
poem, highly commended by
Martial (6), on the second *Punic*
war. Before he applied himself
to the study of poetry, he had
pleaded many years at the bar,
and had even been consul; which
office he discharged the year that
Nero was killed. He is not, by
our modern critics, much esteem-
ed as a poet; but greatly com-
mended for the purity of his
style, wherein he is thought to
excel all the writers of his time
(7). He adheres with great ex-
actness to truth, and relates some
events, which we read no-where
else (8). He died in the second
year of the reign of *Trajan*, by
abstaining from all food, being
no longer able to bear the pain
occasioned by an impostume,
which the physicians could not
cure (9). He died the last of all
those who had been consuls under
Nero, and was himself the last
consul under that prince (1).
From what he says of *Domitian*
(2), it is plain, that he wrote
after the war with the *Darrians*.
Most writers have supposed him

to be a native of *Italica*, and
thence called *Italicus*; but *Ita-*
licus was, as appears from the
letters of *Pliny*, and the consular
tables, not an epithet, but his
name; and, besides, had he been
born in *Italica*, he would have
thence been called *Italicanus*, or
Italicensis (3).

Vossius is of opinion, that *Te-*
rentianus, who, in *Martial's* time,
governed *Syene* in *Egypt* (4), is
the same person with *Terentianus*
Maurus, who wrote a poem on
the measure of verse: which has
reached our times, and is greatly
esteemed by all persons of taste:
but others ascribe that excellent
performance to *Posthumius Teren-*
tianus, to whom *Longinus*, about
the year 270. inscribed his book
on the sublime. Several other
poets are mentioned by *Martial*,
as flourishing at this time; name-
ly, *Curtius Montanus*, *Turnus*,
and *Scæva Memor*, who were
brothers; *Aruntius Stella*, *Co-*
drus or *Cordus*, *Pactius*, *Fauslus*,
Rubrenus Lappa, *M. Unicus*, *Li-*
gurinus, *Theodorus*, *Canius*, *Lici-*
nianus, *Voconius Victor*, and *Pas-*
sienus Paulus (5). *Turnus* acquired,
it seems, great reputation by his
satires; and was, tho' of a mean
descent, very powerful at court
under the emperors *Titus* and
Domitian (6). *Scaliger* ascribes
to *Scæva Memor*, upon what
grounds he has not thought fit
to impart to us, the tragedy in-

(5) *Salmas. in Spartian. p. 162.*

Bail. poet. p. 392.

epist. 7.

Voss. poet. Lat. p. 42, & Bail. poet. p. 288.

Voss. poet. Lat. p. 47.

l. vii. epig. 96.

(6) *Mart. l. iv. epig. 14.*

(7) *Voss. Lat. l. i. c. 29.*

(8) *Silius Ital. l. iii. p. 51.*

(9) *Vide Voss. ibid.*

(1) *Mart. l. i. epig. 87. &*

Mart. l. vii. epig. 96.

(2) *Vide*

(3) *Plin. l. iii.*

(4) *Vide*

(5) *Mart. l. i. epig. 87. &*

(6) *Mart. l. vii. epig. 96.*

The auster-
ity of his
life,

the same province, under the direction of one *Euxenus*, whose manners did not answer his profession. But *Apollonius*, following his precepts, without regarding his manners, retired at the age of sixteen to an house in the country, led there a life of great austerity, abstaining, pursuant to the maxims of his sect, from all manner of flesh, suffering his hair to grow, going barefoot, and clad only in linen, that he might use nothing proceeding from any living creature. From his country-house he removed, after some time, to the temple of *Esculapius* in the city of *Egea*, where he soon became known, great numbers of votaries flocking daily to the temple of that pretended deity, for the preservation and recovery of their health. There *Apollonius* began to appear as a mighty reformer of manners, having already, it seems, a mighty opinion of his own virtue.

and disinterested-
ness.

His father dying about the time that *Antiochus* king of *Cappadocia* was accused of having betrayed the *Romans*, that is, about the seventeenth year of the Christian æra, he took possession of his inheritance; but reserved a small share of it for himself; the greatest part of it he yielded to his brother, who led a vicious and dissolute life, from which he was by this means retrieved; the rest, save a very small portion, he divided amongst his necessitous relations. Being thus disengaged from every thing that could divert him from the study of philosophy, and the practice of virtue, he passed five years in silence, agreeably to the custom of the *Pythagorics*; wherein he found, as he himself owned, great difficulty. During that time, he appeased, says the author of his life, several tumults and seditions in *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, especially at *Aspenda*, one of the chief cities in the latter province, where the populace rose, and were ready to burn the chief magistrate alive, for not obliging some of the wealthy inhabitants to produce their corn during a famine, and sell it at a reasonable price. He went afterwards to *Antioch*, to *Ephesus*, and to several cities, where he took upon him to revive the worship of some deities or idols, which

* PHILOST. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 6—9.

intituled *Octavia*, which is commonly believed to have been written by *Seneca* (7). *Suidas* mentions one *Epaphroditus*, author of several books upon the grammar; which have been long since lost. He was a native of

Bazotia, had been slave to *Modestus* governor of *Egypt*; but afterwards became famous at *Rome* in the reign of *Nero*, and died in that of *Nerva*, in the seventy-fifth year of his age (8).

(7) *Voss. poet. Lat. p. 48.*

(8) *Suid. p. 966.*

now began to be neglected. He practised every-where secret mysteries, to which those alone were admitted, who had observed silence for the space of four years. He took upon him the character of legislator, pretending to require nothing of others, but what he had performed himself: he even boasted *His impu-* a thorough knowledge of all languages, without ever having *dence and* learnt them; and had the impudence to give out, that the *presump-* most secret recesses of mens hearts, and their most private *tion.* thoughts, lay open to him^h. However, he had yet but seven disciples; and these too abandoned him, as soon as he had declared his intention of traveling as far as *India*, to visit the philosophers *heretofore* known by the name of *Bramans*, or *Brachmans*; so that he left *Antioch*, attended only by two domestics; but at *Myve* was joined by *Damis*, a native of *His fa-* that place, who, of all the disciples he ever had, proved the *vourite* most attached to him; for he observed with great attention, *disciple* as *Damis* carefully registred, not only his most minute actions, *Damis.* but even his words. These memoirs of *Damis* falling afterwards into the hands of *Julia Augusta*, the wife of the emperor *Severus*, she imparted them to *Philostratus*, who chiefly copied from them what he wrote of his pretended hero. *Apollonius*, on his journey from *Nineve* to *Babylon*, learned, as he passed through *Mesopotamia*, what to his time had been a great secret, namely, that of understanding the answers of oracles delivered by birds. Thus this wise philosopher adopted the follies peculiar to each country through which he passed.

UPON his arrival at *Babylon*, he was received by the mages *He ar-* of the place, with whom he often conferred in private (Y). *rives at* *He Babylon.*

^h PHILOST. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 10—25.

(Y) *Philostratus* describes *Babylon* as a city above seventy miles in compass, with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, as if it had been no less magnificent and beautiful in the time of *Apollonius*, than formerly in that of *Nebuchadonozor*; whereas it is plain from *Pliny*, who was cotemporary with *Apollonius*, that *Babylon* then lay in ruins, and scarce any building remained, except the temple of

Belus (9). *Trajan*, who, not many years after, was prompted by a commendable curiosity to visit so celebrated a place, found it quite buried in its ruins (1); and *Pausanias*, who wrote in the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, tells us, that *Babylon*, the greatest city the sun ever saw, had, in his time, nothing left but its walls. These remained long after, the space within being made a park by the *Parthian* kings

(9) *Plin. l. vi. c. 26.*

(1) *Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 783.*

His travels to India. He soon left *Babylon*, and, taking leave of the king, set out for *India*; where he was received with great marks of esteem by a king named *Phraortes*, of whom *Philostratus* relates wonders; and by him introduced to *Harchas*, the chief of the *Bramans*, who at that time was but eighteen years old (Z). *Apollonius* passed four months with them, held frequent conferences with the chief men amongst them, to which not even *Damis* was admitted, and ever after entertained a mighty opinion of their sect. After he had learnt all the mysteries of their profession, he left *India*, and, returning by sea, landed at the mouth of the *Euphrates*, or rather the *Tigris*; went from thence by land to *Babylon*, then to *Assyria*, and from *Nineve* to *Antioch*. He was not, it is said, much admired at *Antioch*; for, after a short stay in that city, he removed to *Ionina*, and settled in that country, teaching sometimes at *Ephesus*, and sometimes at *Myrina*.

Returns to Asia, and there undertakes the reformation of manners. HE is said to have undertaken with incredible success the reformation of manners, first at *Ephesus*, and afterwards in the other cities of *Ionina*; reclaiming, partly by his precepts, partly by his exemplary life, such as were intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness and iniquity^k. From *Ionina* he went to *Ilium*, where he embarked for *Lesbos*, and from thence sailed to *Athens*; in which city he reformed innumerable abuses, and utterly abolished the inhuman spectacles of

¹ PHILOST. vit. Apol. Ty. l. iii. c. 15, 16. ^k Idem, l. iv. c. 1, 2.

for the keeping of wild beasts, and the diversion of hunting. It is therefore plain, that *Philostratus* was no less mistaken in his description of *Babylon*, than he is in supposing, that the kings of *Parthia*, in the time of *Apollonius*, resided there, it being plain from *Strabo*, that they then passed the winter at *Ctesiphon* near *Seleucia*, and the summer at *Ecbatana* (2). He tells us, that the king's name, who then reigned, was *Vardanes*; and that, two years and two months before, he had recovered his kingdom, which had been unjustly seized by his brother *Gotarzes*; adding, that *Apollonius*

passed 20 months at the court, and found, about six months after, the same prince still on the throne (3); so that, according to *Philostratus*, *Vardanes* must have reigned four years, and upwards; whereas it is plain from *Tacitus* (4), that *Vardanes* began to rule over the *Parthians* in the seventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and was dead some time before the end of the ninth.

(Z) If what *Philostratus* relates of these philosophers be true, they were far from being gods, though they impiously passed themselves for such upon the undiscerning multitude (5).

(2) *Strabo*, l. xvi. p. 743.

(4) *Tacit. annal.* l. xi. c. 8, 9, 10.

(3) *Philos. vit. Apol. Ty.* l. i. c. 15, 16.

(5) *Philos. ibid.* l. vi. c. 6, & 9.

gladiators.

gladiators. He traveled all over *Greece*, reviving every-where the ancient superstition of the *Greeks*, and establishing the idolatrous worship of the gods. The *Eleans* invited him to the sports, which were to be celebrated on occasion of the CXth *Olympiad*, seven years before *Nero* undertook the cutting of the isthmus, and consequently in the year of the Christian era 61. He complied with their invitation, and, by his warm exhortations, inspired many, both *Greeks* and foreigners, with the love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice. At *Corinth* he was kindly received, and ever after admired, by *Demetrius*, the most celebrated *Cynic* of those days, and his disciple *Mentor*. At *Lacedæmon*, where he passed great part of the winter, he is said to have persuaded the inhabitants to resume their ancient manner of living. But of this great and remarkable reformation no notice is taken by any other writer. In the beginning of the spring he sailed from *Lacedæmon* to *Crete*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he staid, performing wonderful things, related at large by the author of his life, till he was obliged to quit the city, in virtue of an edict enacted by *Nero*, driving all philosophers out of *Rome*.

He then retired to *Cadiz*, where, in a private conference with *Galba*, he encouraged him to revolt from *Nero*, and He encouraged him to assume the sovereignty. From *Cadiz* he crossed over to *Africa*, from *Africa* to *Helvetia*, and thence to *Sicily*, where he received the tidings of *Nero's* death. However, he would not return to *Rome*, but sailed to *Achaia* or *Greece*, where he remained the winter, and early in the spring passed over into *Egypt*, where he was followed by vast crowds, the superstitious *Egyptians* flocking from all quarters to hear and see him. *Philostratus* would fain persuade us, that *Vespasian* went into *Egypt* for the same purpose; but of the true motive of his journey, we have spoken elsewhere. However, *Vespasian*, who was not exempt, as *Tacitus* observes, from such superstition, while he was in *Egypt*, went to visit *Apollonius*, and seemed to entertain a mighty opinion of him. He consulted him in private about the state of his affairs, and *Is* consulted paid great deference to his judgment. *Dio* and *Euphrates*, ed by *Ves-* two celebrated philosophers, advised *Vespasian* to renounce the sovereignty, after he had overcome *Vitellius*, and restore the republic to its former liberty. But *Apollonius* opposed their sentiments, which occasioned a warm debate, *Apollonius* being, it seems, impatient of all contradiction. *Vespasian* followed the opinion of *Apollonius*, who thereupon took the liberty to instruct him how to govern with equity and

moderation. *Vespasian* would have rewarded him with great generosity for his excellent precepts; but the philosopher would not accept the least acknowledgement^m.

Travels
into Ethi-
opia.

FROM *Alexandria* *Vespasian* departed for *Rome*, and *Apollonius* soon after for *Ethiopia*, with a design to visit the philosophers of that country, whom *Philostratus* calls *Gymnosophists*; a name by all other writers given to the philosophers of *India*. Of the thirty disciples he had at this time, *Telesphorus* only accompanied him in this journey, the others choosing to remain at *Alexandria*. He was at first received very coldly by the *Ethiopian* philosophers, who had been prejudiced against him by *Euphrates*; but they soon reconciled to each other, and held several private conferences, which *Apollonius* interrupted, to view the sources of the *Nile*; but he did not go beyond the third cataract. He returned to *Egypt*, about the time that *Titus* took the city of *Jerusalem*, which he entered on the eighth of *September* of the year 70. The next year *Titus* returned to *Rome*, and was met by *Apollonius* at *Argos*, who the same year traveled all over *Phœnicia*, *Ionia*, *Cilicia*; visited several cities of *Greece*; and, if *Codinus* is to be believed, went to *Byzantium*, and there set up several talismans, or magical figures, which remained till the year 870. when the emperor *Basilius* caused them to be removedⁿ. From *Byzantium* he returned to *Greece*, and from thence to *Rome*; where he endeavoured to stir up the people against the emperor *Domitian*, and exhorted *Nerva*, who was afterwards emperor, to head them. *Domitian* was informed of his private practices, and, at the same time, told, that in the neighbourhood of *Rome* he had sacrificed a child, in order to discover, by viewing its entrails, what success would attend *Nerva*, if he engaged in the conspiracy. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the governor of *Asia*, whither *Apollonius* was already retired, ordering him to seize him, and send him in chains to *Rome*. But *Apollonius*, before the order arrived, had left *Asia*, in order to return to *Rome*. At *Puteoli* he found *Demetrius* the celebrated *Cynic*, who acquainted him with the emperor's edict, ordering all the philosophers to depart *Rome*; and, at the same time, exhorted him to retire, lest he should fall a sacrifice to the rage of *Domitian*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to all philosophers, and to him in particular. *Apollonius* replied, that he could not follow his advice, without betraying *Nerva*; and that he was very sure it was not in the power of the tyrant to put him to death. He therefore pursued his journey to *Rome*, in the

Goes to
Rome.

^m PHILOST. l. v. c. 3—14.
Constantinop.

ⁿ GEORG. CODIN. origines

habit peculiar to philosophers ; but obliged *Damis*, his only companion, to quit it, lest he should be discovered and seized ^e.

He no sooner arrived at *Rome*, than the emperor ordered *Where he Casperius Elianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to seize *is seized* him. *Casperius*, who had a particular veneration for him, and im- under pretence of examining him in private, instructed him *prisoned* how to make his defence, when summoned before the judges ; by *Domitian's or-* and then, as he durst not dismiss him, committed him to *der* prison ; where *Apollonius* comforted his fellow-prisoners, fifty in number, and encouraged them to bear their confinement, and the miseries attending it, with constancy and patience. After he had been ^e confined for the space of six days, he was brought before the emperor, who examined him concerning the designs of *Nerva*. *Apollonius* answered, That *Nerva* had not entertained the least thought of conspiring against him, or assuming the sovereignty ; though he was at that time actually contriving, according to *Philostratus*, the means of deposing the emperor, and seizing the empire, being instigated thereunto by *Apollonius* himself ^f. *Domitian*, finding he could draw no satisfactory answer from him, ordered his beard to be shaved, a great affront to a philosopher ; and commanded him to be led back to prison, loaded with chains, from which however he was two days after discharged, at the request of *Casperius*. While he was in bonds, he assured *Damis*, who attended him even in prison, that the emperor, notwithstanding his great power, could not hurt him ; and, in so saying, drew, with great ease, his leg out of the chain. He was a few days after brought again before the emperor ; who, after having examined him in the presence of many persons of distinction, declared him innocent, and afterwards had a private conference with him, in which *Apollonius* displayed to him the great evils that must necessarily ensue from the prince's giving ear to informers. *As for myself*, said he, *I am not under the least apprehension : you may cause me to be seized ; but put me to death you cannot : that the laws of fate, and my destiny, will not allow*. *Apollonius*, having thus spoken, disappeared, and was seen that evening at *Putcoli*, three days journey distant from *Rome* ^g.

Is brought before the emperor, and by him declared innocent.

FROM *Puteoli* he passed over into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Greece*, where he remained two years, followed and admired by vast crowds, and persons of all ranks and ages, whom, by his precepts and example, he animated to despise wealth, and place their whole happiness in the pursuit of vir-

^e PHILOST. l. vii. c. 2 — 6.

^f Idem ibid. c. 3, 12, 14.

^g Idem ibid. c. 17.

If acquainted with Domitian's death the very minute it happens.

tue. From *Greece* he returned to *Ionia*, residing partly at *Smyrna*, and partly at *Ephesus*; but frequently visiting all the cities of that province. While he was discoursing to a numerous assembly at *Ephesus*, the same minute that *Domitian* was slain, he began, all on a sudden, to lower his voice, as if he had been seized with fear; but, nevertheless, pursued his discourse for some time, though faintly, and often stopping, as if he had been intent upon something else. At length he quite gave over speaking; fixed his eyes stedfast on the ground; and, after a short silence, *Strike home, he cried, strike the tyrant home.* As the numerous assembly was greatly surprised, he no sooner returned to himself, than he bid them be of good cheer, and rejoice: *For the tyrant, added he, is dead; he is just now expired.* The same thing is related by *Dio Cassius*, as an event not to be doubted; nay, he adds, that *Apollonius*, during his trance, as he calls it, named *Stephanus*, crying out for to be heard by the whole assembly, *Courage, brave Stephanus! courage! dispatch the tyrant.*

Is invited to Rome by Nerva; but refuses to go thither.

Nerva, who succeeded *Domitian*, had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he wrote to *Apollonius*, inviting him to *Rome*. The philosopher returned answer, That, by the decrees of fate, they were never more to see one another. However, some time after, he wrote to the emperor a letter filled with excellent precepts for governing with equity and moderation. This letter he sent by *Damis*, whom he charged to deliver to the emperor several rules of government by word of mouth in his name.

He disappears.

WHILE *Damis* was at *Rome*, he received advice, that *Apollonius* had disappeared; whence he concluded, that he had sent him to *Rome*, on purpose that he might not be present at his death: hence he is generally thought to have died this year, the first of *Nerva's* reign, and ninety-sixth of the Christian æra (A). In the epitome of *Dio Cassius* by *Xiphilin*,

• PHILOST. l. viii. c. 10.

• DIO, p. 768.

(A) *Damis*, in his memoirs, made no mention of his death; and *Philostratus* declares, that in his time no one could give any probable account of it. Some pretended he died at *Ephesus*; others related, that he went into a temple at *Lindus* in the island of *Rhodes*, and was never after-

wards seen. *Philostratus* assures us, that though he had traveled into several countries, he could no-where find his tomb, nor hear any certain account of the manner of his death (6). This succinct account of the life of *Apollonius* is swelled by *Philostratus* with a great number of miracles

(6) *Phil. l. viii. c. 13.*

Xiphilin, we read, that the wicked emperor *Caracalla* had a particular esteem for *Apollonius*, whom he looked upon as the most accomplished impostor and forcerer the world had ever seen. No one can peruse his life, though written with the utmost partiality, without discovering in all his actions a great deal of pride, arrogance, and presumption, and an extraordinary opinion of his own virtue. Before his journey to *India*, when the image of the *Parthian* king was shewn him, and he commanded to adore it, according to the custom of the country, he returned to the king's officers this arrogant and haughty answer: 'The prince, whom you a lord, may reckon himself happy, if he deserves by me to be only esteemed and commended'. He imagined himself possessed of all virtues in an eminent degree; took upon him every-where the character of censor, legislator, instructor, &c. pretended to know every

*His pride,
arrogance,
and pre-
sumption.*

¹ PHILOST. l. i. c. 14, 15, 19.

and predictions, upon which he makes long descants. Amongst other miracles wrought by his hero, he tells us, that he restored to life a young woman of a consular family; but, at the same time, seems to doubt, whether or no she was quite dead: and truly, had he ever wrought such a miracle, he would have been, as *Eusebius* rightly observes (7), more famous than he ever was. His prodigies are attested only by *Philostratus*, who, as *Lippius* observes (8), is guilty of many gross mistakes, and often contradicts himself in what relates to the *Roman* history. What can seem less probable, than his account of what passed at the interview between *Apollonius* and *Domitian*? *Eusebius* calls his book a romance; and *Photius* looks upon it as an

heap of inconsistent fables (9). Most of the fathers speak of it in the same stile (1); as do likewise *Suidas* (2), and the most judicious among the modern writers, to wit, *Scaliger* (3), *Vives* (4), *Vossius* (5), *Casaubon* (6), &c. Many of the pagans themselves seem to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of *Apollonius*, notwithstanding his boasted virtue and miracles. Even those who bore him no hatred, looked upon him as a magician, and scrupled admitting him to their mysteries (7); nay, the same opinion still prevailed in the time of his puerilist *Philostratus*, as he himself witnesses (8). *Lucian*, speaking of one of his favourite and most faithful disciples, calls him a celebrated wizard (9).

(7) *Euseb. in Hier. p. 461.*

ibid. Phil. c. 44. p. 29.

(2) *Suid. p. 376.*

Græc. l. ii. c. 15.

(7) *Philost. l. iv. c. 6. l. viii. c. 8. uit. Alex. p. 476.*

(8) *Lipp. Tacit. hist. l. vii. n. 8.*

(1) *Vide Aug. epist. xl x. Cbn f. n. Jud. rom. v.*

(3) *Scaliger in Euseb. chron.*

(5) *Idem ibid.*

(8) *Idem, l. ii. c. 3.*

(9) *Euseb.*

ibid. p. 229.

(4) *Voss. h. f.*

(6) *Casaub. n. Spart. p. 229.*

(9) *Lucian.*

thing, to foresee future events, to be acquainted with the most hidden thoughts of those with whom he conversed; nay, he suffered himself to be by the multitude acknowledged for a god, and divine worship to be paid him: which he indeed once refused; but the only motive which prompted him to reject it, was fear of being envied ^u. *Philostratus* cries up his disinterestedness, and the purity of his manners; but tho' he would receive no presents from kings or emperors, yet he accepted, and even asked, a considerable sum of one of the pontiffs ^w. As to the purity of his manners, he was commonly thought not to be free from all blame ^x; at least his favourite disciples wallowed, in *Lucian* ^y to be credited, in all manner of lewdness ^v. As he held the *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, he caused a lion to be publicly adored, pretending, that the soul of *Amasis*, one of the antient kings of *Egypt*, had passed into that animal (B). As no one could

^u PHILOST. l. vii. c. 6. l. i. c. 20. l. viii. c. 2. l. iv. c. 10.

^w Idem, l. viii. c. 7. ^x PHILOST. vit. sophist. p. 568. ^y LUCIAN. vit. Alex. ^z PHILOST. vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 15.

(B) *Philostratus* endeavours to excuse, in the best manner he can, his hero for quarreling with the philosopher *Euphrates*, on whom he lays all the blame. But either the same writer, or another of the same name, who had read the life of *Apollonius*, and often refers his readers to it, owns, that neither *Apollonius* nor *Euphrates* behaved, on that occasion, as became philosophers (1). However, notwithstanding the utmost efforts both of *Apollonius*, and his panegyrist, to discredit and cry down *Euphrates*, he was, two hundred years after his death, generally esteemed the greatest philosopher of his time (2). *Apollonius* himself, before their quarrel, spoke of him to *Vespasian* as a man of an unblemished character, not foreseeing, for all his pretence to a prophetic spirit, that he was

soon to change his stile, and inveigh against him as one of the most wicked of men (3). *Pliny* the younger, who was intimately acquainted with *Euphrates*, bestows mighty encomiums upon him (4); and *Arrian*, in his comments upon *Epictetus*, not only extols his eloquence, but commends him greatly for having lived like a philosopher before he assumed the habit peculiar to that profession (5). He died in the beginning of *Adrian's* reign, with whose permission he put an end to the infirmities attending old age with a draught of poison (6). He published some writings against *Apollonius*, which *Philostratus* promises to refute (7). *Eunapius* seems to ascribe other works to him upon more noble subjects, by which he gained great reputation (8).

(1) *Philost. vit. soph.* c. 7. p. 492.

(2) *Euseb. in Hier.* p. 464, 465.

(3) *Idem ib.* p. 493.

(4) *Plin. l. i. epist.* 10.

(5) *Arrian. Epict.*

l. iii. c. 15. *Id.* l. ii. c. 8.

(6) *Dio, l. lxxix.* p. 791.

(7) *Philost.*

l. ii. c. 10.

(8) *Eunap. in vit. sophist. præfat.*

give any certain account of the death of *Apollonius*, his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Tyana*, believed him immortal, and consecrated a temple to him close to their city ^a. His images were set up in many temples; and the emperors, instead of checking, countenanced this superstition, by the honours which they themselves paid to the impostor (C). But notwithstanding the great esteem which several of the emperors had for him, and his many pretended miracles, he was, at the beginning of the fourth century, generally looked upon as an impostor, and a magician ^b. *Eunapius*, who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, attempted to retrieve the reputation of his pretended hero ^c; but was therein attended with no better success than a late writer of no mean character; for, in spite of the utmost efforts of men, falsehood must, in the end, yield, and truth prevail. *Philostratus* ^{His} has transmitted to us several letters written by *Apollonius*, ^{works.} most of them very short, with a long apology, which he had composed with a design to pronounce it before *Domitian*, not knowing ^d, though a great prophet, that the emperor would not hear it, and that in writing it he laboured to no effect. Besides this apology, and a great number of letters to persons of all ranks and conditions ^e, he wrote a treatise upon judi-

^a EUNAP. in vit. sophist. præfat.

^b LACT. l. v. c. 3.

^c EUNAP. in præfat.

^d PHILOST. l. viii. c. 3.

^e Idem,

l. iii. c. 13.

(C) *Adrian* collected, and lodged in the palace at *Antium*, a great many of his letters (9). *Antonius Caracalla* honoured him with divine worship, and consecrated a temple to him (1). The emperor *Alexander* kept his image in a private place of his palace, together with the images of our Saviour, of *Abraham*, and of several princes, who had governed with equity and moderation (2). *Vopiscus* tells us, that he read in certain memoirs, and also heard of persons of credit, that the emperor *Aurelianus* being resolved to give up the city of *Tyana* to be plundered by his

soldiers, *Apollonius* appeared to him, and diverted him from that design; and adds, that the emperor, convinced by that miraculous apparition, that *Apollonius* was a god, vowed to him an image, a temple, and a statue (3); but, whether he performed his vow, *Vopiscus* does not inform us; neither does he vouch the truth of the apparition, though he professed a particular veneration for *Apollonius*, and even designed to write his life in *Latin*, as *Philostratus* had done in *Greek*, that his stupendous actions, says he, may be known to the whole world.

(9) *Philost.* l. viii. c. 12, 14.

(1) *Dio.* l. lxxvii. p. 878.

(2) *Lamp.*

in vit. *Vir.* p. 123.

(3) *Vopisc.* in vit. *Aur.*

cial astrology, comprised in four books^f, and another upon sacrifices, wherein he pretended to shew with what kind of victims each deity was most pleased. The former treatise was not much esteemed; but the latter was received with general applause. It is once quoted by *Eusebius* ^g, and mentioned likewise by *Suidas* ^h. His theology, out of which *Eusebius* quotes a passageⁱ, and his treatise upon sacrifices, are, in all likelihood, one and the same work.

C H A P. XII.

From the Death of Domitian, the last of the twelve Cæſars, to the Death of Trajan, who brought the Empire to its utmost Grandeur and Extent.

M. Cocceius Nerva emperor. **T**HE death of *Domitian* was no sooner divulged, than the ſenate aſſembled, and with one voice declared *M. Cocceius Nerva* emperor. He was a native of *Narnia* in *Umbria*; but his family came originally from the iſland of *Crete*; ſo that he was neither by birth a *Roman*, nor deſcended from an Italian family (A). He was born, according to *Dio Caſſius*, on the ſeventeenth of *March*, in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius's* reign, and thirty-ſecond of the Chriſtian æra; and was by *Nerva* in the twelfth year of his reign, honoured with the prætorſhip, and a ſtatue in the palace^b, having, by his

His family.

^f PHIL. l. iv. c. 6.
^g 13.
^h SUID. p. 376.
ⁱ DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 771.

^a EUSEB. præp. evang. lib. iv.
^b EUSEB. demonſt. evang. l. iii.
^c TACIT. ann. l. xv. c. 7.

(A) However, his father, grandfather, and great grandfather, had been honoured in *Rome* with the conſular dignity. His grandfather *M. Cocceius Nerva*, one of the moſt learned civilians in *Rome*, was conſul in the eighth year of *Tiberius's* reign, and twenty-ſecond of the Chriſtian æra, accompanied that prince in his retirement, and, affected with

the ſadneſs of the times, choſe, when in perfect health, a voluntary death (1). His father, who bore the ſame name, was conſul in the fourth year of the reign of *Claudius*, and fortieth of the Chriſtian æra (2). His mother, by name *Plautilla*, was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, being the daughter of one *Lenax*, conſular (3).

(1) TACIT. annal. l. vi. c. 8. AUR. VIET. epit. Eutrop. Diſc. l. lxxvii. p. 767. Front. ag. æneid. p. 119. Orop. in juſt. p. 198.
(2) Orop. ibid.
(3) Gell. l. i. p. 246.

eloquent poems (for he was one of the best poets of his time), gained the affection of that prince, who even inscribed to him some of his poetical pieces^c. *Pliny* speaks of his epigrams, and commends them^d. He was consul with *Vespasian* in the year 71. and with *Domitian* in 90^e.

He is commended by all the antients as a prince of a most sweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generosity, and one who looked upon himself as raised to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people; and truly the happiness and welfare of those who lived under him were, during the short time he reigned, his only end and pursuit. He seems to have been naturally timorous^f, and some writers charge both him and *Trajan* with excessive drinking^g. *Apollonius Tyanus* was the first, if *Philostatus* is to be credited, who solicited him to assume the sovereignty, or at least to deliver *Rome* from the tyranny of *Domitian*. *Nerva* hearkened to him, but his courage failed him, when the design was to be put in execution^h. *Apollonius*, however, did not scruple denying the whole to *Domitian*, assuring him, that *Nerva*, though equal to the greatest honour, was so far from procuring them by unlawful means, that he would not accept them, if offered, dreading a thing so much, on account of his infirmities, and his love of retirement, as being any-way concerned in the administration of public affairsⁱ. However, *Domitian*, either acquainted with *Nerva*'s design, narrowly or giving credit to the astrologers, who advised him to beware of *Nerva*, since his nativity seemed to promise him the death of an empire, confined him to *Tartarus* in the year 94. and would have put him to death, had not a more kind astrologer assured the emperor, that *Nerva*, who was of a weak constitution, and subject to many infirmities, would die in a few days^k (B).

DOMITIAN

^c MARTIAL l vii epigr 70 & l ix ep 27 ^d PLIN. l iii lib 8 ^e FRONTINUS l i p 219 ^f ALEXANDER VICTOR in vit l i p 117 ^g Idem ibid l i p 117 ^h PLETO in vit Apoll Tyan ⁱ Idem ibid c 14 l viii. c 3 ^j Idem, lib lxxviii p 769

(B) *Aurelius Victor* writes that *Nerva*, reading of the cruelty of *Domitian*, retired to *Gaul*, and was there when he received the news of the tyrant's death, and his own assumption to the empire⁴. On the other hand, *Dio Cassius* takes no notice of his banishment, but supposes him to have been at *Rome* when *Do-*

(4) *Aur. Vi. l i in ep 2.*

Is ac-
knowleged
emperor by
the senate
and sol-
diery.

Year of
the flood

2444.
Of Chr.

96.
Of Rome

844.



DOMITIAN being killed on the eighteenth of September the year 96. *Nerva* was the same day declared emperor by the senate, and, as such, acknowledged by the prætorian guards, notwithstanding their concern for the death of the late emperor, which they would have revenged, had they not been restrained by *Petronius Secundus*, one of their captains, and by *Parthenius*, Domitian's chief chamberlain¹. *Nerva* had scarce assumed the sovereignty, when a false report was spread, that *Domitian* was still alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to discover the designs of such as he suspected: hence dread seized all, and the concourse about the new emperor dispersed in a moment. *Nerva* himself, naturally wary and timorous, was struck speechless, betrayed great dismay in his countenance, and, fallen from the highest hopes, waited for present death, till *Parthenius* assured him, that the report was quite groundless. Hereupon, recovering his former temper, he went first to the camp of the prætorian guards, and thence, after he had secured them by a promise of the usual donative, to the senate, where he was received with the greatest marks imaginable of esteem and affection. Many congratulatory speeches were made to him on this occasion; but that of *Arrius Antoninus*, grandfather to the emperor *T. Antoninus* by his mother, was of a different nature from the rest; for, embracing the new emperor, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, "I am come (said he) with the rest, to congratulate the senate, the people of *Rome*, and the provinces of the empire, upon your advancement to this high post; but cannot pay the same compliment to you, who, after having, by your wisdom and virtue, happily escaped the rage of so many wicked princes, plunge yourself into new dangers and troubles, being exposed to the censure and hatred both of your friends and foes, especially of the former, who will not fail, if any of their suits are denied, to become your most implacable enemies^m."

¹ PLIN. panegy. DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 769.
in epit.

^m AUR. VICT.

Domitian was murdered: for he tells us, that *Parthenius*, and the other conspirators, offered the empire, before the assassination of *Domitian*, to several persons; who, looking upon such an offer as a snare laid for their destruction,

declined it; but that at length *Nerva*, who was daily expected to be sacrificed by the jealousy of the emperor, was prompted, by his own fear, to accept the sovereign power, as the only means of preserving his life (c).

(c) DIO, l. lxxii. p. 767.

NERVA, now confirmed in the sovereignty both by the senate and soldiery, blended together two things, says Tacitus^a, once thought irreconcilable; public liberty, and sovereign power; for, under him, the Romans enjoyed all the former, and felt none of the evil effects of the latter^o. He immediately delivered from their fears, and set at liberty, all those who had been, under the late emperor, arraigned of treason, and recalled such as had been banished under colour of the same crime^p, causing their lands and inheritances to be restored to them, without the least deduction (C). However, he would not suffer *Licinianus*, who had been banished for debauching a vestal, to return to Italy; but gave him leave to pass the remainder of his life in Sicily^q. He enacted more severe laws against informers, than *Titus* had done, who all informers. abhorred that race of men; and caused all the slaves and freed-men to be put to death, who had informed against their masters and patrons. Besides these, many other informers were publicly executed, and, among them, a philosopher by name *Seras*. At the same time he published an edict, forbidding, agreeably to the antient laws of Rome, a slave or freedman to appear against his master in any accusation whatsoever; and ordering, that no person should, for the future, be accused of violated majesty, or prosecuted for living after the manner of the Jews^r, by which words *Dio*, without all doubt, meant the Christians. He solemnly swore, that no senator should ever by his order be put to death; and religiously observed his oath, though some of that body conspired against him, as we shall presently relate. All the goods and effects belonging to particulars, which he found in the palace, he ordered to be immediately restore to the proprietors; lessened the taxes; delivered the Jews from the cruelties and oppressions of the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the great satisfaction of the Romans, annulled the law of *Augustus*, ordering the twentieth part of each inheritance and legacy to be paid in to the exchequer.

HE allowed no gold or silver statues to be erected to him, retrenched all superfluous expences, abolishing, for that pur-

^a TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 3. ^o PLIN. l. ix. epist. 13. ^p DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 769. ^q EUSEB. l. iii. c. 20. ^r DIO, ibid.

(C) *Pliny* mentions many illustrious persons; who returned from banishment on this occasion (6): and a medal struck the

following year, which has reached us, bears the following legend; *Exules Rom. redditi*, that is, *The exiles restored to Rome* (7).

(6) *Plin. l. iv. epist. 11.*

(7) *Birag. numif. p. 144.*

His generosity towards the people.

pose, divers sacrifices, and public shews; and, as he wanted money wherewith to relieve the necessitous citizens, and reward his friends, he at last sold great part of the gold and silver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own house, and of the imperial palace, with several houses and estates. In selling them, he was not difficult as to the price; but seemed overjoyed to have so favourable an opportunity of obliging many. He laid out a vast sum upon the purchase of land, to be divided amongst the poor of *Rome*, appointing some senators of known integrity, and, among the rest, one *Corellus*, highly esteemed by *Pliny*^s, to divide it amongst the indigent^t. From several medals of this year it appears, that he twice divided considerable sums among the people, besides the lands, and moreover a large quantity of corn^u. The children of such as were poor he caused to be brought up, in all the cities of *Italy*, at the public expence. He eased not only *Italy*, but all the provinces, of the heavy impositions with which they had been burdened by *Vespasian* and *Domitian*; and utterly abolished the tribute upon all carriages, which was generally looked upon as an insufferable grievance: hence the senate caused several medals to be struck, to perpetuate, by that means, the remembrance of so great a favour^w. Of the many instances of his disinterestedness taken notice of by the antients, we shall only relate the following: *Atticus*, a citizen of *Athens*, father to the famous *Herodes Atticus*, of whom we shall speak in the reign of *T. Antoninus*, having discovered in his house a large treasure, wrote to *Nerva*, desiring to know how he should dispose of it. The emperor, who had no byas to avarice, answered, *Utere, Use it*; but *Atticus*, not thinking himself yet secure, wrote to him a second letter, acquainting him, that the treasure was too great for a private person, and that he was thence afraid to use it. To this the generous prince replied in two words, *Ergo abutere, Then abuse it*; signifying thereby, that the treasure was his without reserve, and that he might dispose of it as he thought fit^x.

His disinterestedness.

Some of his laws.

NERVA renewed the law of *Domitian*, prohibiting the castration of children^y; and by one edict confirmed all the grants of that prince. He published a law, forbidding any one to marry his niece, which was first allowed in the reign of *Claudius*^z; applied himself with great care to the reforma-

^s PLIN. l. vii. epist. 31. ^t DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 370. ^u ZONAR. p. 199. Chron. Alexand. ^w BIRAC. numif. p. 142. ^x Idem p. 144. ^y PHILOST. in vit. sophist. p. 549. ^z DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 770. ^z Idem ibid.

tion of manners; was ambitious in the administration of justice; and, in short, behaved in such manner towards all, that he used to say, He believed he might resign the empire, and return with safety to a private life, not being conscious to himself of having done the least thing that could give any man just motive of offence. He was perhaps too kind to *His too* such, as were altogether unworthy of his favours; which gave great leni- occasion to some persons to complain of his lenity and indul- *ty and in-* gence (D). As soon as, by the death of *Domitian*, and as- sumption of *Nerva*, public liberty was restored, to use the expression of *Pliny*^b, all who had suffered by false accusations flocked to the senate, demanding, that condign punishment might be forthwith inflicted on such as had informed against them. The senate hearkened to their request, and punished some with death, others with banishment; but not without great partiality, sparing those of their own body. Hereupon *Pliny* boldly undertook the accusation of *Publicus Certus*, who was not only of the senatorial order, but had been by *Domitian* named to the consulship with *Vestius Proculus*. The senate, having first attempted in vain to persuade *Pliny* to drop the prosecution, referred in the end the whole affair to the emperor, who contented himself with confirming the consulship to *Vestius*, and naming another to that dignity in the room of *Certus*, who died soon after of grief^c (E).

ON

^a DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 770. ^b PLIN l. ix. epist. 13. ^c Idem
ibid. DIO, p. 769.

(D) Having one day invited to his table, besides many other persons of distinction, *Junius Mauricus*, who had been banished by *Domitian*, and *Fabricius Veiento*, a consular, who, with his secret informations, had occasioned the ruin of many illustrious citizens in the preceding reign, one of the guests happened to mention *Catullus Messalinus*, a noted informer under *Domitian*, when the emperor, hearing him named, What would *Catullus* say, said he, were he alive?

He replied, *Many* *Cus*, with great freedom, he would be at table with us; which was a gentle reflection on the emperor's lenity and kindness to *Veiento*, and others, whom he ought rather to have punished than caressed (8).

(E) *Nerva* did not think it adviseable to condemn him, as was then commonly believed because he lived in great friendship with the governor of Syria, who was at the head of a powerful army; which gave no small umbrage to *Nerva* (9). Besides, in the heat of the first prosecution, some persons, among the rest, the philosopher *Seras*, had been pu-

(8) VIT. epist. 22. PLIN l. iv. epist. 22.

(9) Idem, lib. ix. epist. 13.

Virginius
Rufus
dies.

Calpur-
nius Cra-
sus con-
spires a-
gainst
Nerva ;

who par-
dons him.

On the calends of *January*, *Nerva* entered upon his third consulship, which was the first after his accession to the empire ; and chose for his colleague *L. Virginius Rufus*, to whom the soldiers had frequently offered the empire. As *Virginius* was rising, after he had assumed the fasces, to pronounce a speech in praise of the emperor, according to the custom which then obtained, he let a hood drop out of his hand, and, as he stooped to take it up, fell himself, and had the misfortune to break his leg ; which, as he was then in the eighty-third year of his age, occasioned his death. He was, by the emperor's order, buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence ; and *Cornelius Tacitus* the historian, whom *Nerva* named to the consulate in his room, pronounced his funeral oration^d. *Pliny* wrote another panegyric upon him in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, acquainting him with the death of that illustrious citizen^e. This year *Calpurnius Crassus*, descended from the antient and illustrious family of the *Crassi*, conspired, with some others, against *Nerva* ; who, being immediately informed of their wicked designs, sent for them ; and, carrying them with him to the public theatre, placed them next to himself, and presented to them, as *Titus* had done on the like occasion, the swords of the gladiators, which were always brought to, and viewed by, the emperor^f. We are not told what effect this instance of generosity had upon the conspirators. All we know is, that *Crassus*, having owned his crime, was, with his wife, banished to *Tarentum*. The senate were for condemning both him, and his accomplices, to death ; but the emperor, alleging the oath he had taken not to spill the blood of any senator, checked their zeal. Whereupon *Fronto*, to whom *Nerva* had resigned the fasces, offended at the prince's unseasonable clemency, as he styled it, said boldly, that *it was a great misfortune to have a prince, under whom all things were criminal and forbidden ; but a still greater to be governed by one, under whom all things were allowed*^g. The emperor was so far from resenting this freedom, that thenceforth he acted with somewhat more severity, taking for his counsellors such of the senators as were persons of great experience, and known integrity, and dispatching, with their advice, all matters of consequence.

^d PLIN. lib. ii. epist. 1.
770. VICI. epist.

Idem ib. 1.

^f Dio,

^g Dio, p. 769.

nished with death as informers, the good-natured em-
and afterwards found innocent ; peror great un- (1).

THE same year the prætorian guards, headed by *Ælia- The prætorian*
nus Casperius their commander, occasioned disturbances in the city, under colour of revenging the death of *Domitian*; *guards*
 flew to the palace, and thus besieged *Nerva*, demanding with *raise a tu-*
 great boldness, that all those who had been any-way concerned *muli.*
 in the assassination of the late emperor, might be forthwith
 delivered up to them, or publicly executed. *Nerva*, though
 naturally timorous, behaved on this occasion with incredible
 firmness; for, offering his bare neck to the incensed soldiery,
 he begged they would be satisfied with his life, and spare those,
 to whom he was indebted for the empire, and whom, on that
 account, he could not in honour abandon. But his resolution
 was to no effect; he was in the end constrained, as *Pliny*
 writes^b, to condemn those, whom he studied to preserve at
 the expence of his own life; for the soldiers, without being *Nerva is*
 in the least awed or moved by him, cut in pieces *Petronius obliged to*
Secundus, *Parthenius*, and the other conspirators, as we read *comply*
 in *Victor the younger*, or, as he is by some styled, *Victorinus* i. *with their*
 Neither did the mutinous soldiery stop here; but obliged the *unjust de-*
 emperor to return them public thanks before the people, for *mands.*
 putting to death the worst and most wicked of men^k.

THIS insolence and boldness of the soldiery proved in the
 end very advantageous to the empire; for *Nerva*, finding him-
 self despoised on account of his infirmities, and old age, resolved
 to name some person for his successor, who should be able,
 both to support him, and to govern with equity and modera-
 tion after his death. He was not without many relations and
 friends of his own; but, as he had more at heart the welfare
 of the empire, than the grandeur of his family, he overlooked
 them, and chose *Ulpius Trajan*, the greatest and most de- *He adopts*
 serving person of that age, for his successor, and at the same *Ulpius*
 time adopted him in the capitol, declaring his adoption with a *Trajan.*
 loud voice, thus: *With my hearty wishes for the prosperity of*
the senate and people of Rome, and that what I do may prove
fortunate to them and myself, I declare Marcus Ulpius Trajan
my son. He afterwards gave him the title of *Cæsar*, with that
 of *Germanicus*, which he himself seems to have assumed about
 this time, invested him with the tribunitial power, and even
 honoured him with the title of *emperor*; so that he created
 him not only his successor, but his partner in the empire:
 at the same time he named him consul for the ensuing
 year^l. The adoption of *Trajan*, which was received
 with great joy both by the senate and people, put a stop to
 the disorders committed by the soldiery, who immediately re-

^b PLIN. pan. ^l VICT. in epit. ^k Id. ibid. ^l VICT. ibid.
 SID. car. vii. cr. 114. PLIN. panegy. DIO, l. lxxix. p. 70.

turned to their duty. Towards the close of this year, ~~he~~ ^{he} took upon him the title of *imperator*, on account of a victory gained over the Germans in *Pannonia*ⁿ, of which we know not the particulars.

The death
of Nerva.

THE following year he ~~ent~~ ^{came} upon his fourth consulship, having *Ulpus Trajan*, now the second time consul, for his colleague; but died soon after, according to some, on the twenty-first, according to others, on the twenty-seventh, of *January*. For, having heated himself in chiding with great acrimony the celebrated informer *Aquilius Regulus*, he was seized with a fever, which, as he was weak, and advanced in years, soon put an end to his life, after he had reigned sixteen months, and eight, or, at most, nine days. He had lived, according to *Dio Cassius*ⁿ, sixty-five years, ten months, and as many days, according to *Eutrochius*, seventy-one; and, according to *St. Jerom*, seventy-three years^o. He died in the *Sallustian* gardens, whence his body was carried by the senate to the tomb of *Augustus* ^p. He was ranked amongst the gods, and *Trajan*, out of gratitude, caused several temples to be erected to him both in *Rome*, and the provinces ^q. He was, no doubt, a prince of great wisdom, generosity, and moderation, but some of the provinces were more grievously oppressed in his reign than in that of *Domitian*, the governors, who dreaded *Domitian*, presuming, upon the lenity and goodness of his successor, to enrich themselves at the expence of the unhappy people committed to their care. These grievances *Nerva* would not have failed to redress, had he lived long enough to know them.

Is ranked
amongst
the gods

Trajan
Year of
the flood
2146
Of Chr
98
Of Rome
846

His fami-
ly, ances-
tors and
prefer-
ments

TRAJAN was a *Spaniard* both by birth and extraction, descended rather of an antique than an illustrious family, born in *Italica* near *Seville*, now known, according to some, by the name of *Old Seville*, according to others, by that of *Alcala del Rio*^r. His father, named also *Trajan*, had been honoured with the consulship, distinguished with triumphal ornaments, and raised, no doubt by *Vespasian*, to the rank of a patrician^s. *Trajan*, commander of the tenth legion, who signalized himself at the taking of *Sapha*, as we read in *Josephus*^t, was, we conjecture, father to the present emperor, who was born, according to most writers, in the twelfth year of the reign of *Claudius*, and fifty second of the Christian era^u. He followed the profession of arms from his early

ⁿ *PLIN* panegy. *BIRAC* numis p 145 ^r *DIO*, l lxix
p 770 ^s *ET* 18^o *CHION* ^p *VICT* ept ^q *PLIN* panegy.
EUTROP *SID* car vii ver 113 ^t *Vide* *BAUDR.*
p 394 ^u *PLIN* pan *EUTROP* ^v *JOSEPH* bell.
Jud c. 11 ^w *EUTROP*. *GOIFZ* *GRUTER* &c

young, and before ten years in quality of tribune. He checked the vices of the *Parthians*, says his panegyrist, while he was yet very young, and defeated their measures with the bare repute of his name. But he then commanded, in all likelihood, under his father to whom he gave, when emperor, the title of *Parthicus*, as appears from various medals. He was prætor in the year 86. and consul in 91. with *Acilius Glabrio*. Soon after his consullship, he withdrew to *Spain*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*; and there led a retired life, till he was by that prince recalled, and appointed governor of *Lower Germany*; which must have been after the revolt and defeat of *Antoninus* in 88. For, had he had any share in that victory, *Pliny* would have mentioned it in his panegyric. While he was governor of *Germany*, he performed nothing which his panegyrist thought worth mentioning, since he only says, that, while he governed in *Germany*, he gained the affections of the soldiery; but, notwithstanding their inviolable attachment, never entertained the least thought of revolting from the word of princes, to whom he had sworn allegiance, and seizing, as he might, the empire for himself.

He was still governor of *Germany*, when *Nerva* adopted *Is adopted* him for his son, appointed him his successor, and took him by *Nerva* for his partner in the empire, as we have related above. To this choice *Nerva* was directed by the extraordinary merit of *Trajan*, and a sincere desire of continuing to all the nations subject to the empire that happiness which they enjoyed in his reign. And truly *Trajan* possessed in an eminent degree all those qualities which form a great, an excellent prince. He was, when preferred to the empire, in the forty-second, or, as some will have it, the forty-fifth, year of his age, and consequently neither subject to the vices of youth, rashness, and precipitation, nor to the weakness and inolence attending old age. His body was robust, and inured to fatigue; his countenance comely and majestic; his stature regular and tall; and his behaviour extremely engaging. He was not himself a man of learning, having from his childhood been brought up in the camp; but favoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himself wanted. As to military affairs, he *Trajan as* was, without dispute, the best commander of his age, and *as best* equal to the greatest generals of antiquity. In every duty of *command* war he was indefatigable; he marched always on foot at the head of the army, even after he was emperor; and crossed immense countries without ever once mounting on horseback,

W PLIN. pag. * Idem ibid. 7 SPANH. l. vii. p. 851.

2 DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 765. SPARTIAN. p. 1. 8. PLIN. panegy.

3 PLIN. ibid. Idem ibid.

or suffering himself to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot or litter. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb, and general dress, he little varied from a common soldier. Upon consultations and dispatches he bestowed nights and days. He never retired to a tent, till he had visited the camp, and was always the first in the field when the usual exercises were to be performed. He was acquainted with all the old soldiers, called them by their names, remembered their exploits, and familiarly conversed with them; but at the same time knew how to keep them to their duty^c. He was great in war, and equally great in peace. When he first assumed the sovereign power, he publicly professed, that he did not think himself, in that high station, more exempt from the observance of the laws, than the meanest of the populace; and accordingly took an oath to obey them, which he religiously observed; and thence *Pliny* says, that all the emperors before him had made the same professions, but their professions were not believed.

His moderation, affability, generosity, and other virtues.

WHAT they had promised to be, *Trajan* was; for he possessed the place of a lawful prince, only to prevent the exercise of lawless power^d. He delighted to see his people happy, and had nothing so much at heart as to make them so. To accomplish this, he cheerfully lessened his revenue, lessened his authority, and restrained his prerogative, where it seemed in the least to interfere with the interest and happiness of his people. He was aware, that overbearing pride was not the means to win affection or esteem; and that condescension in a prince is not irreconcilable with his dignity, but rather a sure way to raise it: he therefore lived with his people rather like a father with his children, than a prince with his subjects^e. He advanced none but the most virtuous and worthy; and such as were otherwise, he chose to reform and reclaim rather with gentleness and clemency, than with rigour and severity. On his taking upon him the empire, he declared in full senate, that no good man should ever be put to death by his orders, which he confirmed by a solemn oath, and religiously observed it. He suffered but few statues to be erected to him, checked such as offered to flatter him, and would not allow any extraordinary honours to be conferred upon him. His palace was constantly open to persons of all ranks, whom he received with extraordinary kindness, heard with great patience, and strove, as far as in him lay, to dismiss none from his presence dissatisfied; looking upon himself as raised to that high post, not for his own advantage, but for that of others. To the

^c *PLIN. panegy. DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 772.*

^d *PLIN. ibid.*

^e *Idem ibid. DIO, p. 773. VICT. in epit.*

rest of his great qualities, he added that of veracity, acting in council, in public negotiations, and with private men, without those little artifices which wise men despise, and none but the apes of wise men practise. He would never suffer any one to be condemned upon suspicions, however strong and well-grounded, saying, it was better a thousand criminals should escape unpunished, than one innocent person be condemned ^f. When he appointed *S. S. S. S.* captain of his guards, in presenting him, according to custom, with a drawn sword, the badge of his office, he used these memorable words ; *Pro me ; si merear, in me : Employ his sword for me ; but turn it, if I deserve it, against me* ^g.

He allowed none of his freedmen any share in the administration, telling them, that he, and not they, was invested with the sovereign power, and therefore warning them not to assume any authority inconsistent with their rank (F). He is said to have excelled even *Nerva* himself in generosity; and all the preceding princes in the largesses with which he relieved, not only the citizens of *Rome*, but the indigent people in all the provinces of the empire : whence he was by all nations looked upon as a common father, and, as such, loved and revered ^h. However, he was not without some faults : he was addicted to wine (G). *Pliny* extols his chastity ⁱ ; but *Dio* owns, that he abandoned himself to the most infamous and unnatural practices ^k ; and agrees therein both with *Spar-*

Allows his freedmen no power.

His faults.

^f *PLIN. panegyri. VICT. epit. DIO, p. 771.*

^g *DIO, p. 778. AUR. VICTOR. DIO, & PLIN. ibid.*

^h *PLIN. pan. p. 36.*

^k *DIO, p. 772.*

ⁱ *DIO,*

^j *PLIN.*

(F) Some persons having a suit with one of them, by name *Eurythmus*, and seeming to fear the imperial freedman, *Trajan* assured them, that the cause should be heard, discussed, and decided, according to the strictest laws of justice ; adding, *For neither is he Polycletus, nor I Nero, Polycletus, of whom we speak in the reign of Nero ; was that prince's favourite freedman.*

(G) This fault *Dio Cassius* owns ; but adds, that he never

drank to excess (2). On the other hand, *Aur. Victor* assures us, that he enjoined all his officers not to put in execution such orders as he should give at or after his banquets (3) ; and *Julian*, surnamed *the Apostate*, writes, that *Trajan* had a talent for eloquence, and would have applied himself with success to that study, had he not, by immoderate drinking, impaired his natural capacity (4).

(2) *Dio, p. 772.*
Cass. p. 39.

(3) *Aur. V. in Adr. un. p. 2.*

(4) *Julian,*

tian¹, and the emperor Julian^m, who likewise charges him with laziness, for suffering *Sura* to write most of his lettersⁿ. He loved gay amusements and diversions; but from hence arose no neglect or relaxation in his conducting his public affairs. He was somewhat ambitious, and more desirous of extending the confines of the empire, than was consistent with justice (H). He suffered himself to be stiled *Lord*, as appears from *Pliny's* epistles to him; a title, which other good emperors, and *Augustus* himself, had constantly refused, and he seems at first to have declined^o. He likewise allowed sacrifices to be offered to his statue, and people to swear by his life and eternity, as most sacred things^p. We shall now pursue the history of his reign, according to the order of time.

He accepts
the title of
Cæsar, and
the em-
pire.

TRAJAN commanded, as we have related above, a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, when he was adopted by *Nerva*, and declared his successor, which happened about the latter end of the year 97. He declined at first accepting that high post; but was soon prevailed upon by the officers of his own army, and the deputies dispatched to him from the armies in *Upper Germany*, and in *Mæsia*, to yield, and assume the title of *Cæsar*. He did not seem in the least elated with his new dignity, choosing rather to be looked upon by his soldiers as their general, than their emperor^q. *Nerva* dying soon after, that is, on the twenty-first or twenty-seventh of *January* of the following year, tidings of his death were first brought to him by *Adrian* his cousin. Hereupon *Trajan*, who was then at *Cologne*, immediately assumed the title of *Augustus*, and was acknowledged as such by the armies in *Germany* and *Mæsia*, who with great joy swore allegiance to him^r. He had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he wrote to the senate, assuring them upon his oath, that no man of probity

¹ SPART. in *Adrian*.
p. 38
l. x. epist. 102, & 89
l. x. epist. 53.

^m JUL. Cæs. p. 12.

ⁿ PLIN. panegyr. p. 4, & 106.

^o Idem, panegyr.

^a Idem,

^p Idem,

^r Idem,

(H) When he affirmed any thing for certain, he used to add; *So may I see Dacia reduced to a province, and pass the Euphrate, and the Danube, on bridges built by myself* (5). He suffered his name to be placed on the build-

ings which he had only repaired, as if they had been founded by him: whence he was nicknamed *Paletarius*, which name is common to all plants growing on walls (6).

(5) *Annian. l. xxiv.*

(6) *Idem, l. xxvii.*

should ever by his orders be either put to death, or injured in his fortune. He did not immediately leave *Germany*, but continued there all this, and part of the following year; for the time of his consulship was expired, as *Pliny* informs us¹, before he set out for *Rome*. All the *German* nations sent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his accession to the empire; and the barbarians, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and used, during the winter, to pass that river on the ice, and commit great devastation on the *Roman* territories, hearing that *Trajan* was created emperor, refrained from all hostilities, not daring to provoke so great a commander, now at liberty to chastize them² (I).

The barbarians
awed by
his pres-
ence.

THE next consuls were *Aulus Cornelius Palma* and *Caius Sossus Senecio*, to whom *Plutarch* inscribed several of the lives he wrote, and some of his moral works. The senate had offered the consulate to *Trajan*; but, he declining it, though

¹ Dio, l. lxxviii p. 771.
ibid.

² P1IN. pan.

Idem

(I) *Tacitus* the historian, in his book of the customs of the Germans, marks the years to the second consulate of *Trajan*, whence some have concluded, that the said book was composed this year, *Trajan* being now consul the second time. He speaks there of the expulsion of the *Bructerians* by the *Chamavians* and *Angrivarians*, as a thing lately happened; and adds, that the gods vouchsafed to gratify the *Romans* with the sight of a battle fought by the barbarians, in which, says our historian, there fell above sixty thousand souls, without a blow struck by us; and, what is a circumstance still more glorious, they fell to furnish us with a spectacle of joy and recreation. May the gods, concludes *Tacitus*, perpetuate amongst these nations, if not love for us, yet by all means hatred towards each other, since they cannot more signally befrend us, than

by sowing divisions amongst our foes (7)^a. The *Bructerians*, who were thus expelled, and, as *Tacitus* writes, utterly extirpated, are thought to have inhabited the country about *Rees* and *Emmerik* in the duchy of *Cleves* (8). However, the *Bructerians* were not utterly exterminated, as *Tacitus* seems to suppose; but, being driven with great slaughter from their ancient habitations, they settled in the present county of *Nassau*, where they gave the *Romans* no small trouble, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history. *Pliny* tells us, that *Trajan* caused a statue to be erected to *Vespasianus Spurinna*, for having constrained the *Bructerians*, notwithstanding their fierceness and arrogance, to receive their king (9, whom, it seems, they had driven out). But this must have happened before the battle and defeat mentioned by *Tacitus*.

(7) Tacit. d. Ger. c. 37. (8) Buch. Belg. l. v. c. 1. (9) Plin. l. ii. epist. 7.

Trajan
sets out for
Rome.

How re-
ceived
there.

The title
of Opti-
mus de-
creed to the
emperor.

His lar-
geſſe.

all the emperors, ever ſince the time of *Claudius*, had aſſumed that dignity the year after their acceſſion to the empire, *Palma* and *Senecio*, his two chief favourites, were appointed in his room ^w. This year *Trajan* left *Germany*, and ſet out for *Rome*: his march proved no-way burdensome to the provinces through which he paſſed, no man being injured either in his perſon or fortune by the emperor, or his numerous attendants. He cauſed the expences of his march, and that of *Domitian* when he went into *Gaul*, to be computed, and inſerted in the public registers, that his ſucceſſors might thence learn how conduct themſelves on the like occaſion ^a. He entered *Rome* on foot, and was there received, by perſons of all ranks, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, the people of *Rome* promiſing themſelves complete happineſs under ſo good and ſo great a prince. He tenderly embraced his old friends, who came to meet him; and would not be treated by them as their ſovereign, but as a friend, aſſuring them, that ſuch they ſhould find him on all occaſions. He went ſtrait to the capitol, attended by the ſenate, and the whole city, and thence to the palace ^v.

The ſenate decreed the emperor, ſoon after his arrival, the title of *Optimus*; which he willingly accepted, and ſeemed to value above all thoſe which were afterwards conferred upon him on account of his victories ^a. However, we do not find it in any inſcription amongſt his other titles till the year 110. the thirteenth of his reign ^a. This year he paid part of the donative which he had promiſed, according to cuſtom, to the ſoldiery; and made large diſtributions both of money and corn amongſt the *Roman* people, extending his generoſity to ſuch as were abſent, and even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any ſhare in ſuch largeſſes till eleven years old ^b. By means of theſe largeſſes, which he frequently renewed, he is ſaid to have ſupported near two millions of ſouls ^c. He did not confine the effects of his good-nature to *Rome* alone, but appointed very conſiderable ſums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, for the maintenance of children, whom their indigent parents could not, without great difficulty, bring up and ſupport (K).

^w PLIN. pan. p. 110—115.
ibid. p. 38, 39.
BIRAG. p. 149. SPART. p. 16.
faubon. p. 122.

^a Idem ibid. p. 37.
DIO, p. 781.

^v Idem

^a Vide FABRET-
TI de column. Trajan. c. 9.

^b PLIN. panegy. p. 44.
Vide SPART. not. Ca-

(K) To this unbounded gene-
roſity allude, no doubt, ſeveral
medals ſtruck this or the follow-
ing year, which repreſent *Trajan*

distributing corn to children, with
the following legend, *He nourishes*
Italy (1).

(1) *Oecon. numism. p. 202. 205.*

He took great care, that *Rome* should be supplied with plenty of provisions, especially with corn, which, during the whole time of his reign, was sold at a very low rate: he exhibited several shows, and a combat of gladiators, to satisfy the populace, fond of such diversions; but drove out of *Rome* the players, who had been banished by *Domitian*, but, at the request of the people, recalled by *Nerva*. He published several laws against informers, and confined to the islands such of that tribe as had been spared by *Nerva*, utterly abolishing the so much hated law of majesty. He repaired, at a vast charge, several old buildings, and enlarged the circus; but would not suffer the people to return him thanks for his public works; nay, he issued an edict, forbidding his name to be mentioned either in the circus, or the theatre, which, till then, had resounded, says *Pliny*, with the praises of wicked princes^d. All these things are related by *Pliny* as happening in the second year of *Trajan's* reign, before the time appointed for the electing of consuls. The people had, it seems, recovered their antient privilege of creating magistrates; for *Trajan*, whom the senate had pressed to accept a third consulship, appeared amongst the other candidates, begging, like a private citizen, the suffrages of the tribes^e. He chose for his colleague *Fronto*, according to some; *Frontinus*, according to others; for both *M. Julius Fronto*, and *Sextus Julius Frontinus*, who wrote a treatise on aqueducts, lived at this time. In the same assembly, *Pliny* and *Tertullus Cornutus* were appointed to succeed *Fronto* or *Frontinus*, and others to succeed them; for at this time few consuls held that dignity above three months.

IN the beginning of the year, *Trajan* had no sooner assumed the fasces, than he ascended the rostra, and, in the presence of the people, bound himself by a solemn oath to observe the laws, declaring, that what was forbidden to private citizens was equally forbidden to good princes, who, as they are not above the laws, are no less bound, than the meanest of the populace, to conform to them: hence to the public vows, which were in the beginning of each year offered for the health and prosperity of the emperor, he added these conditions; *If he observes the laws; if he governs the republic as he ought; if he procures the happiness of his people*^f. Before *Trajan* resigned the fasces, the cause of *Marius Priscus*, accused by a city of *Africa*, and by several particular persons, of extortion during his proconsulate, was heard by the emperor and senate. *Pliny*, and *Tacitus* the historian, pleaded for the *Africans*; and the trial lasted three days, the emperor hearkening the whole

Is an enemy to informers.

His modesty.

Binds himself by a solemn oath to observe all the laws.

Marius Priscus tried, and condemned.

^d PLIN. pan. p. 74. & l. x. epist. 88. DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 709.

^e PLIN. pan. p. 120.

^f Idem ibid. p. 134.

time with great attention to the reasons alleged on both sides, without ever betraying the least bias to either. In the end, *Priscus* was degraded from the rank of senator, and banished *Italy*: at the same time *Hesilius Firminus*, his lieutenant and accomplice, was declared incapable of holding any employment in the empire &c. This is, no doubt, the *Marius*, who, in spite of the angry gods, enjoyed, as we read in *Juvenal*, even in exile, the immense wealth which he had accumulated by the most wicked means; while *Africa* bewailed, without redress, the losses it had sustained by his avarice: hence the poet calls his condemnation an empty judgment.

The trial
of *Classi-*
cus.

THE condemnation of *Marius Priscus* was followed by that of *Classicus* proconsul of *Bætica*, or father of his accomplices: for *Classicus*, finding himself accused of extortion by the whole province, laid violent hands on himself before the time appointed for his trial. However, the province pursued their action against his accomplices, who had shared in his rapines; and they were, by means of *Pliny*, who pleaded in behalf of the province, all condemned. The estate, which *Classicus* possessed before he was sent into *Spain*, was adjudged to his daughter; but the rest was distributed amongst those whom he had plundered during his administration: *Bebius Probus*, and *Fabius Hispanus*, the ministers of his rapines, were banished for five years, though they alleged in their defence, that they were obliged blindly to obey the orders of the proconsul. *Stillicius Priscus*, who had commanded a cohort under *Cassius*, was banished *Italy* for two years: the daughter of *Classicus* was likewise accused by the province; but *Pliny*, judging her innocent, declined pleading against her; whence the prosecution was droppedⁱ. *Norbanus Licinianus*, who had been lieutenant to *Classicus*, but his declared enemy, was at the same time condemned for other crimes, not mentioned by historians, and confined to one of the islands in the *Archipelago*^k (L). Towards the end of this year, *Julia Sabina*,

^g PLIN. l. x. epist. 4. l. ii. ep. 11. l. vi. epist. 29. l. iii. ep. 9.

^h JUVENAL sat. l. ver. 49. & sat. vii. ver. 120.

ⁱ PLIN.

l. 11. epist. 4. & 9. ^k Idem ibid. epist. 9.

(L) For what we have hitherto related of *Trajan's* administration, we are chiefly indebted to *Pliny*, from whose panegyric on that prince we have copied it. *Pliny* pronounced his speech in the senate when he entered upon his consulship, having composed

it before at the request of the senators. After he had delivered it in full senate, he added, as he himself informs us, many things to it, that it might serve as a model for other princes. Before he published it, he rehearsed it before some of his friends, who for

Sabina, grand-daughter to *Marciana* the emperor's sister, was *Adrian* married to *Adrian* the son of *Aelius Adrian Afer*, cousin to *marries Trajan*. This match, which in the end proved unhappy to *Julia Sabina*, both, was concluded by the empress *Plotina*, who had a particular kindness for *Adrian*, the emperor himself rather consenting to it, than approving it ¹.

THE following year *Trajan*, at the earnest request of the senate, entered upon his fourth consulship, having, for his colleague, according to some^m, *Sextus Articulcius Pætus*; according to othersⁿ, *P. Orfitus*. The same year *Bebius Macer*, *Capio Hispano*, *Valerius Paulinus*, and *Caius Cæcilius Strabo*, were honoured with the consular dignity^o. *Adrian* was this year quæstor, and charged with the care of the registers of the senate^p; which employment he soon resigned, to attend the emperor in the war he undertook against the *Dacians*. *Decabalus* king of the *Dacians* obliged *Domitian*, *Trajan's first war* as we have related in that prince's reign, to purchase *with the Dacians* a peace with a large sum; which he engaged to pay yearly to *Decabalus*. To this tribute *Trajan* would not submit, alleging, that he had not been conquered by *Decabalus*. Besides, the *Dacians* grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good understanding with *Acorus* king of the *Parthians*, which gave *Trajan* no small jealousy. When he, therefore, heard, that the *Dacians* had passed the *Danube*, and committed some hostilities, he was glad of that pretence to make war upon them, and humble an enemy, whose power he began to fear. He immediately drew together a mighty army, marched with incredible expedition to the banks of the *Danube*, passed that river without opposition, *Decaba-*

Year of the flood
2450.
Of Chr.
102.
Of Rome
850.

¹ SPART. in *Adrian*.
in fast.

^m IDAG. in fast.

ⁿ OYUPH.

^o PLIN. l. iv. epist. 3 12. 17.

^p SPART. in *Adrian*.

for three days together heard him with great attention; which he ascribes, not to the elegance or beauties of his performance, but to their being persuaded, that the praises which he bestowed on *Trajan* were a sincere encomium or that prince, and altogether free from flattery: *Pliny* himself assures us, that such passages in his discourse, as were the least studied, pleased most; which

gave him no small satisfaction: for thence he began to entertain hopes of seeing the true taste revive, and the masculine eloquence of the antients again admired. He sent his discourse, which he styles a book, to one of his friends, begging him to mark what he disliked in it, that he might by that means be sure he approved of the rest (2).

(2) *Plin. l. iii. epist. 13. 18.*

The Dacians defeated.

Trajan's humanity to the wounded.

Decebalus king of the Dacians sues for peace :

which is granted

lus not being apprised of his arrival, and entered *Dacia*, committing every-where dreadful devastations. *Decebalus*, however, was not in the least dismayed ; he armed all the youth of the country, and boldly advanced to meet the *Romans*, pitching his camp at a small distance from their intrenchments. *Trajan* immediately drew out his men, in order to offer the enemy battle. As he advanced to the place where they lay, a large mushroom was found, and brought to him, with the following words in *Latin* cut upon it : *Your allies, especially the Byrrhi, advise you to conclude a peace with the Dacians, and to retire.* *Trajan*, despising that advice, continued advancing in order of battle, till he discovered *Decebalus*, at the head of a powerful army ; coming full march to meet him. He then halted, to encourage his men ; which he did in a few words, and then ordered the trumpets to sound the charge. All we know of this action is, that great numbers of the enemy fell, and that the *Romans* gained the victory ; which, however, cost them dear, the wounded on their side being so numerous, that they wanted linen to bind up their wounds ; whereupon *Trajan* tore his own robes, to supply that want. Such as fell in the battle, he caused to be interred with great solemnity ; and ordered an altar to be built on the spot, and sacrifices to be yearly offered in honour of the deceased. *Trajan*, pursuing the advantage of his victory, followed the enemy close ; and, without giving them time to levy new forces, harassed them without intermission to such a degree, that *Decebalus*, reduced almost to despair, sent some of his chief lords with proposals of peace. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura*, and *Claudius Libianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to treat with them ; but, the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* continued his ravages, advancing from one hill to another, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zernizegethusa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other side, *Maximus*, one of the *Roman* generals, made himself master of several strong-holds, in one of which he took the sister of *Decebalus* prisoner, and recovered a *Roman* standard, which had been lost when *Fuscus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*.

At length *Decebalus*, no longer able to withstand the *Romans*, and dreading the destruction of his capital, which would be attended with the loss of his whole kingdom, dispatched anew ambassadors to *Trajan*, offering to accept such conditions as he should think fit to impose. Accordingly *Trajan* granted him a peace upon the following terms : 1. That he should surrender the territories which he had unjustly taken

from the neighbouring nations, 2. That he should deliver *him upon* up his arms, his warlike engines, and the artificers who *hard* made them, with all the *Roman* deserters. 3. That, for the future, he should entertain no deserters, nor take into his service the natives of any country subject to *Rome*. 4. That he should dismantle all his fortresses, castles, and strong-holds. And, lastly, That he should have the same friends and foes with the people of *Rome*. With these articles *Decebalus* complied, though much against his will; and, having sworn to observe them, he was introduced to *Trajan*, before whom he threw himself on the ground, acknowledging himself his vassal. *Trajan* commanded him to send deputies to the senate, for the ratification of the peace; which he did accordingly. The war being thus ended, *Trajan*, having placed garisons in most of the cities of *Dacia*, returned to *Rome*; which he entered in triumph, either in the end of this, *Trajan the first who triumphed over the Dacians.* or the beginning of the following year, and took the surname of *Dacicus*, being the first *Roman* who had ever triumphed over that nation^r.

THE following year one *Suranus*, of whom we find no farther mention in history, and *L. Licinius Sura*, or, as some stile him, *Surus*, were chosen consuls. * *Sura* was *Trajan's* chief favourite, and had employed all his interest with *Nerva* in his behalf; whence to him chiefly, after *Nerva*, *Trajan* acknowledged himself indebted for his adoption and preferment^s (M). This year *Trajan*, at the request of the senate, and

^r DIO, p. 710. SPART. in *Adrian*. GOLTZ. p. 646. EUSEB. in chron. p. 341.

^s VICT. in epit.

(M) He was, as *Gruter* conjectures from several ancient inscriptions (3), a native of *Spain*, born either in *Tarragon* or *Barcelona*, extremely rich, and thence envied by many even of *Trajan's* friends, who, by false insinuations, strove to estrange the prince's mind from him, as if he harboured evil designs. But *Trajan*, who reposed an intire confidence in him, instead of hearkening to his enemies, went one night to sup with him without being invited; and, dismissing his guards,

ordered *Sura's* surgeon to apply a remedy to his eyes; trusted himself to his barber, who shaved him; then bathed, and supped with *Sura*, without ever betraying the least diffidence or fear. The next morning, he told those about him, who were always suggesting something against *Sura*, "If he entertained any evil designs against me, he would have put them in execution last night" (4). *Sura* was still alive in the year 109, the twelfth of *Trajan's* reign, when *Adrian*, whom he had

(3) *Gruter*. p. 249.

(4) *Dio*, *ibid.* p. 777.

Pleaders forbidden to receive fees. and at the motion of *Nigrinus* tribune of the people, published an edict, subjecting such pleaders, as received fees from their clients, to the penalties of the law against extortion: and *Lucinius Nepos* prætor, upon his taking possession of that office, procured a decree from the senate, commanding the parties, before their cause began to be tried, to swear, that they had neither given nor promised any fee, present, or reward, to those who were to plead in their behalf. *Pliny* takes notice of this law, and declares, that he was pleased to see that forbidden to others, which he had never practised himself¹. Towards the end of the year, *Trajan* assumed twice the title of emperor², for victories which were gained by some of his lieutenants (for he himself continued the whole year at Rome), but are not mentioned by any historian.

The port of Centumcellæ. THE next consuls were, *Trajan* the fifth time, and *Lucius Appius Maximus*, who had signalized himself in the *Dacian* war. This year *Trajan* began, and finished two years after, a magnificent and convenient harbour at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, which he called, after his own name, the harbour of *Trajan*³. It is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and described by *Rutilius* in his poem⁴. *Pliny* was this year sent to govern *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, not in quality of proconsul, as others had been, but of lieutenant and proprætor, with consular authority; that is, he was not appointed governor of that province by the senate, but by the emperor, though the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* belonged to the senate. As there were many abuses in that province to reform, the emperor sent *Pliny* thither, with an extraordinary authority, as his lieutenant; but afterwards allowed the senate to appoint the governors as formerly, *Adrian* being the first who took the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* from the senate, and gave them *Pamphylia* in the room of it⁵. *Pliny* was particularly commissioned to examine the revenues and expences of the cities within his jurisdiction, and to retrench all unnecessary charges⁶; but the emperor would not empower him to recal

¹ PLIN. l. v. epist. 14.² GOLTZ. p. 64.³ PLIN.

l. vi. epist. 31. Occo. numism. p. 212.

⁴ RUTIL. p. 132.⁵ DIO in excerpt. VALES. p. 714.⁶ PLIN. l. x. epist. 19.

always favoured, was consul; but died soon after, having assured *Adrian* before he died, that *Trajan* would in the end adopt him (5). *Trajan* caused his funeral

to be performed with the utmost magnificence, erected a statue to him, and called certain splendid baths, which he built, after his name.

such as had been banished by other governors^a, nor even those whom he himself should think fit to banish^b. *Pliny* wrote an account of his journey to the emperor; whence it appears, that he arrived in *Bithynia* on the seventeenth of September, and *Servilius Pudens* his lieutenant on the twenty-fourth of November^c.

THE following year, *L. Licinius Sura* and *M. Marcellus* being consuls, *Sauromates* king of *Bosporus* sent a solemn embassy to *Trajan*, and entered into an alliance with him, and the Roman people^d. Soon after, *Decebalus* king of the *Dacians*, not able to live in subjection and servitude (for so he called the peace which *Trajan* had granted him), began, contrary to the late treaty, to raise men, provide arms, entertain deserters, fortify his castles, and invite the neighbouring nations to join him against the Romans as a common enemy. The *Scythians* hearkened to his solicitations; but the *lazyges* refusing to bear arms against *Rome*, he invaded their country, and seized that part of it which bordered on the *Danube*. Hereupon *Decebalus* was by the senate declared an enemy; and *Trajan*, not caring to commit the management of the war to another, marched against him in person. *Decebalus*, not finding himself in a condition to withstand him by open force, had recourse to deceit and treachery, sending assassins, under the name of deserters, to murder him; but one of these, being apprehended upon suspicion, and put to the torture, discovered the whole plot, and named his accomplices, who were immediately seized and executed. *Decebalus*, failing in this attempt, invited *Longinus*, one of *Trajan's* favourites, and chief commanders, to a conference, as if he designed to put an end to the war, by submitting to the articles of the former treaty, with some small alteration. *Longinus*, not suspecting any treachery, complied with the invitation. But *Decebalus* immediately seized him; and, after having attempted in vain to make him discover the designs of the emperor, he wrote to *Trajan*, offering to set *Longinus* at liberty, upon condition that he would grant him an honourable peace, restore the country bordering on the *Danube*, and defray all the charges of the war; adding, that, if these conditions were not complied with, he would instantly put *Longinus* to death. *Trajan* returned him a judicious answer, neither seeming to undervalue the life of his favourite, nor yet to make such account of it, as to purchase it at too high a rate. But, while *Decebalus* was deliberating with himself, and in suspense, about the measures

Decebalus
violates
the arti-
cles of the
treaty.

Year of
the flood
2453.
Of Chr.
105.

Of Rome
853.

His trea-
chery.

^a *PLIN.* l. x. epist. 44.
ibid. epist. 17, 18. 26. 34.

^b *Idem* ibid. epist. 57.

^c *Idem*

^d *Idem* ibid. epist. 68, 69.

he should pursue, *Longinus*, by a dose of poison, which was privately conveyed to him by a freedman, put an end to his life. *Decabalus* immediately dispatched to *Trajan* a centurion taken with *Longinus*, offering him the body of the deceased general, with ten captives, provided he would deliver up the freedman, whom *Longinus* had sent, before he took the poison, to the emperor, under colour of negotiating a treaty; but *Trajan* would neither hearken to the proposal, nor even suffer the centurion to return.

*Trajan
builds a
bridge
over the
Danube.*

In the mean time *Trajan*, that his troops might with more ease pass the *Danube*, built a bridge over that spacious river, which, by the antients, is stiled the most magnificent and wonderful of all his works, and the most stately fabric of that nature in the universe. It was "all of square stone, and contained twenty arches, each of them one hundred and fifty feet above the foundation, and sixty feet in breadth, all distant from each other one hundred and seventy feet. It was built where the river was narrowest, and consequently where the stream was strongest, and most rapid; which renders the fabric still more stupendous and amazing, on account of the almost unfurmountable difficulties they must have met with in laying so large a foundation". The architect employed on this occasion was one *Apollodorus* of *Damascus*, who, it seems, left a description of this great work¹. *Trajan* ordered two castles to be built, to guard the bridge, one on the *Roman*, the other on the *Dacian* side of the river (N). This stupen-

* *DIO*, l. lxxviii. p. 776. † *PROCOPIUS*. de ædificiis *Iustin.* l. iv. c. 6.

(N) *Pliny* mentions this in the short account he gives us of the *Dacian* war (6); and several medals, representing it, have reached our times (7). It was built in the *Upper Masia*, which, in the time of *Aurelian*, began to be called *Dacia* (8). We are told, that some remains of it are still to be seen near *Zeuerin* in *Lower Hungary* (9). *Trajan* built it, that the *Roman* forces might with ease and readiness pass the *Danube*, and fall upon the barbarians in their own country;

but *Adrian*, fearing the barbarians might make use of it to invade the *Roman* territories, broke down the arches; but the piers were still standing in *Dio Cassius's* time, that is, one hundred and twenty years after, though they served then only to shew, says that writer, the utmost extent of human power (1). When they were by time intirely demolished, the river was so choked with the ruins, that it was not navigable till turned into another chanel (2).

(6) *Plin.* l. viii. c. 4. (7) *Occo.* p. 204. *Baron. annal.* c. ann. 105.
(8) *Fabretti de colum. Trajan.* c. 301. (9) *Occo.* p. 204. (1) *DIO*, p. 776.
(2) *Procop.* de ædificiis *Iustin.* l. iv. c. 6.

dous fabric was begun and ended this summer ; but *Trajan*, not thinking it adviseable to enter *Dacia* upon the approach of winter, contented himself with making the necessary preparations for vigorously attacking the enemy early in the spring.

IN the mean time the following consuls were chosen at *Rome*, *Tiberius Julius Caninius*, and *Aulus Julius Quadratus*, both the second time. This year, the eighth of *Trajan's* reign, a dreadful earthquake overturned in *Asia* the cities of *Elea*, *Myrine*, *Pitame*, and *Cumæ* ; and in *Greece* the cities of *Opus* and *Oritæ* &c.

Adrian discharged for some time the office of tribune of the people, and then went to attend *Trajan* in the war against the *Dacians*. The emperor early in the spring passed the

Danube on the bridge he had built, and, entering the enemy's country, pursued the war with more prudence than expedition, not caring to expose his men to unnecessary dangers ^b.

He often encamped, says *Pliny*ⁱ, on steep and barren mountains ; was obliged to divert rivers into new channells, and to attempt and perform things, which, were they not well at-

tested, would seem altogether fabulous. He gave many signal instances of his personal courage, and the soldiers, animated by his example, chearfully underwent all the hardships of a laborious warfare ^k (O). At length *Trajan* made him-

self master of the capital of *Dacia*, and almost of the whole country ; insomuch that *Decabalus*, seeing himself stripped of his dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the

conqueror, chose rather to put an end to his life, than to live in subjection, or acknowledge himself overcome. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him sent

to *Rome*. He had concealed his treasures in a deep pit, which he caused to be dug in the bed of the river *Sargetia*, now *Istria*, having for that purpose turned the stream into

another chanel, and afterwards brought it to its former course. As for his rich moveables, he secured them in deep caves,

Trajan marches against the Dacians.

Exposes himself to great dangers.

Makes himself master of the capital of Dacia, which is reduced to a Roman province.

Year of the flood 2454. Of Chr.

ⁱ EUSEB. chron. Dio, *ibid*.

DIO, p. 776.

PLIN. l. viii. epist. 9.

106. Of Rome 854.

(O) Among the rest, one of his horsemen being wounded in an engagement, and carried to the camp to have his wound dressed, when he there understood, that his life was despaired of, and the wound incurable, he returned to the combat before

his spirits failed him, performed great wonders, and expired fighting with incredible bravery (3). Several inscriptions are still to be met with, mentioning persons whom *Trajan* rewarded on account of their gallant conduct in the war with the *Dacians* (4).

(3) Dio, p. 777.

(4) *Fabr. c. lum. Trajan. c. 8. p. 238. 241*

which

Many colonies
planted in
Dacia.

which he caused to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not discover the secret; but *Bacilis*, one of his chief favourites and confidants, being taken in this war, discovered the whole to *Trajan*, who seized both the treasure, and precious moveables, of the deceased prince¹ (P). *Dacia* being thus intirely subdued, *Trajan* reduced it to a *Roman* province, which was, according to *Eutropius*^m, a thousand miles in compass. The *Romans* held it, as *Festus Rufus* informs usⁿ, to the reign of the emperor *Gallienus*; during which time it was governed by a *Roman* magistrate, with the title of proprætor, as appears from some antient inscriptions^o. *Trajan* built several castles in the country, and placed garisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome*, and of the other towns of *Italy*, who were willing to settle in *Dacia* (Q).

TRAJAN,

¹ DIO, l lxxix p 787. ^m EUTROP p 236. ⁿ RUF. p 550. ^o GRUTER p 354.

(P) We are told, that, notwithstanding this discovery, great riches were found in those places many ages after, which had escaped *Trajan* (5). The famous column of *Trajan* is thought to have been raised for a lasting monument of the victories gained by that prince over the *Dacians*, and their king, at least, many of the remarkable events of this war are expressed, as *Ciacconius* and *Fabretti* inform us, in the basso relievo of that pillar (6).

(Q) The *Hungarian* writers mention several cities in their country, which were, on this occasion, built or peopled by the *Romans*, but the most celebrated of all was *Ulpia*, which, in several antient inscriptions, is styled *Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Dacia Sarmæ*

It was established by *M Scaurianus* proprætor of *Dacia*, and continued subject to the *Romans* at least to the death of the emperor *Severus* (7). At present it is but a poor village in *Transylvania*, known by the name of *Gradiſch* (8). In *Misia* and *Thrace* several cities borrowed their name from *Trajan*, for we find the city of *Trajanopolis* in *Thrace* mentioned by the antient, that of *Ulpia* in *Upper Mas*, now *Servia*, the cities of *Plotinopolis*, which, no doubt, was called from *Plotina*, *Trajan's* wife, and *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Lower Masia*, which took its name from *Marciana*, the emperor's sister, and was, according to *Jordanes*, built by *Ulpian* (9). The same writer add, that upon the banks of the river *latræ*, or *latrus*, he

(5) *Fal* column. l c 8. p 742. (6) *I* m l l (7) *Gr* an p 63. *DIO*, l lxxviii p. 1040. (8) *Bail* p 378. (9) *Jo* de reb Gotb c 16

TRAJAN, upon his return to Rome, triumphed over the Trajan's
Dacians a second time; caused several medals to be coined in second tri-
memory of his victories, many of which are still to be seen; *triumph over*
entertained the people with public banquets; with shews, in the Da-
which ten thousand gladiators entered the lists; with combats cians.
of wild beasts, of which above ten thousand were killed; and
all kinds of diversions, which lasted one hundred and twenty-
three days (R). The same year is remarkable for the intire Arabia
reduction of Arabia Petraea by Aulus Cornelius Palma, gover- Petraea
nor of Syria, after it had been long governed by its own intirely
kings^r. The inhabitants of Petra and Bosra reckon their reduced.
time from this year, in which their country was first annexed
to the Roman empire^s. Trajan reduced, together with the
Dacians, several nations in alliance with them; so that the
fame of his conquests reaching the most distant countries,
and even India, embassadors were sent from thence to con-
gratulate him upon the success which had attended his
arms^t.

THE next consuls were *Cercalis* and *L. Ceionius Commo-*
usus Verus, the father of *L. Ælius Verus*, as is commonly sup-
posed, who was by *Adrian* created *Cæsar*^u. During their
administration, the *Capitoline* sports, established by *Domitian*,

^p Occo, p. 201. ^q Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 777. ^r Dio, ibid.
^s EUSEB. in chron. p. 206. ^t Dio, ibid. ^u ONUPH.
IDAT. in fast. SPART. in Ælii vit.

founded another city, which he
called *Nicopolis*, or the city of
victory, to perpetuate the me-
mory of his victories over the
Sarmatians, or rather *Dacians*;
for *Jornandes* frequently con-
founds these two nations (1).
This city is by *Ammianus Mar-*
cëllinus called sometimes *Nicopo-*
lis, sometimes *Ulpia*, and placed,
not on the *Latinus*, but on the
Nessus or *Nessus*; and truly, from
several inscriptions produced by
the learned *Helffenius* (2), it ap-
pears to have stood near the con-
flux of the *Nessus* and the *La-*
nube. We must not confound,
as some writers have done, *Ni-*

opolis in *Dacia* with another of
the same name upon mount *Hæ-*
mus in *Thrace*.

(R) *Canius*, at the request of
Pliny, described this war in
verse (3); and *Trajan* himself is
said to have written an account
of it in several books (4). This
war broke out in the beginning
of the preceding year, but was
not ended till the latter end of
this; for we are told, that he
took, for the fifth time, the title
of *imperator* about the latter end
of the ninth year of his tribuni-
tial power, which was the eighth
of his reign (5).

(1) *Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 18.* (2) *Hjß ad Sisyph. p. 225.* (3) *Plin. l. viii*
ep. 14. (4) *Voss. l.ß. Lat. c. 30.* (5) *Vide Notiz. et J. d. c. m. d. p. 47, 48.*

A conspiracy against Trajan.

His moderation on that occasion.

Designs to make war upon the Parthians;

and sets out for the East.

were exhibited the sixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child thirteen years old, named *L. Valerius Pudens* ^w. This year *Trajan* made, at a vast charge, a road through the *Palus Pontina*, or *Pontine Marshes*, whereof the remains are still to be seen ^x; and this, no doubt, is the *Via Trajana*, or *Trajan's Highway*, mentioned in several antient inscriptions produced by *Occo* ^y and *Gruter* ^z. *Dio Cassius* adds, that he ordered all the diminished coin to be melted down, and mentions several magnificent buildings, with which he embellished *Rome*: but of these we shall speak hereafter; for *Trajan* must have only begun them this year, since he left *Rome* in the month of *October*, and was at *Antioch* in the very beginning of the ensuing year ^a. However, before he set out for the East, a conspiracy was formed against him by *Craffus*, and several other persons of the first quality; but seasonably discovered. The conspirators were tried, not by him (for he declined being judge, and at the same time a party), but by the senate, who, it seems, condemned them to banishment.

THE true motive of *Trajan's* journey into the East was a desire of glory, as *Dio Cassius* informs us ^b, which he hoped to reap from a war with the *Parthians*, who, we may say, rivaled the *Romans* themselves in power, and had given them several great overthrows. The pretence he alleged for quarreling with that nation, was, that the king of *Armenia*, by name *Exedares*, had received his crown at the hands of the king of *Parthia*; whereas the *Roman* emperors claimed a right of disposing of that crown ever since the reign of *Nero*, who, in the year sixty-six, the twelfth of his empire, had crowned at *Rome* *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*. *Trajan*, who wanted only a colour to make war upon the *Parthians*, pretended to be highly affronted at the *Parthian* king's giving the crown and royal ensigns to *Exedares*, and demanded satisfaction, threatening him with war, if he refused to comply with his just demands. *Cosroes* despised his menaces: whereupon *Trajan*, who had already made the necessary preparations for this expedition, immediately left *Rome*, and crossed over into *Greece*. When *Cosroes* found he was in earnest, he began to abate of his pride, and sent deputies to him with rich presents, begging that he would not, upon such slight motives, engage the two empires in a bloody and destructive war: at the same time he acquainted him, that *Exedares*, finding himself neither acceptable to the *Romans*,

^w ONUPH. in fast p. 216. ^x DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 777. ^y Occo, p. 209. ^z GRUT. p. 199. ^a IGNAT. acta, p. 2, 3. UssER. notæ, p. 35. ^b DIO, ikid. p. 778.

nor to the *Parthians*, had abdicated the crown, and besought *Trajan* to dispose of it in favour of *Parthamasiris*. The ambassadors met *Trajan* at *Athens*, and there delivered their message; to which the emperor replied, that friendship was shewn by actions, and not by words; that he was going into *Syria*, and that there he should take such resolutions as he should think proper. He then dismissed the ambassadors, without deigning to accept any of their presents. He then pursued his journey through *Asia Minor*, *Cilicia*, and the other provinces, to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and from thence to *Antioch*, the capital of that province, which he entered, crowned with a branch of an olive-tree ^d.

THE following year's consuls were *Lucius Licinius Sura* the third time, and *Gaius Socius Senecio* the second, who resigned the fasces to *Suranus* and *Servianus*. During *Adrian's* *Abgarus* stay in *Antioch*, *Abgarus*, or, as some call him, *Augarus*, king of prince of *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*, sent him presents, and, by *Edeffa*, his ambassadors, declared his sincere desire of living in friendship with him, and the people of *Rome*; but, as he equally feared the *Romans* and *Parthians*, and was desirous to please both, he declined waiting upon him in person. The other petty princes in that neighbourhood came personally to offer their service to the emperor of *Rome*, and brought with them, according to the custom of the eastern countries, rich presents (S). *Trajan* received all the princes, who came to attend him, with great demonstrations of kindness, accepted their presents, and pretended to repose an intire confidence in them. Having made the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, he left *Antioch*, bending his march towards *Armenia*, when *Parthamasiris*, who had written to him before, and in his letter stiled himself king of *Armenia*, sent him a second letter (for *Trajan* had returned no answer to the first), wherein he omitted the title of king, and desired, that *M. Junius*, governor of *Cappadocia*, might be appointed to treat with him. *Trajan* sent only the son of *Junius*, and, in the mean time, pursued his march, making himself master of several places, without meeting with the least resistance. At *Sata*, or rather *Satala*, a city in *Armenia Minor*, the emperor was met by *Anquialus* king of the *Heniochi*, a people

^c DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 778.
Lond. ann. 1647.

^d USSER. not. in act. Ignat. p. 35.
^e IDAT. chron. Alexand. ONUPH. in fast.

(S) One among the rest presented him with a stately courser; which, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down,

bowed his head to the ground, and adored him, as he had been taught beforehand.

of *Circassia* on the *Euxine* sea, and of the *Mabeloni*, of whom we find no further mention in history. *Trajan* received him with all possible demonstrations of kindness, and made him rich presents, in order to attach him to his interest.

The king of Armenia waits upon him in person.

UPON his arrival at *Elegia* in the *Greater Armenia*, *Parthamasiris* came to wait upon him, and beg of him the crown of *Armenia*. *Trajan* received him seated upon a throne or tribunal, and attended by the chief officers of his army. As *Parthamasiris* approached the throne, he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a single word, not doubting but he would immediately return it to him. In the mean time the soldiers, pleased to see the king of *Armenia*, though supported by the whole power of the *Parthian* empire, obliged to submit, and resign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud shouts of joy; which so terrified *Parthamasiris*, that he attempted to withdraw, and return to his metropolis; but, finding himself surrounded on all sides, he desired to speak to *Trajan* in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but *Trajan* not liking his proposals, and refusing to comply with them, he left the tent in a great passion, and endeavoured to make his escape out of the camp. But *Trajan*, having ordered him to be stopped, and brought back, ascended his tribunal anew, and desired the prince to repeat, in the hearing of all, the proposals he had made to him in private, and his answers, that persons who were ignorant of what had passed between them, might not give false accounts of it, and misrepresent it to the world. Upon this, *Parthamasiris*, no longer able to contain himself, told *Trajan*, that he had neither been conquered, nor taken prisoner; that he came voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he should receive his kingdom of *Trajan*, as *Tiridates* had done of *Nero*. *Trajan* replied, that *Armenia* belonged to the *Romans*, and that it should receive a *Roman* governor, and be no longer a kingdom; that, as for *Parthamasiris*, he gave him liberty to retire whither he pleased. Accordingly he dismissed him, and the *Parthians* who came with him, and appointed them a guard, that they might not be insulted by the soldiery, or raise disturbances; the *Armenians* he detained, as subjects of the *Roman* empire, and ordered them to return to their respective dwellings. *Parthamasiris* endeavoured to maintain himself in his kingdom by force of arms; but lost his life in the attempt; so that *Trajan* made himself master of *Armenia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province^f.

Trajan refuses him the crown of Armenia.

Armenia reduced to

^f Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 779. ARRIAN. in perip. pont. Euxin. p. 7. EUTROP. in vit. Trajan.

As to the other particulars of this war, we find them nowhere recorded.

UPON the reduction of *Armenia*, several princes submitted of their own accord to *Trajan*; amongst whom are mentioned the kings of *Iberia*, *Sarmatia*, *Bosporus*, and *Colchis* &c. He named a king to rule over the *Albanians*, and appointed one *Julianus* prince of the *Apfles*, whose country bordered on the *Euxine* sea, having for its metropolis the city of *Dioscuris*, afterwards called *Sebastopolis* (T). The emperor, having left garisons in all the strong-holds of *Armenia*, advanced to the city of *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, where he was received in a very friendly manner by *Abgarus* king of that district. *Abgarus* had before sent him several presents; but put off, under various pretences, waiting upon him in person. However, *Trajan*, by the mediation of *Abgarus's* son, by name *Arbandes*, a very comely youth, received his excuses, and admitted him to his friendship. *Abgarus* made a great entertainment for the emperor, and the chief officers of his army, at which *Arbandes*, who was perhaps too much beloved by *Trajan*, diverted him with dancing after the manner of his country^b. *Manes*, the chief of one of the *Arabian* nations, *Sporaces* prince of *Anthemusia*, a province of *Mesopotamia*, *Mebarfapes* king of *Adiabene*, and *Manifares* king of some district in that neighbourhood, declared, that they were ready to join *Trajan*; but, in the mean time, delayed meeting him; so that the emperor began to distrust them, especially after the treachery of *Mebarfapes*; who, having demanded and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, against the *Parthians*, put most of them to the sword, and kept the rest in captivity. Amongst the latter was a centurion, named *Sentius*, who, as *Trajan*, highly provoked at this treachery, approached a place of great strength, called *Ademystres*, where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the assistance of his fellow-captives, killed the governor of the fort, and opened the gates to the *Romans*^c. *Trajan*, now master of so strong and important a

a Roman province. Several kings submit to *Trajan*. Year of the flood 2456. Of Christ 108. Of Rome 856. Enters *Mesopotamia*.

The treachery of the king of *Adiabene*.

^b EUTROP. in vit. *Trajan*. ^c DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 780. ^d Idem, p. 781.

(T) *Arrian*, who wrote under *Adrian*, speaks of a camp in the neighbourhood of this city, which he calls the boundary of the *Roman* empire (6). The *Romans* had; before *Trajan's* time, a garison in *Melitene* or *Melitine*, a castle of *Lesser Armenia*, which *Trajan* made a city, and appointed to be the metropolis of the whole country; whence, in process of time, it became one of the most populous and wealthy cities in the East (7).

(6) *Arrian*, in pers. pont. *Euxin*. p. 7. l. iii. c. 4.

(7) *Procop*, de ædific. *Iustin*.

Trajan
builds a
bridge
over the
Tigris.

place, advanced boldly into *Mesopotamia*, and reduced great part of it by the bare terror of his name.

As the greatest part of *Adiabene* lay beyond the *Tigris*, *Trajan* built a bridge over that river, which is represented on several medals that have reached our times*. The cities of *Nisibe* and *Batue* made a vigorous defence; but in the end were obliged to yield (U). As for *Cosroes*, we know not what measures he took, or what attempts he made, to stop the progress of *Trajan's* conquests (W). *Lufus Quietus* distinguished

* *Occo*, p. 205. *BIRAG.* p. 157.

(U) If the city of *Nisibe* belonged, as *Josephus* writes, to the king of *Adiabene*, it was at this time, as is manifest from *Dio Cassius* (8), in the hands of the *Parthians*.

(W) In *Dio Cassius* we read, that *Manisares* offered to yield to the *Romans* for ever all *Armenia*, and that part of *Mesopotamia*, which they had already conquered: whence we conjecture, that the name of *Manisares* has crept into the text instead of *Cosroes*, who alone could make such an offer, and between whom and *Trajan* a treaty was, it seems, concluded, since *Aurelius Victor* writes, that the emperor obliged him to deliver hostages. What treaty this was, or on what occasion, or by whom, it was violated (for the war broke out anew), we are nowhere told. To this treaty, perhaps, allude the medals, which were struck about this time, with the following legend, *Peace established; the king of the Parthians restored* (9). The power of the *Parthians* was, as *Dio Cassius* informs us (1), greatly weakened at this time by their intestine wars; so that *Cosroes* was, perhaps, obliged to recur to *Trajan*,

and implore his protection against his own subjects. This is all we know of *Trajan's* wars in the East, till the year 115, the eighteenth of his reign. We should be able to give a better account of all these transactions, if the *Parthian* history, composed by *Arrian*, who flourished at this time, on purpose to set forth the exploits of *Trajan*, and by him divided into seventeen books, had reached us (2); but that history being long since lost, and many other histories of these times (for under no prince there flourished a greater number of celebrated historians than under *Trajan*), we are with no prince's exploits less acquainted than with *Trajan's*. Not to mention the many historians who have described the *Parthian* war, in which *Trajan* distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, both as a soldier and a general, *Marinus Maximus*, *Fabius Marcellinus*, *Aurelius Verus*, *Statius Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Dio Cassius*, wrote his life, either by itself, or in the body of the *Roman* history. But none of the works of these authors are now remaining; so that we are obliged to

(8) *Dio*, l. lxxviii. p. 781.
(2) *Pbot.* c. 58.

(9) *Vide Occo*, p. 201.

(1) *Dio*, p. 783.

distinguished himself above all the commanders employed by *Lusius Trajan* in this war. He was a *Moor* by nation, and born in *Quietus* a country not subject to *Rome*; but, nevertheless, served in *distin-* the *Roman* cavalry, till he was either by *Domitian* or *Nerva*, *guishes* for some misdeemeanour, degraded and dismissed. *Trajan*, *himself in* wanting *Moors* in his wars with the *Dacians*, took this prince *this, and* again into the service, with a body of his countrymen and *Trajan's* dependents, at the head of whom he performed wonders, *other* both in the first and second *Dacian* war¹. In the *Partbian* war he served with such courage and success, that *Trajan* honoured him with the consulate, and, towards the end of his reign, appointed him governor of *Palæstine*, by way of reward for a signal victory which he gained over the *Jews* of *Mesopotamia*^m. His reducing the *Mardi*, a people of *Asia* near *Armenia*, and not far from the *Caspian* sea, is mentioned as what most of all contributed to his glory and prefermentⁿ. *Ammianus Marcellinus* extols him as one of the greatest captains that ever bore arms for the *Romans*^o. We are told, that *Trajan* had such a kindness and esteem for him, that he had some thoughts of naming him for his successor, though he was not even born a subject of the empire^p. We shall have occasion to mention him again in the following reign. In the next six years we find nothing recorded by the compilers of the antients (for the works of the antients themselves have been long since lost, as we hinted above), except the names of the consuls, the making of the highway by *Trajan* from *Beneventum* to *Brundisium*, the burning of the pantheon by lightning, the overturning of

¹ Dio, in excerpt. VALES. p. 710. l. lxxviii. p. 773. SPART. in Aur. THEMIST. orat. xvi. MAURIC. tactic. l. ix. c. 2. ^m Dio, in excerpt. p. 710. EUSEB. l. iv. c. 1. ⁿ EUSEB. ibid. ^o AMMIAN. l. xxix. ^p EUSEB. & THEMIST. ibid.

recur to the abridgment of *Dio Cassius* by *Xiphilin*, and to the still more compendious and undigested writings of *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*. We cannot even learn of any writer, whether *Trajan* ever returned to *Rome* after he set out from thence to conquer *Armenia*. However, we cannot persuade ourselves, that he continued in the East, without once visiting the metro-

polis of the empire, for the space of eleven or twelve years; the more, because from some medals it appears pretty plain, that he returned to *Rome* before the year 112, the fifteenth of his reign, and that he left it the same or the following year (3); which gives a great light to history, and may serve to justify the acts of the glorious martyr St *Ignatius*.

(3) Vide *Birag.* p. 158.

some cities in *Galatia* by an earthquake; and dedicating of the great square at *Rome*, which took its name from *Trajan*. The consuls were *Appius Annius Trebonianus Gallus*, and *Marrus Atilius Metellus Bradua*; *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, the second time, and *L. Tullus, Priscinus*, or *Priscianus*, and *Orfilius*; *Caius Calpurnius Piso*, and *M. Vettius Bolanus*; *Trajan* the sixth time, and *Titus Sextius Bolanus*; *Lucius Publius Celsus* the second time, and *Caius Clodius Crispinus*; *Quintus Ninnius Hoſta*, and *Publius Manilius Vopiscus*. These were consuls from the eleventh to the seventeenth year of *Trajan's* reign inclusively; that is, from the 108th to the 114th of the Christian æra (X).

THE eighteenth year of *Trajan's* reign, and 115th of the Christian æra, was remarkable for the victories gained by that great warrior over the *Parthians*, and for which he assumed the title of emperor the seventh, eighth, and ninth times¹. Whatever gave occasion to this war (for history is silent upon this head), *Trajan*, before he left *Syria*, sent, at the request of his friends, some persons to consult the oracle of *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, to know whether he should return from this war to *Rome*. The oracle gave an answer, as usual, in ambiguous terms, which might be interpreted either way. *Trajan*, putting the best construction upon the dark words of the oracle, early in the spring left *Syria*, and marched against the *Parthians* encamped on the other side of the *Tigris*. As the river was not fordable, and the enemy possessed with a numerous army the opposite bank, he secretly caused a great number of boats to be built in the woods of *Nisibis*, which being conveyed upon carriages to the river-side, a bridge was suddenly formed with them over the river, which *Trajan* passed in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, who greatly annoyed him with showers of arrows, till he sent several boats against them manned with archers and slingers, and ordered others to move up and down the river, as if they were trying to land in other places. This so dis-

He consults
the oracle
of Heliopolis.

He passes
the Tigris
on a bridge
of boats.

¹ GRUTER. p. 218. GOLTZ. p. 65, 66.

(X) On some medals, that were coined during *Trajan's* sixth consulship, is marked the departure of that prince from *Rome* (4), no doubt, to return to the East, which we may suppose to have happened the year he was consul, the fifteenth of his reign;

for in that year *Adrian*, who commanded under him in the second *Parthian* war, was created archon, or chief magistrate, of *Athens*; which honour was probably conferred upon him, as he passed through that city with *Trajan* (5).

(4) *Noris. epist. consul. p. 72.*

(5) *Vide Noris, ibid.*

traced the *Parthians*, already dismayed and surprised at the sight of so many vessels in a country quite destitute of wood, that they gave way, and suffered the *Roman* army to pass the river without further molestation. *Trajan* made himself master of the kingdom of *Adiabene*, which he had reduced in the former war, but, perhaps, restored upon the conclusion of the peace. He likewise subdued the country, which, at that time, still retained the name of *Assyria*, and in which stood the city of *Ninos* or *Nineve*, and *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, two places famous in history on account of the victories of *Alexander the Great*.

As the *Parthians* were greatly weakened by their domestic wars, and still divided among themselves, *Trajan* advanced to the celebrated city of *Babylon*, of the power and greatness of which we have read such wonders. He entered it, no one offering to withstand him; and reduced its large territory, where the *Roman* standards had never before been displayed. By this acquisition, he became master of those rich and noble countries, *Assyria* and *Chaldæa*. There he was led by his curiosity, says *Dio Cassius*, to visit the lake of bitumen, which was made use of in building the famous walls of *Babylon*. But that lake is, by *Rutilius* and others, placed in *Mesopotamia*. Afterwards he began a canal between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, in order to convey his vessels out of the former river into the latter, and with them lay a bridge over the *Tigris*, being resolved to besiege *Ctesiphon*, which stood on that river: but, being informed that the bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than that of the *Tigris*, he abandoned the design, fearing the stream would become too rapid, and consequently unnavigable. However, *Ammianus Marcellinus* assures us, that the emperor *Julian*, having removed the stones, with which the mouth of the canal was stoppt, conveyed his vessels through that cut from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, a little above *Ctesiphon*. This canal was called *Naarmalca*, that is, the river of kings. *Trajan*, fearing the above-mentioned inconvenience, did not think it advisable to make use of the canal; but ordered his vessels to be brought upon land-carriages from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris*, these two rivers being, in some places, at a small distance from each other; and, having formed a bridge with them, passed his army over the *Tigris*, and made himself master of *Seleucia*, and likewise of the great city of *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian*, and afterwards of the *Persian* empire. Upon his entering that city, he was proclaimed

Reduces
Assyria,

and ar-
rives at
Babylon.

Year of
the flood
2463.

Of Chr.
115.

Of Rome
863.

He begins
a canal
between
the Eu-
phrates
and the
Tigris;
but drops
that un-
dertaking.

Makes
himself
master of
Seleucia,
and Ctesiphon.

* RUT. itiner. p. 32.

* DIO, p. 784.

* AMMIAN. l. xxiv.

† See vol. iv. p. 336, 337. * DIO, ibid. EUTROP. in *Trajan*.

phon, the metropolis of the Parthian empire.

Reduces several countries.

Assyria made a Roman province.

A dreadful earthquake at Antioch.

the emperor by the army, who with loud shouts of joy confirmed to him the title of *Parthicus*, which he had first gained by the reduction of *Nisibis*. At *Ctesiphon* he took the daughter of *Cosphoës*, and seized the throne of the *Parthian* kings, which was of massy gold *. *Cosphoës* himself made his escape, and was still living in the reign of *Adrian*. *Trajan* acquainted the senate with the success that had attended him in this expedition: whereupon a decree passed, allowing the conqueror of the *Parthians* to enter *Rome* in triumph as often as he pleased †. The taking of *Ctesiphon* put him in possession of all the neighbouring countries. *Eutropius* tells us, that he reduced the *Marcomades*, the *Cardueni*, *Anthemisia*, a large province of *Persia*, says that *Writer*‡ and all the countries lying between *Babylon* and *India*. ¶

At *Babylon* he visited the house in which *Alexander the Great* died, and there performed some ceremonies in honour of that famous conqueror †. *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in his time *Trajan's* tribunal was still to be seen at a city in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, which he calls *Ozogardene* †. *Trajan* reduced *Assyria* to a Roman province, as he had before done *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*; so that the empire now extended to the *Tigris*, and even beyond that river. How he disposed of the country of the *Parthians*, we shall relate hereafter. He obliged the inhabitants of *Mesopotamia*, and, no doubt, those likewise of the other provinces, to pay him a yearly tribute † (Y). Towards the end of autumn, *Trajan* returned to *Antioch*, which was that winter almost intirely ruined by one of the most dreadful earthquakes mentioned in history (Z).

THE

* SPART. in *Adr.*

† Dio, *ibid.*

‡ Dio, p. 785.

§ AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 265.

¶ EUTROP. *ibid.* FEST. RUF.

breviar. p. 553. SPART. *ibid.*

(Y) The dialogue between *Trypho* and *Critias*, which is falsely ascribed to *Lucian*, seems to have been written about this time; for it ends with the news of the taking of *Susa*, formerly the metropolis of *Persia*. Mention is likewise there made of inroads made by the *Scythians*, as if they committed great devastations in the *Roman* territories (6).

(Z) That city was then crouded with troops, and strangers, come from all quarters, either out of curiosity, or upon business and embassies; so that there was scarce a nation or province, but what had a share in the calamity; and all the *Roman* world, says *Dio Cassius* (7), suffered in one city. The earthquake was preceded by violent claps of

(6) *Lucian*, in *philopatriæ*, *dialogo*. Et *Baron. ad ann.* 114.

(7) *Dio*, p. 782.
thunder.

THE next consuls were *L. Ælius Lamia* and *Ælianus Varus*. From an inscription of this year, the nineteenth of *Trajan's* reign, we learn, that the senate and people of *Rome* returned the emperor solemn thanks for having facilitated the entry into *Italy* on the side of the *Adriatic* sea, by a port made by his order at *Ancona*, as he had some years before made one on the *Mediterranean*, at or near *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*. Upon the return of the spring, *Trajan*, leaving *Antioch*, visited the conquered countries; and, finding them all in a state of tranquillity, he made various regulations; and then, embarking on board his fleet, sailed down the *Ti-* *Trajan*
gris, being desirous to view the *Persian* gulf. The storms, sails down
the rapidity of the river, and the tides, rendered his navigation the *Tigris*
both troublesome and dangerous. However, he made into the
Persian

thunder, unusual winds, and a self was much hurt, but, never-gulf.
dreadful noise under-ground: theless, escaped through a win-
then followed so terrible a shock, dow out of the house where he
that the earth all trembled, se- was. *Dio Cassius* pretends, that
veral houses were overturned, he was taken out of the window,
and others tossed to and fro like and carried away, by one, who
a ship in the sea: the noise of in talness, exceeded the human
the cracking and bursting of the size. The same writer adds, that
timber, of the falling of the mount *Lison*, which stood at a
houses, and a dismal and loud small distance from *Antioch*, bow-
roaring under-ground, drowned ed with its top, and threatened
the cries of the dismayed people. to fall down upon the city: that
Those who happened to be in other mountains fell; that new
their houses, were, for the most givers appeared; and others, that
part, buried under their ruins; had flowed before, forsook their
such as were walking in the course, and vanished. When the
streets, and in the squares, were, earthquake ceased, the voice of
by the violence of the shock, a woman was heard crying under
dashed against one another, and the ruins; which being imme-
most of them either killed, or diately removed, she was found
dangerously wounded. As the with a sucking child in her arms,
earthquake continued, with some whom she had kept alive, as well
small intermission, for many days as herself, with her milk. Search
and nights together, many, thou- was made for others; but no one
sands perished by it, and, among besides was found alive, except a
the rest, the consul *Marcus Peto* child, that was still sucking its
Vergilianus, with many other dead mother (8). This dreadful
persons of great distinction. The earthquake is mentioned by *Eusebius*,
most violent shock of all was, as *Aurelius Victor*, and *Eva-*
we read in the acts of *St. Iga-* *grius*, who all speak of it as the
rius, on a *Sunday*, the twenty- greatest calamity recorded in hi-
third of *December*. *Trajan* him- story (9).

(8) *Dio*, l. lxxviii p. 781. *Ignat. acta*, p. 53, 54.
p. 208. & l. i. c. 12.

(9) *Euseb. chron.*

He
duces Ara-
bia Felix.

himself master of *Mesens*, an island formed by the *Tigris*, and obliged *Athambylus*, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. He was well received by the inhabitants of *Charax Spasina*, the metropolis of *Athambylus*'s dominions, which most geographers place at the mouth of the *Tigris* (A). It was, we conjecture, on this occasion, that he reduced *Arabia Felix* (B). *Trajan*, having reached the ocean, as we read in

(A) *Dio Cassius* tells us, that *Trajan* sailed into the ocean, meaning, perhaps, the *Persian* gulf; for it is not probable, that, with the ill-built boats, of which his fleet consisted, he pursued his course beyond *Ormuz*, where the gulf ends.

(B) *Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, had some years before subdued *Arabia Petraa*, as we have observed above, and reduced it to a *Roman* province. But now *Trajan* made himself master, it seems, of *Arabia Felix*; for *Arrian*, in his book on the navigation of the *Red Sea*, observes, that, in the reign of *Trajan*, there were at *Leuca*, a borough upon that sea, a centurion, and some troops, with a receiver, who claimed the fourth part of all the goods that were landed there (1). The same writer places upon the south coast of *Arabia*, beyond the straits of *Bebel Mander*, a city called *Arabia*, and surnamed *Eudæmonis*, or the *Happy*, from its having been formerly enriched by means of the trade that was carried on there; but adds, "A little before our time it was destroyed by *Cæsar*, and is at present only a village (2)." As he places it in the country of the *Homerites* (3), some writers take it to have stood where the present city

of *Aden* stands. Besides, it appears from several medals, or pieces of money, coined after the year 111, the fourteenth of *Trajan*'s reign (4), that he reduced *Arabia*, not by his lieutenants, but in person (5). *Festus* too mentions the conquest of *Arabia* (6); and *Eutropius* seems to reckon the reducing of that country to a *Roman* province amongst the last actions of *Trajan* (7). A writer, who is supposed to have flourished about this time, after having said, that the power of the *Persians* and *Parthians* had yielded, adds, that *Susa* itself was taken, and that all *Arabia* would soon submit to the victorious and invincible prince (8). This must, without all doubt, be understood of *Arabia Felix*, which it is thence plain he did not subdue, till after the conquest of *Assyria*, that is, before this year, the nineteenth of his reign, and the 116th of the Christian æra. Some read in *Festus* (9), that he conquered the country of the *Saraceni*; but as no mention is made of that people by any other writer of those times, we readily fall in with those who, instead of *Saraceni*, read *Osrboeni*, who inhabited one of the provinces of *Mesopotamia*, called *Osrboene*, from a king of the country named *Osrboes* (1).

(1) *Arrian. in periplus Erythr. p. 6.*

(2) *Idem, p. 8.*

(3) *Idem, p. 46.*

(4) *Rivag. p. 116.*

(5) *Oeco, p. 215.*

(6) *Fest. in brevior. p. 551.*

(7) *Eutrop. in Trajan.*

(8) *Lucian. philop.*

(9) *Fest. p. 551—553.*

(1) *Procop. l. i. Pers. c. 18.*

Dia Cassius, and there discovering a ship bound to *India*, He envied wished he was young, that he might extend, as *Alexander* Alexander had done, his conquests to that country^c. *Eutropius* tells us, that he had a fleet ready equipped in the *Red Sea*, with a design to invade *India*; that he informed himself of the customs, strength, and manner of fighting, of the *Indians*; and that he envied the happiness of *Alexander*, who had subdued them, and extended his conquests far beyond the bounds of the *Roman* empire. The *Romans* had even the vanity to brag, that they had brought *India* under subjection, as *Eusebius* observes^d; but by *India* they perhaps meant *Arabia Felix*.

TRAJAN wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the success of his arms, and naming the several nations, which he had conquered, and which were utterly unknown. They decreed him extraordinary honours; among the rest, that he should, upon his return to *Rome*, triumph over each particular nation, which he had subdued; which was decreeing him, not one, but many triumphs: a triumphal arch was built in his own forum, to perpetuate the memory of his conquests; and the people of *Rome* made great preparations to receive him with the utmost pomp upon his return. But to *Rome* he never returned; nor was the end of his actions answerable to the beginning. For most of the nations, which he had conquered, revolted, and shook off the yoke, after having driven out or massacred the garisons that had been left amongst them. The *Jews*, who had been dispersed into all parts of the world, fell into a dreadful rebellion in all the provinces of the empire, being prompted thereunto by the absence of the emperor, and the late terrible earthquake, which, as they imagined, portended the ruin and downfall of the *Roman* empire. But of this revolt we shall speak in the history of that nation after their dispersion. The example of the *Jews* was followed by most of the countries which *Trajan* had conquered, the inhabitants rising every-where up in arms, and murdering, or driving out, the *Roman* garisons. Against them the emperor dispatched *Lusius Quietus*, and *L. Appius Maximus*, who were attended with very different success; for *Maximus* was defeated and killed; by whom, history does not inform us: but *Lusius* distinguished himself as usual, gained great advantages over the enemy, recovered the city of *Nisibis*, besieged, stormed, and laid in ashes, the city of *Edessa*. On the other hand, *Erucius Clarus*, and *Fulius Alexander*, two other commanders of the emperor, retook the city of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, and several others, which had shaken off

^c *Dio*, p. 784.^d *Euseb. chron.* p. 206.

Trajan
gives a
king to the
Parthians.

the yoke. *Lusius* was, for his gallant conduct, rewarded with the government of *Palæstine* ^e, no doubt, to keep that province in awe; which was chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, and seemed inclined; as *Spartian* informs us ^f, to revolt, and raise new commotions in the empire. For these advantages, and the recovery of his conquests, *Trajan* took the tenth and last time the title of emperor ^g. During these disturbances, *Sambelus* king of *Mesene* continued faithful to *Trajan*. Neither did the *Parthians* make any attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, or rather of their former condition. But *Trajan*, fearing they would soon shake off the yoke, thought it adviseable to oblige them, by giving them, instead of a *Roman* governor, a king of their own nation. With this design he repaired to *Ctesiphon*; and, having there assembled in a large plain the *Romans* and *Parthians*, he ascended an high throne, and declared one *Parthamaspatès* king of the *Parthians*, putting, with great pomp and solemnity, the crown upon his head. *Parthamaspatès*, whom *Spartian* calls *Psamatesiris*, continued faithful to the *Romans*; but was despised by the *Parthians* as a slave to *Rome*, and had scarce any authority over them ^h (C).

He besieges
Atra;
Year of
the flood
2466.
Of Chr.
118.
Of Rome
866.

THE following year, the twentieth and last of *Trajan's* reign, *Niger* and *Apronianus* being consuls ⁱ, the emperor marched into *Arabia*, and there made war upon the *Hagareni*, or *Agareni*, who had likewise revolted. What part of *Arabia* they inhabited, we cannot determine, since we find no farther mention made of them, till the times of the *Constantinopolitan* empire, when the name of *Hagareni* became common to the *Saracens* and *Arabians* in general. The emperor laid siege to their city ^j, which by *Xiphilin* is called *Atra*. It was neither great nor beautiful, says *Dio Cassius* ^k, but thought to be very opulent, by reason the sun was worshiped there, which drew crouds of people thither with rich presents from the neighbouring countries ^l. It was situated on the top of an high and steep mountain, well peopled, and surrounded with strong walls ^m. But its chief strength consisted

^e DIO, in excerpt. VAL. p. 720.

^f SPART. in Adr. p. 6.

^g GOLTZ. p. 86.

^h DIO, p. 786.

ⁱ IDAT. & CAS-

SIODOR. in fast.

^k DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 785.

^l Idem,

l. lxxv. p. 854.

^m HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528.

(C) In several coins, which *He gives a king to the Parthians*; have reached our times, is represented and on others the following, *He distributed kingdoms* (2).
Trajan, with this legend on some,

in the barrenness of the neighbouring country, destitute, to a great distance, of grass, wood, and even of water ; so that a numerous army could not long subsist before it : hence it was neither taken now by *Trajan*, nor afterwards by *Severus*, tho' they had both made a breach in the wall. *Trajan* narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks ; for, having laid aside the ensigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in person : but the enemy, knowing him, notwithstanding that disguise, by his grey hairs, and majestic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horse, and killed an horseman by his side. Besides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent storms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flashes of lightning. At the same time, they were in a strange manner infested in their camp by swarms of flies : so *but raises* that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raise the siege, and re-*the siege* tire. Soon after, as he was advanced in years, and worn out with so many long marches, he was seized with a dropfy and palsy, which he ascribed to poison, but others thought natural. However, he was still for returning into *Mesopotamia*, to reduce some places, which had revolted there.

BUT, his distemper increasing, he left the command of the *Is taken* army to *Adrian*, whom he appointed governor of *Syria*, and ill, and embarked for *Italy*. It was no sooner known, that he had *sets sail* set sail, than all the countries, which he had conquered at a *for Italy* vast charge, and by exposing himself to innumerable dangers, shook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in spite of the troops which he had left to keep them in subjection. The *Parthians* drove out *Parthamaspatēs* ; the *Ar-* *The Par-* *menians* chose themselves a king ; and the greatest part of *thians* *Mesopotamia* revolted from *Rome*, and submitted to the king *drive out* of the *Parthians*. Thus all the pains he had taken, all the *their king* toils he had undergone, and the immense sums he had expended, proved, in the end, of no effect. Upon his arrival at *Selinus* in *Cilicia*, which was afterwards from him called *Trajanopolis*, he was seized with a flux, which in a very short time put an end to his life. He died in the beginning of *Au-* *Trajan* *gust*, after having reigned nineteen years, six months, and *dies at* fifteen days, counting from the death of *Nerva* to the ele- *Selinus in* venth of *August* (for we know not the precise day on which *Cilicia* he died), when *Adrian* received at *Antioch* the news of his death, which had been concealed for some time, and thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed emperor ^a (D)^f. H's body

^a DIO, p. 786. AUREL. epit. JULIAN. Cæsar. p. 39.

(D) *Eutropius*, and such as *Trajan* died at *Seleucia* in *Isau-* *ria*. But *Seleucia* is at a great distance

His bones
are con-
veyed to
Rome,
and depo-
sited under
his column.

body was burnt at *Selinus*, and his ashes carried by his wife *Plotina*, and his niece *Matidia*, or *Matidia*, in a golden urn, to *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary pomp, and deposited under the stately column, which he had erected, tho' it stood within the walls, where no one before him had been buried^o. Sports, called *Partic sports*, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the East^p (E). *Trajan* left no children^q; nor are we told, that he ever had any (F). He was succeeded by *Adrian*, which was rather owing to the favour of *Plotina*, than to any extraordinary kindness of *Trajan* towards him: for, tho' the emperor was nearly related to him, had been his guardian, and given him his niece in marriage, yet he never took great notice of him^r; nor did *Adrian* ever shew any particular affection for *Trajan* (G).

WE

• Dio, l. lxix p. 7^o8. CIACCON. col. Traj. VICT. epit.
p Dio, ibid. ^q THYMIST. orat. xvi. ^r Dio, p. 795.
788. SPART. in Adr. p. 3.

distance from the sea; and most writers agree, that he was going to *Rome* by sea. Besides, it appears from several inscriptions (3), from the author of the verses commonly ascribed to the *Sibyl*, and from the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that he died at *Selinus*. Hence *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* wonder how any one can call in question a thing so well attested (4).

(E) From an antient inscription, we learn, that *Plidemion*, his freedman, his chamberlain, cup-bearer, and secretary, died a few days after him, on the twelfth of *August*, of grief for the loss of so good a master (5).

(F) Some write, that he designed, in imitation of *Alexander the Great*, to die without naming a successor; others tell us, that he intended to name ten persons to the senate, leaving it in their

power to choose which of them they judged best qualified for the sovereignty (6). We read in *Dio Cassius* (7), that once at a banquet he desired his friends to name ten persons, whom they thought capable of, and equal to, the supreme power. Both *Trajan* himself and his friends seemed, according to *Spartian*, to judge *Nerattus Priscus*, who was the greatest civilian of his time, the best qualified for succeeding him in the empire (8). That writer adds, that one day he addressed him thus *To you, Nerattus, I recommend the provinces, in case I should die*. He had likewise some thoughts of leaving the empire to *Servianus* (9), whose daughter *Adrian* had married; and to *Lusius Quietus*, of whom he deservedly entertained an high opinion (1).

(G) Hence it was commonly

(3) Vide P. Page ad ann. 117.

p. 10. & Scaliger, in Lujb. clion p. 341

(6) Spart. in Adr. p. 3.

(9) Dio, p. 795.

(4) V de Cusini in 'pout' 101 G.

(5) Lujb. clion p. 341.

(-) Dio, l. lxix p. 795.

(1) Zecmyst orat. xvi.

(8) Spart. ibid.

We shall close the history of this great emperor's reign *Great* with a succinct account of his noble and useful works. *His works per-* *rellus Victor* will have him to have first introduced the use of *formed by* post-chaises; but that invention is generally ascribed to *Au-* *Trajan*. *gustus* ¹, and was probably only improved by *Trajan*, as it was after his time by several other emperors, as appears from *Gothofredus*, who treats of this subject at length in his comments upon the *Theodosian* code ². He made, at an immense charge, a large and convenient road, leading through many barbarous nations, from the most distant coasts of the *Euxine* sea, to those of the ocean in *Gaul* ³. He built several magnificent libraries in *Rome*, and a stately theatre in the field of *Mars* ⁴. He adorned the city with many magnificent edifices, enlarged the circus, repaired a great number of ancient buildings, and supplied with plenty of water those quarters of the city, which by other princes had been neglected. But the most magnificent of all his works was the great square, which he made at *Rome*, and called from his own name, having for that purpose leveled an hill an hundred and forty-four feet high. In the midst of the square, he erected the famous column, which is still to be seen, to serve him for a tomb, and at the same time to shew the height of the hill, which he leveled, as appears from the inscription on the basis, dated the seventeenth year of his tribunitial power, which was the 114th of the Christian æra. The emperor *Constantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357. found nothing in that stately me-

His square
and con-
lomb

¹ Vide cod. Theodof. tom. ii. p. 510, 511. ² GOTH in cod. Theodof. tom. ii. p. 506, &c. ³ AGR. VICT. ⁴ PLIN. paneg. p. 96. DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 778.

believed, that *Trajan* did not adopt him; but that *Plotina*, who was a great friend to *Adrian*, introduced, after the death of her husband, a supposititious person, who, counterfeiting the voice of the dying emperor, declared, that he adopted *Adrian*. *Dio Cassius* tells us, in express terms, that *Trajan* never adopted *Adrian*; but that the whole affair was managed by *Plotina* and *Atianus*, or rather *Tatignus*, who had been, jointly with the emperor, *Adrian's* guardian; and adds,

that for this reason the emperor's death was for some days concealed. This *Dio Cassius* learnt of his father *Apprianus*, who, as he had been governor of *Cilicia*, where the emperor died, had thence certain intelligence of what had passed at his death. Besides, the letters written to the senate concerning this adoption were not signed by *Trajan*, but by *Plotina*, who had never before signed any of her husband's dispatches (2).

(2) *Dio*, l. lxxv. p. 787, 788.

tropolis, which he admired so much as *Trajan's* square *. The architect employed by *Trajan* in this inimitable work, as *Constantius* styled it, was one *Apollodorus* † (H). During this prince's reign, most of the provinces of the empire suffered greatly by earthquakes, and were grievously afflicted with a dreadful plague, with famine, and frequent conflagrations ‡. At *Rome* the *Tiber* overflowed its banks with incredible violence, laid great part of the city under water, overturned many houses, and greatly damaged the fields; tho' *Trajan* caused a great canal to be dug, in order to drain them, and to convey the water into its natural chanel § (I).

Trajan
suffers the
Christians
to be per-
secuted.

TRAJAN, notwithstanding his humanity and good-nature, suffered the Christians to be inhumanly persecuted in most provinces of the empire. As he published no new edicts against the Christian religion, he is not, as *Baronius* observes †, reckoned by *Tertullian* among the persecutors of the church. But, that he was an enemy to the Christians, and highly pre-

* AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71.
epit. PLIN. l. viii. ep. 17.

DIO, p. 789. † VICT.
BARON. ad ann. 100.

(II) *Ciacconius* tells us, that on the top of the column, which stood in the mid of the square, was placed *Trajan's* statue, holding a golden apple in its right hand; and adds, that in this apple were deposited the ashes of the deceased prince (3). But *Eutropius* and *Victorinus*, whom we have followed, tell us, that he was buried under the column.

(I) *Pblegon* tells us, that, in *Trajan's* time, a woman was delivered at *Alexandria* of five children the same day, three males, and two females, who were brought up with great care by the emperor. The next year the same woman was delivered of three children (4). We read in *Plutarch* (5), that in *Trajan's* reign a *Vespal*, named *Helvetia*, going on horseback, was struck dead with a flash of lightning, and thrown quite naked on one

side, and her horse on the other; which the soothsayers looked upon as presaging something highly dishonourable to the *Vespal*, and the *Roman* knights. Accordingly, not long after, the slave of a knight, named *Butices*, came of his own accord, and deposed, that his master, and several others of the equestrian order, had for a long time carried on a criminal conversation with three *Vespals*, *Emilia*, *Licina*, and *Martia*, who were immediately punished, and the knights too their accomplices. But the pontiffs, having first consulted the books of the *Sibyls*, declared, that the crime was to be expiated by burying alive in the *forum boarium*, or the *ox-market*, two men and two women, natives of *Greece* and *Gaul*; which was done accordingly.

(3) *Ciracco*, de col. *Trajan*, c. 14.
† *ajl. R.m.*

(4) *Pbleg. m.*, c. 29.

(5) *Plut.*

judged against them, is manifest from *Pliny's* letter to him ^c, and his answer to *Pliny* ^d. This may be ascribed to his looking upon the Christians, who were already very numerous, and multiplied daily, with a jealous and suspicious eye, as the underminers of the religion of the empire, and enemies to the gods adored at *Rome*, and in all the *Roman* provinces. Besides, he perhaps accounted them establishers of *hætericæ*, or *illegal societies*, which usually breed factions and seditions; whence all societies, or colleges, not settled by an imperial edict, or a decree of the senate, were forbidden, and the persons frequenting them adjudged guilty of treason. But, after he had been informed by *Pliny* of their innocence, he could not, nor indeed did he, as appears from his answer, entertain any sinister opinion of them. But nevertheless, instead of putting an immediate stop to the persecution, he sent directions into *Bithynia*, where it chiefly raged, repugnant to good sense, and altogether inconsistent with his so much boasted justice, humanity, and good-nature. For he com- *His unjust*
manded, that no inquisition should be made for the Christians, *proceed-*
but that such as were accused should be punished; which was, *ings a-*
as *Terullian* observes in his excellent apology ^e, declaring *gainst*
them innocent, and at the same time ordering them to be *them.*
treated as criminals. "If they are guilty," says that writer, addressing himself to the emperor, "why do you forbid any search to be made after them? If they are innocent, why do you command them to be punished?" This ordinance, however iniquitous and absurd, continued in force till the persecution of *Severus*, that is, for almost a whole century. As *Trajan* was, what every prince ought to be, a generous encourager of learning, under him the efforts of genius and study began to revive ^f; and his reign became famous for a great numbers of eminent historians, poets, orators, and philosophers, of whom we shall speak in our notes (K).

C H A P.

^c PLIN. l. x. ep. 102.^d Idem ibid. ep. 103.^e TER-

ULL. apol. c. 2.

^f PLIN. pan. p. 84. TACIT. vit. Agr.

c. 2, 3.

(K) These were *Julius Frontinus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Pliny* the younger, *Pompeius Saturninus*, *Titinius Capito*, *Claudius Pollio*, *Verginius Romanus*, &c. *Sextus Julius Frontinus* was prætor in the first year of *Vespasian's* reign,

but yielded that dignity to *Domitian*, after having held it but one day, or two at most (6). Some years after, he commanded in *Britain* with great reputation and success, till the ninth year of *Vespasian's* reign, when he

(6) Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 39.

was succeeded by the celebrated *Agricola*. As that command was given to such only as had been consuls, *Frontinus*, no doubt, had been honoured with the consulship before he was sent into *Britain*. He is thought to have been consul a second time under *Nerva*, and a third under *Trajan* (7). He was likewise augur, and succeeded in that dignity by *Pliny* the younger, in the fourth year of *Adrian's* reign (8); whence we conclude, that he died that year, the 100th of the Christian æra, the augurate being an employment for life. He was a great civilian, and highly esteemed by all the men of learning who flourished in his time, especially by *Martial*, who mentions and commends him in his epigrams. In his last will he desired, that no tomb might be erected to him, saying, that, without such monuments, the world would remember him, if his life had deserved it (9). *Tacitus*, speaking of *Frontinus*, says, that he was a man as great and able as he found scope and safety to be (1). He was one of the greatest commanders of his time (2), and gave signal proofs both of his bravery and conduct, in utterly subduing the powerful and warlike nation of the *Silures*, tho', besides the courage of the enemy, he was likewise obliged to struggle with the difficulties of places and situation (3). He wrote four books of *stratagems*, which have reached our times, and are supposed to have been inscribed to *Trajan*. As he flatters *Domitian* in several places of

his work, we may thence conclude, that it was composed in his reign. In the preface, which he prefixed to this work, he tells us, that he had studied the military art with great application; and, besides the book of *Arrian's* *stratagems*, written some others upon the same subject. We read likewise in *Veg. Silius*, that what *Frontinus* compendiously wrote on military discipline, and copied in great part from *Cato* the censor, was greatly esteemed by *Trajan* (4). *Ælian* quotes another work done by him, in which he seems to have collected whatever he found in *Homer* upon the subject of war (5). *Nerva* committed to him the care of the fountains and aqueducts of *Rome*; on which occasion he wrote the treatise of *aqueducts*, which has reached us; as have done some other small pieces of his, and are to be found in the collection which *Scrivenerius* has made of the antients, who have treated of the military art, and published at *Antwerp* in 1607. From these pieces it appears, that they were written during the war with the *Dacians*; which some understand of *Domitian's* war with that people; others of *Trajan's* (6). As for the treatise of *colonies*, which *Scrivenerius* ascribes to *Frontinus*, it either was not done by him, or has been since altered; for mention is there made of *Adrian*, *Severus*, *Antoninus*, *Commodus*, and other emperors, who reigned long after *Frontinus's* time.

Cornelius Tacitus, the greatest orator, statesman, and historian of his time, was, as is commonly

(7) *Novis epist. consul* p. 61, 62. (8) *Plin. l. iv. epist. 8.* (9) *Plin. l. xlv. epist. 19.* (1) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 17.* (2) *Ælian. tacit. p. 3.*
(2) *Tacit. hist. (4) Veg. l. i. c. 18.* (5) *Ælian. tacit. c. i. p. 1.*
(6) *Voss hist. Lat. l. iii. c. 4.*

supposed, the son of *Cornelius Tacitus*, a Roman knight, and procurator of *Belgic Gaul*. His promotion in the state was begun, as he himself informs us (7), by *Vespasian*, augmented by *Titus*, and by *Domitian* advanced yet higher. He was prætor under *Domitian* in the year of the Christian æra 88, the seventh of that prince's reign, and consul under *Nerva* in 97, being substituted to *Verginius Rufus*, whose panegyric, or funeral oration, he composed and pronounced (8). He married in 77, or 78, the daughter of the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* (9). *Lipsius* is of opinion, that he left children by her, since the emperor *Tacitus* pretended to be descended from him, or to be of the same family; for he called the historian, as *Vopiscus* informs us (1), his kinsman; and *Sidonius* counts him among the ancestors of *Polemus*, prefect of *Gaul* (2). He had been four years absent from *Rome*, when *Agricola* died (3); which has given occasion to some writers to suppose, without any foundation, that he was banished by *Domitian*. He pleaded at the bar, even after he had been consul; and, by his eloquent speeches, gained the reputation of the greatest orator of his time (4). He was much admired by *Pliny*, who lived in close friendship with him, and by all men of learning, who reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with a person of his extraordinary accomplishments (5). He seems to have published some speeches, and likewise verses

(6), which have been long since lost. One of his letters has been conveyed to us amongst those of *Pliny*. Tho' he was the greatest orator of his time, he is now known only by his historical works, which can never be sufficiently admired and commended. He seems to have written his description of *Germany* during the second consulate of *Trajan*, that is, in 98. His life of *Agricola*, which *Lipsius* thinks one of the finest pieces in the *Latin* tongue, was, as we conjecture from the preface, one of the first pieces he composed, and probably published in the very beginning of *Trajan's* reign. The work which comprises the lives of the emperors, from the death of *Galba* to that of *Domitian*, ought to be placed next; for, in his annals, he refers the reader to his account of the reign of *Domitian* (7). That work, which is by *Tertullian* (8), and other anti-quents, called the history of *Tacitus*, comprised the transactions of the *Romans*, both at home and abroad, from the year 69. to the year 96. of the Christian æra; but only his account of the year 69. and part of the year 70. has reached our times. Having ended his history, he began his annals (for so he himself styles them) from the death of *Augustus* to the reign of *Galba*, in which there are many lamentable chasms, as we have observed in the preceding pages. He had reserved, as he himself tells us (9), for the study and employment of his old age, the reigns of *Nerva* and

(7) *Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 1.* (8) *Plin. l. ii. ep. 1.* (9) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 9.* (1) *Vopisc. in Tacit.* (2) *Sid. l. iv. epist. 4.* (3) *Tacit. ibid. c. 44.* (4) *Plin. l. ii. epist. 1, 11.* (5) *Idem, l. iv. epist. 13, 15. l. ix. epist. 10.* (6) *Plin. l. ix. ep. 10.* (7) *Tacit. annal. c. 11.* (8) *Tertull. ap. . . 16. & lib. de spectac.* (9) *Tacit. hist. l. i. c.*

Trajan; but that work, it seems, he never undertook, no mention being made of it by any of the antients. He likewise proposed writing the history of *Augustus's* reign; but *St. Jerom* knew of no other historical works of *Tacitus*, except his history and annals, which were in all thirty books (1). Of these are now remaining, not without many chasms, only sixteen books of his annals, and five of his history. As to his style, it is sublime and expressive; his thoughts are great, his phrase elevated, and his words few. He shews himself, throughout his whole work, an upright patriot, zealous for public liberty, and the welfare of his country; a declared enemy to tyrants, and to the tools of tyranny; a lover of human kind, a man of virtue, who adores liberty and truth, and every-where recommends them. As no man had seen more, and few thought so much, he draws events from their first sources, takes off every disguise, and penetrates every artifice. He saw every thing in a true and uncommon light; whence his reflections are masterly and profound, like mirrors, where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper size and colours. His style is a kind of language peculiar to himself, weighty, grave, and well adapted to his subject. The older he grew, the more he curtailed his style; for his history is much more copious and flowing than his annals; so that what has by some been reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. His *Latin* is pure and classical; he has few or no words which had not been used by approved writers; nor does he often give new ideas to old words. However, as he is sparing of his words, and, after having started the idea, leaves the reader to pursue it, he is thence charged by the moderns with obscurity. The emperor *Tacitus* directed his books to be placed in all the libraries; and, for their better preservation, ordered ten copies of them to be transcribed every year at the public expence (2). But, notwithstanding this care, many of them have been long since lost, as we have observed above. As for the dialogue on the decay of eloquence, which is by some ascribed to *Tacitus*, by others to *Quintilian*, and was written in the sixth year of the reign of *Vespasian*, *Lipsius*, from the style, is more inclined to adjudge it to *Quintilian* than to *Tacitus*. But of that piece we have spoken above (†). The unjust censure of *Mr. Bayle* and others upon *Tacitus*, as if he derived the actions of his princes, even the most innocent, from wicked counsels and designs, is fully confuted by *Mr. Gordon*, in the discourses which he has prefixed to his excellent translation of that historian (3); a translation which has been of great use to us in compiling the foregoing part of this history.

Pliny was a native of *Comum*, now *Como*, the son of *L. Cæcilius*, by the sister of *Pliny the elder*, by whom he was adopted, and thence took the name of *C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus* (4). He was born in the eighth year of

(1) *Hier. in Zac.* (2) *Epist. in Tacit.* (†) See before, p. 89, (X).
 (3) *Gord. p. 22—23.* (4) *Plin. præf. & l. v. ep. 8.*

Nero's reign, the 61st of the Christian æra, and studied eloquence under *Quintilian* (5) with such success, that he and *Tacitus* were reckoned the two greatest orators of their time. In his youth he followed the profession of arms (6), was prætor under *Domitian*, and under *Trajan* consul, augur, and governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*. But his chief employment was to plead causes, which he did with great eloquence, and equal disinterestedness, not accepting of his clients fees or presents of any kind, even before the law forbidding them passed in the senate. He published several harangues or speeches, none of which have reached our times, except his panegyric upon the emperor *Trajan*. An inscription, quoted by *Vossius* (7), ascribes to him some historical pieces; but of these no mention is made by any antient writer: nay, *Apollinaris Sidonius* tells us, that *Tacitus* did not apply himself to the writing of history, till he had in vain endeavoured to engage *Pliny* in that province (8). The letter, in which *Pliny* excuses himself from that task, is still extant (9), but inscribed to one *Capito*: perhaps in the time of *Sidonius*, that is, in the fifth century, it passed for a letter written to *Tacitus*. Some make *Pliny* author of the *lives of illustrious men*, which, by most critics, is ascribed to *Cornelius Nepos*; but by *Vossius* to *Aurelius Victor* (1). *Pliny* often mentions his own verses; but, as they have been long since lost, we can give no account of them. He himself made and published

a collection of such of his letters, as he thought the most diverting and instructive (2); and of these are still extant ten books, which have been of signal use to us in describing the reign of *Trajan*. He was, as appears from his letters, a man of great honour, probity, disinterestedness, and good-nature; of which we find innumerable instances in his letters. He presented the city of *Comum*, where he was born, with a valuable and numerous collection of books, which he bought at a great rate, and allotted a large fund to be employed, partly in purchasing other books, and partly in maintaining and bringing up the children of his poor countrymen (3). As the citizens of *Comum* used, for want of proper masters at home, to send their children to be educated at *Mediolanum*, now *Milan*, he prevailed upon them to contribute towards the hiring and maintaining of professors in all arts and sciences, and was himself at the third part of the charge: he would have willingly paid the whole, had he not believed, that the parents of the children, by being obliged to disburse two-thirds of the requisite sum, would be thence more effectually induced to choose professors well qualified for that trust, than if the whole charge were borne by him; in which case, favour, he apprehended, might prevail over merit (4). Besides his countrymen, he presented others with considerable sums, namely, *Quintilian*, on occasion of the marriage of his daughter (5); the poet *Martial*,

(5) *Plin.* l. ii. ep. 14.(6) *Idem.* l. i. ep. 10.(7) *Voss.* *hist.**Lat.* l. i. c. 30.(8) *Sidon.* l. iv. ep. 23.(9) *Plin.* l. v. ep. 8.(1) *Voss.* *ibid.*(2) *Plin.* l. i. ep. 1.(3) *Idem.* l. i. ep. 8. l.

ep. 18.

(4) *Idem.* l. iv. ep. 13.(5) *Idem.* l. vi. ep. 32.

when he left *Rome*, to return to *Spain*, his native country (6); and one *Romanus Firmus*, to make up the sum that was requisite for his being raised to the equestrian order (7). He was not himself possessed of a large estate; but, by bestowing little upon himself, he could afford bestowing a great deal upon his friends, as he had no children (8). A lady of merit, named *Corellia*, for whom *Pliny* had a particular value, having betrayed to him a desire of having lands on the lake of *Como*, he generously offered her a small estate, lately fallen to him, which bordered on that lake. *Corellia* refused the present, and desired to know the value of it; when one of *Pliny's* freedmen, no doubt by private orders from his master, undervalued it, and sold it to her at a very low rate; which *Corellia* afterwards knew, but *Pliny* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the full value of the land (9). He at once discharged all the debts of one of his friends, substituting himself in the room of all his other creditors, who had brought him into great trouble. When his friend died, his daughter *Calpurnia* was for renouncing the inheritance; but *Pliny*, to save the reputation of the deceased, generously forgave her what she owed him, tho' he had contributed a considerable sum towards her fortune, when she was married (1). The reader will find in *Pliny's* letters innumerable other instances of his generosity,

disinterestedness, and good-nature, which the brevity we have proposed to ourselves will not allow us to relate in this place.

Pompeius Saturninus flourished under *Trajan*, and is highly commended by *Pliny*, with whom he lived in great friendship, as an excellent orator, poet, and historian (2). *Pliny* published nothing without submitting it first to the judgment of *Saturninus* (3). This is perhaps the same *Saturninus*, who died in the fifth year of *Trajan's* reign, and bequeathed part of his estate to *Pliny* (4). His works have been long since lost. *Titinius Capito* is likewise mentioned by *Pliny*, as a writer of no mean character. He described the deaths of illustrious men, amongst whom were some of his contemporaries, condemned, no doubt, by *Domitian* (5). *Pliny* tells us elsewhere (6), that, with excellent verses, he celebrated the actions of great men; and adds, that he prevailed upon the emperor, *Nerva* or *Trajan*, to erect a statue in the forum to *L. Silanus*, who was by *Nero's* order put to death in the year 65. the eleventh of that prince's reign. *Cataneus*, in his notes upon *Pliny* (7), tells us, that *Laërtius* quotes a book upon the public shews written by *Titinius Capito*. *Claudius Pollio*, who is likewise greatly commended by *Pliny* (8), wrote the life of *Musonius Bassus*, his benefactor. *Suidas* speaks of one *Asinius Pollio*, who was a native of *Tralles* in *Asia*, and a celebrated sophist and philosopher, and ascribes to him several

(6) *Plin. l. iii. ep. 21.*

(7) *Idem, l. i. ep. 19.*

(8) *Idem, l. ii.*

ep. 4.

(9) *Idem, l. vii. ep. 11.*

(1) *Idem, l. ii. ep. 4.*

(2) *Idem, l. vii. ep. 10.*

(3) *Idem, l. i. ep. 8.*

(4) *Idem, l. i.*

(5) *Idem, l. vii. ep. 12.*

(6) *Idem, l. i. ep. 17.*

(7) *Idem*

ibid.

(8) *Idem, l. vii. ep. 31.*

C H A P. XXI.

The History of Rome, from the Death of Trajan, to the Death of Marcus Aurelius, when the Power of the Roman Empire began to decline.

ADRIAN, who succeeded Trajan in the empire, was the son of *Ælius Adrianus Afer*, cousin-german to that prince, and of *Domitia Paulina*, sprung from an illustrious family in *Cadiz*. His family came originally from *Italica* in Spain, the native city of Trajan, whither Adrian, in the account he wrote of his own life, pretended, that his ancestors had removed some ages before from the city of *Adria* in the country of the *Picentes*, now the dukedom of *Atri* in *Abruzzo*. *Marullinus*, his great-great-grandfather, was the first Roman senator of the family ^a. He was born, according to *Spartian*, in *Rome*, on the twenty-fourth of *January*, in the year seventy-six of the Christian æra, while *Vespasian* was consul the seventh time, and *Titus* the fifth ^b. *Eutropius* writes, that he was born in *Italica*; but *Casaubon* thinks, he

His extraction, employment, &c.

^a SPART. in *Adr.* p. 1—3. Paris. 1620. ^b Idem *ibid.* & P. PAGI, p. 30.

pieces; amongst the rest, one giving an account of the memorable actions and sayings of the philosopher *Musonius*; but he adds, that *Musonius* taught at *Rome* in the time of *Pompey the Great* (9); but is commonly thought to have been therein guilty of a great oversight (1). *Pliny* likewise mentions and commends one *Verгинius Romanus*, who wrote comedies, and other poetical pieces (2). Under Trajan flourished, according to *Possius* (3), two Greek poets, *Serapio*, an *Athenian*, *Plutarch's* friend, and *Rufus*, an *Ephesian*, author of the six books upon simples, known to *Galen*, and other physicians. *Pliny* seems to

have entertained a mighty opinion of the sophist *Ioann*, who came to *Rome*, when he was about sixty (4), and there gained, as appears from *Juvenal* (5), the reputation of an eloquent orator. He was a native of *Affyria*, and in his youth had led a most debauched life; but afterwards, changing his conduct, applied himself to the study of philosophy and eloquence (6). He seems to have left no other works behind him, except his declamations. Of *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, *Epictetus*, and several other writers, who lived under Trajan, but died after him, we shall speak hereafter.

(9) *Suidas*, p. 579.

(1) *Vide Jōns.* l. iii. c. 7.

(2) *Plin.* l. vi.

cp. 37.

(3) *Poss.* *poet. Græc.* p. 7.

(4) *Plin.* l. ii. cp. 3.

(5) *Juv. sat.* iii. ver. 74.

(6) *Psiloftr.* jo. b. c. 20. *Suidas*, p. 1274.

was therein mistaken ^c. He was named *P. Ælius Adrianus*, or *Hadrianus*; to which names he added, after his accession to the empire, that of *Trajan* ^d. His father, dying when he was but ten years old, left him under the guardianship of *Trajan* and *Cælius Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, as *Salmāsius* calls him, a Roman knight ^e. He applied himself to the study of the Greek tongue, and was, at the age of fifteen, so thoroughly acquainted with that language, that he was commonly surnamed *the young Grecian*. He then went to serve in *Spain*, and staid there till he was recalled by *Trajan*, with whom he lived as his son. He was soon after appointed by *Domitian* one of the decemvirs, and thence raised to the command of the second auxiliary legion, with which he was sent into *Mæsia* about the latter end of that prince's reign. We are told, that in *Mæsia* an astrologer assured him, that the sovereign power was by the fates destined to him; which was confirming what his great-uncle *Ælius Adrianus*, who was likewise skilled in astrology, had foretold many years before ^f. When *Trajan* was adopted by *Nerva*, he was sent to him with the congratulations of the army upon that occasion, and soon after removed by *Nerva* from *Mæsia* into *Upper Germany*; whence he hastened, upon the death of that prince, which happened soon after, to carry the first tidings of it to *Trajan*. *Servianus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, and was no friend to *Adrian*, tho' he had married his sister *Paulina*, detained him, till he had dispatched an express to *Trajan* with the news of *Nerva's* death, and afterwards supplied him with an old chariot, which broke down by the way, that he might not ingratiate himself with the new emperor, by first informing him of his accession to the empire. But, nevertheless, *Adrian* pursued his journey on foot with such expedition, that he arrived in *Lower Germany*, where *Trajan* then was, before the express ^g. *Trajan* kept him with him; but, tho' he was his kinsman, his guardian, tho' he gave him afterwards his sister's grand-daughter, *Sabina*, in marriage, yet he never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him. In his youth he had squandered away his estate, and contracted great debts; which, with his other vices, *Servianus* took care to exaggerate to the emperor, in order to estrange his mind from him, and prevent his adopting him; for *Servianus* entertained a very indifferent opinion of *Adrian*, and believed that *Rome* could never be happy under such a prince ^h; and truly he was a person of most extraordinary

Trajan
conferred
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ordinary
honours
upon him.

^c CASAUB. in not. ad Spart.

^d DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 786.

^e SPART. in Adr. p. 1—3.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Idem,

p. 4.

^h Idem, p. 8.

parts, and had some great virtues, but allayed with no less vices.

HE was endowed with a memory almost beyond belief; he *His extra-* could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and *ordinary* intricate the subject of it was, after having once perused it; *memory,* he knew the name of every soldier in the army, and remem- *learning,* bred the names of all the old soldiers, who had once served &c. under him, tho' they had been long disbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was, without comparison, the best orator, poet, grammarian, philosopher, and mathematician of his time; thoroughly skilled in physic; well acquainted with the virtues and properties of most herbs and minerals; in drawing and painting he was equal to the greatest masters; sung, and played upon all kinds of instruments, so as to be reckoned the most skilful musician of the age he lived in. He even applied himself to the study of judicial astrology, and magic. He used at the same time to write, dictate to several secretaries, give audience to his ministers, and discourse with them about affairs of the greatest importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domestic affairs, than he with those of the whole empire. His court *Favours* was constantly crowded with philosophers, orators, poets, *the learn-* mathematicians, &c. for whom he always shewed a particular *ed.* esteem, and took great pleasure in disputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verses, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted against an expression used by *Favorinus*, that philosopher modestly yielded, tho' he might have produced, out of good authors, sufficient authority for his expression; which seeming strange to his friends, *Do you think,* said *Favorinus* pleasantly, *that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his beck?*¹

In the beginning of his reign, he gave many instances of *Instances* his clemency and good-nature; but afterwards caused several of *his cle-* persons to be unjustly put to death; whence some writers ex- *mency.* tol him as a most merciful prince, while others represent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often forgiving injuries, through fear of undergoing the fate of *Caligula*, *Nero*, or *Domitian*. In the very beginning of his reign, *Tatianus* advised him to put three persons to death, who, he said, would not fail to raise disturbances, to wit, *Behius Macer* governor of *Rome*, *Laberius Maximus*, and *Crassus Frugi*, of whom the two latter had conspired against *Trajan*, and were then in banishment; but the emperor would not hearken to any sug-

¹ SPART. in Adr. p. 1—3. AMMIAN. l. xxx. DIO, l. lix, p. 790.

nished^m. His liberality knew no bounds; he allotted large sums for the maintenance of poor children of both sexes, and in that excelled even *Trajan*. Upon such of the senators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, he settled pensions suitable to their rank, and the number of their children. Among the populace, he distributed yearly an immense quantity of corn, made large presents to such of the knights as were not able to support their dignity, and supplied all those whom he appointed governors of provinces, or commanders of armies, with horses, mules, cloaths, and money, to defray the charges of their journey. During the feast of *Saturn*, he used to send presents to his friends, laying hold of that opportunity to reward them for their fidelity, and attachment to his person. His presents to Kings and princes always exceeded those which they had sent him. Such of the public professors as were no longer able to discharge their office as they ought, he dismissed with marks of honour, and handsome allowances. As he spent most part of his reign in visiting the provinces of the empire, he left every-where marks of a magnificence truly great and princelyⁿ. He is said never to have seized unjustly any man's property^o; neither would he ever receive legacies left him by persons who were not known to him, or by such of his friends as had children^p.

He shewed on all occasions an high respect for the senate, *Respects the senate.* consuls, and other magistrates, transacting nothing without their advice. He scarce ever failed assisting at their assemblies, when he was either at or near *Rome*, and usually waited on the consuls to their houses. He would not suffer the *Roman* knights to sit as judges in the cause of a senator, though that had been customary when the cause was pleaded before the emperor in person; neither would he allow of any appeals from the senate to him^q. He administered justice with great impartiality, following therein the advice of *P. Fulvius Celsus*, *Salvius Julianus*, and *Neratius Priscus*, all three men of great probity, and the best civilians in *Rome*. He narrowly inquired into the conduct and behaviour of his ministers, discharging them when guilty of the least injustice or misdemeanour. He allowed his freedmen no power; and such as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means credit or wealth, he punished with the utmost severity (C). He was an enemy to

^m SPART. & DIO, *ibid*.

PHILOST. soph. t. 27.

p. 9.

^q *Idem*, p. 17.

ⁿ SPART. p. 10. DIO, p. 790.

^o DIO, *ibid*.

^p SPART.

(C) Observing one day from walking between two senators, his window one of his freedmen he sent one of his attendants to give

to all pomp and parade; whence he would never suffer the senators to attend him but upon business. He usually returned from the senate in a sedan, that the senators might be dispensed from accompanying him to the palace. His medals are all very plain, without the usual titles of *emperor, high pontif, father of his country, &c.* He would not suffer his name to be put upon any of the stately buildings which he erected, except upon the temple which he built in honour of *Trajan*; but, at the same time, was pleased, that several aqueducts and cities should bear his name. Out of *Rome* he laid quite aside the port and majesty of an emperor; in his garb and dress he little varied from a common soldier; his diet was such as chance presented; he usually marched on foot, with his head bare, making no distinction between the frozen mountains of the *Alps*, and the scorching deserts of *Africa*; he visited the soldiers in person when sick, took particular care of their provisions, made them presents, &c. but, at the same time, put down the use of arbours, shady walks, bowers, &c. banishing from the camp whatever seemed in the least to encourage luxury and idleness. He was acquainted with every soldier in the army, knew his age, remembered his exploits, if he had performed any, &c. He preferred none but men of courage, strength, and good characters, saying, *Such as the officers are, such will the soldiers soon be.* By this means he revived and restored the antient military discipline, which, by the negligence of many princes, had been decaying ever since the time of *Augustus*.

He revives the antient military discipline.

His vices. He is generally blamed by the antients as too inquisitive, and prying into every one's secrets, though they no-way concerned him; as addicted to the most infamous pleasures, and abandoned to all manner of superstition; which was the chief cause of his persecuting the Christians, whom he looked upon as enemies to the idolatrous worship of his gods. He took great delight in hunting, and is said to have killed bears, lions, and other wild beasts, with his own hand. He founded a town in *Mæsia*, which he called *Adrianotheræ*, that is, *Adrian's chase*, because he had killed a bear there. He loved his hunt-

^r SPART. p. 9, 10.

^s Idem, p. 5. DIO, p. 790-792.

^t DIO & SPART. ibid. AMMIAN. l. xxv. HIER. chron. TERTUL. apol. c. 5.

give him a box on the ear, and to whom he might one day be a tell him, that it did not become slave (5). him to walk between two persons

ing-horses and dogs to such a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himself their epitaphs ^u. He was the first emperor, as *Spartian* observes ^w, who let his beard grow, to cover some scars, which disfigured that part of his face.

• HAVING thus premised a succinct account of the virtues and vices of *Adrian*, we shall now proceed to the history of his reign, according to the order of time. Having caused himself to be declared emperor on the eleventh of *August* of the year 118. he immediately wrote to the senate, excusing ^{His letter to the senate.} his having assumed that title without their consent and authority, alleging, that he had been forced to it by the soldiery. He begged they would confirm the title, without conferring other honours upon him till he deserved them. In the same letter he solemnly promised never to put any senator to death, nor to transact any affair of consequence without their counsel and advice ^x. He doubled the donative given by other emperors to the soldiery, and appointed *Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, formerly his guardian, with *Similis*, captains of the prætorian guards (1). *Adrian* had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he deprived the brave *Lusius Quietus*, who had served with great credit under *Trajan*, of the command of his countrymen the *Moor*s, suspecting him as if he aspired at the empire. • As to the conquests made by his predecessor, he *Adrian* resolved to abandon them all; and accordingly withdrew his ^{abandons} troops from *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Affyria*; so that the ^{the coun-} *Euphrates* became anew the boundary of the Roman empire. ^{tries con-} He allowed the *Armenians* to choose themselves a king; and, ^{quered by} as the *Parthians* were dissatisfied with *Parthamaspates*, whom *Trajan*.

^u SPART. p. 12, 13. DIO, p. 792.

^w SPART. *ibid.*

^x DIO, l. lxix. p. 788.

(D) *Similis* was a man of great probity, moderation, and prudence; and had distinguished himself in quality of centurion under *Trajan*, who had a particular value for him. As it was much against his will, that he accepted the command conferred upon him by *Adrian*, he resigned it three years after, withdrew into the country, and there spent in retirement the seven remaining years of his life. A little before he

died, he composed his own epitaph, importing, that he had been seventy six years upon the earth, but lived only seven (6). *Tatianus* was a man of a quite different character; for he advised *Adrian*, upon his accession to the empire, to put several persons to death; and was thought to have been the chief author of the murders which that prince committed about two years after (7).

(6) *Spart. cum not. Salmas. p. 19. D. 2, p. 796. ibid.*

(7) *Spart. & Dio,*

Trajan had raised to the throne, he appointed him king of some neighbouring nation, and suffered the *Parthians* to recal *Cosphoes*, whom *Trajan* had driven out two years before ¹. He was likewise determined to abandon *Dacia*; but his friends prevailed upon him to keep a province, in which such numbers of *Roman* citizens had settled. However, he ordered the arches of the famous bridge built by *Trajan* over the *Danube* to be broken down, fearing the barbarians might make themselves masters of it, and invade the *Roman* territories ². *Adrian*, having given the necessary orders for maintaining the tranquillity of the East, and appointed *Cassilius Severus* governor of *Syria*, left *Antioch*, and set out for *Rome*, which he did not reach till the next year ³. *Epiphanius* tells us, that, before he left the East, he went into *Egypt* ⁴, and that, passing by *Jerusalem* forty-seven years after it had been taken by *Titus*, on that occasion he resolved to rebuild it; which design, however, he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign ⁵.

THE following year *Adrian* entered upon his second consulship, having been named to that dignity by *Trajan* before he died, together with *Fuscus Salinator*, who had married the daughter of *Servianus*, *Adrian's* niece ⁶. This year *Adrian* at *Rome*; returned to *Rome*, where he was received by all ranks of people with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; but he refused to accept the triumph, which had been prepared for *Trajan*, and was by the senate decreed for him. At his motion, that honour was conferred upon the image of *Trajan*, which *Adrian* himself seems to have carried ⁷. Soon after his entrance into the city, he remitted to the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy* all debts, without restriction, due from them to the exchequer, and to particular persons in the provinces what was owing by them for the last sixteen years, burning in *Trajan's* new square all the bonds and registers relating to those debts, in order to secure every one against such claims. The sum which he forgave on this occasion amounted to seven millions of our money, and upwards. No wonder, therefore, that such a generous action is so much extolled by the historians of those times, and mentioned in most of the inscriptions and medals of this and the

He arrives at Rome; returned to Rome, where he was received by all ranks of people with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; but he refused to accept the triumph, which had been prepared for Trajan, and was by the senate decreed for him. At his motion, that honour was conferred upon the image of Trajan, which Adrian himself seems to have carried. Soon after his entrance into the city, he remitted to the inhabitants of Rome and Italy all debts, without restriction, due from them to the exchequer, and to particular persons in the provinces what was owing by them for the last sixteen years, burning in Trajan's new square all the bonds and registers relating to those debts, in order to secure every one against such claims. The sum which he forgave on this occasion amounted to seven millions of our money, and upwards. No wonder, therefore, that such a generous action is so much extolled by the historians of those times, and mentioned in most of the inscriptions and medals of this and the

¹ SPART. p. 10. DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 776.

Adrian & DIO, *ibid.*

² SPART. p. 3.

³ EUTROP. in

⁴ EPIPHAN.

mens. c. 14. ⁵ IDA. CASSIODOR. ONUPH. in fast.

ibid.

following year (E). Besides, he lessened the taxes both at *Rome*, and in the provinces; and eased the cities of the great burden, which had been laid upon them by *Trajan*, of supplying such as traveled for the service of the public with horses, chariots, and carriages, which was thenceforth done at the charge of the emperor^c.

THE following year *Adrian* was consul the third time; but resigned the fasces after four months, and never after resumed them. He had for his colleague one *Rusticus*, of whom we find no further mention. This year the *Sarmatians*, and the *Roxolani*, whose country bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*, invaded *Illyricum*; which obliged *Adrian* to leave *Rome*, and hasten into *Mæsia*, where he defeated the barbarians upon their return from *Illyricum*.^d Those who escaped, saved themselves by swimming cross the *Danube*, and soon after sent embassadors to *Adrian*, who granted them honourable terms, and by that means put a speedy end to the war. They afterwards quarreled with one another, and chose *Adrian* for their umpire, who composed their differences to the general satisfaction of each party. Having thus both terrified the barbarians, and at the same time gained their affections, he appointed *Martius Turbo*, whom he had recalled from *Mauritania*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and led his army into *Illyricum*; whence he wrote to the senate, complaining of *Cornelius Palma*, *L. Publius Celsus*, *Domitius Nigrinus*, and *Lusius Quietus*, as if they had formed a conspiracy against him. They were all consuls, men of extraordinary parts, and had been greatly esteemed and beloved by *Trajan*; but nevertheless the senate, out of complaisance to the emperor, *Four consuls* ordered them immediately to be put to death, without so much as acquainting them, that they had been accused. *As to death.* no one believed them guilty of the crime laid to their charge, their death drew upon the emperor the public hatred, who thereupon left *Illyricum*, and hastened back to *Rome*, where he openly declared upon his oath, that they had been executed against his will, and without his knowledge; but was not believed, says *Dio Cassius*, by those who knew, that *Palma* and *Celsus* had been always his enemies, and that he was jealous of *Nigrinus* and

^c SPART. p. 17.

(E) On one of the medals, which has reached our times, *Adrian* is represented with a torch in his hand, setting fire to the bonds, with this legend, *He enriches the whole world* (8).

(8, *Span. I. ix. p. 812. 815.*

Quietus, who were equally beloved and esteemed by the Roman people ^f.

Several
other per-
sons ac-
cused and
condemned.

BESIDES these four excellent men, as *Dio Cassius* styles them, several other persons of great merit and distinction were accused and condemned, as privy to the supposed conspiracy; which filled the city with dread and terror. But *Adrian* himself, having got rid of those whom he chiefly feared, put a stop to the cruel and unjust proceedings of the senate by an edict, forbidding any one to be accused or tried upon the law of majesty. He was desirous of having *Tatianus*, formerly his guardian, and now captain of the prætorian guards, put to death; for he was a man of an haughty and imperious temper, and assumed greater power and authority, than the emperor was willing to grant him; but nevertheless *Adrian*, not thinking it adviseable to spill more blood, disssembled his hatred for the present, and prevailed upon *Tatianus* to resign his command, by offering him a place in the senate, and the consular ornaments; which he readily accepted. *Martius Turbo*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and one of the best officers of his age, was put in his room, as was *Septicius Clarus* in the room of *Similis*, who this year resigned of his own accord, and retired from the city &c. Toward the end of the year, the emperor went into *Campania*, where he relieved with great generosity the poor inhabitants of all the cities through which he passed.

*Adrian re-
solves to
visit all
the pro-
vinces of
the empire.*

Year of
the flood
2469.

Of Chr.

121.

Of Rome

869.

THE next consuls were *L. Catilius Severus*, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor of *Syria* three years before, and *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, who succeeded *Adrian* in the empire, and is commonly known by the name of *Antoninus Pius* ^h. This year *Adrian*, who used to say, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, who illuminates not one place, but all the corners and regions of the earth, began his progress, with a design to visit in person all the provinces of the empire, and examine the state of each country subject to *Rome*, that he might not be obliged to depend intirely upon the accounts transmitted to him by his ministers and governors. Thus he employed almost the whole remainder of his reign, that is near seventeen years (F). He began his progress with *Gaul*, where he viewed all the

^f *Dio*, l. lxxix. p. 788.

^g *Idem*, p. 795, 796. SPART.

p. 7. ^h *ONUPH.* in fast. p. 220.

(F) From several antient coins we learn, that he visited the following countries, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Mauritania*, *Africa*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, *Achaia*, or *Greece*, *Eubœa*, *Macedonia*, *Egypt*, and the city of *Alexandria*, *Palæstine*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Asia*, *Bithynia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*,
anc

the chief cities, and Roman forts, and signalized himself by extraordinary bounties, relieving with great generosity the poor inhabitants in all the places through which he passed. From Gaul he went into Germany, where lay the flower of the Roman troops; and therefore he spent some time there, in order to revive, and establish among them, the ancient military discipline; for he did not leave Germany till the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*, grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Augur*, or, as he is called in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, *Augurinus*, were consuls.

DURING their consulate, *Adrian*, leaving Germany, returned to Gaul, and from thence passed over into Britain, where he is said to have reformed many abuses^l. The greatest part of the island was, when he arrived in Britain, subject to Rome; but the northern nations had, upon the departure of *Agricola*, revolted, and recovered their ancient liberty. *Adrian* did not think it adviseable, nor worth his while, to make war upon them, and reduce them anew; but, in order to secure the countries belonging to the Romans against the incursions of the warlike *Caledonians*, he caused a mighty wall to be built, extending from the river *Eden* in Cumberland to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length^k. In other countries too, where the barbarians were not separated from the Romans by rivers, he ordered walls to be made of earth, says *Spartian*^l, which were strengthened with sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. In Britain he disgraced and discharged his secretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, no doubt the historian, and *Septicius Clarus*, captain of the prætorian guards, for their disrespectful behaviour towards the empress *Sabina*^m.

HAVING settled the affairs of Britain, he returned to Gaul, and built at *Nismes* a magnificent palace in honour of *Plotina*, *Trojan's* widow (G). From Gaul, *Adrian* went into Spain, and passed the winter at *Tarraco*, now *Tarragona*, where he rebuilt *Sauo*.

^l SPART. p. 6.
antiq. p. 1024. Dublin. 1635.
ibid.

^k Idem ibid. USSER. Britan. ecclief.
^l SPART. ibid. ^m Idem
ibid.

and *Dalmatia* (9). No mention is made, on any of the medals which have reached us, of *Britain*, *Armenia*, or *Dacia*; which provinces, it is certain, he visited, as we shall relate hereafter.

(G) No remains of this stately edifice, or basilic, as *Spartian* calls it, are now to be seen; but the antiquaries take the magnificent amphitheatre, which the inhabitants call *les Arènes*, the *Pont du*

where he
is in dan-
ger of being
assassin-
ated.

Returns to
Rome.

Goes to
Athens,
and from
thence into
the East.

Visits se-
veral pro-
vinces, and
passes the
winter at
Athens.

rebuilt the temple of *Augustus*, founded by *Tiberius*, and held a general assembly of the states of *Spain*, in order to compose the differences which subsisted amongst them, about the raising of levies to recruit the *Roman* armies. At *Tarraco* he narrowly escaped being killed by a slave, who, while the emperor was walking in his master's garden, assaulted him with a drawn sword. *Adrian*, closing with him, seized him, and delivered him to the guards, who were hastening to his assistance: but afterwards, finding the slave was disordered in his senses, he committed him to the care of the physicians, and took no farther notice of the attempt (H).

FROM *Spain* the emperor returned to *Rome* in the month of *April*, as appears from an antient inscription, *Acilius Aviola* and *Cornelius Pansa* being then consuls: but he did not stay there long: for, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, when *Quintus Arrius Pætinus* and *Caius Ventidius Apronianus* were consuls, he was, according to *St. Jerom* and *Eusebius*ⁿ, at *Athens*. During his stay in that city, the *Cephissus* happening to break over its banks, and lay under water great part of the city of *Eleusina*, he caused a bridge to be built over that river, and provided against its overflowing for the future^o. From *Athens* he passed into the East, where he apprehended a war with the *Parthians*; but prevented it by a conference, with whom, history does not inform us; but it was, in all likelihood, with *Cosroes* king of the *Parthians*. The following year, *Manius Acilius Glabrio* and *Caius Bellicius Torquatus* being consuls, *Adrian* returned from the East through *Asia*, and visited *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Phrygia*; ordering temples, squares, and other edifices, to be built at his expence in most of the chief cities of those provinces, especially in *Nicomedia*, *Nicæa*, and *Cyzicus*. He likewise visited the islands of the *Archipelago*, and arrived in the beginning of the following year, *P. Cornelius Scipio Asia-*

ⁿ EUSEB. chron. p. 211.

^o HIER. in chron.

gand, and several other antient buildings, which are still to be seen in that city, to have been raised by *Adrian*, or by his successor *Antoninus* (1).

(H) *Adrian* did not visit the city of *Italia*, whence his family originally came; but distinguished it with many privileges (2).

Gellius quotes a discourse made by the emperor in the senate in favour of *Italia*, *Utica*, and other free cities, demanding the rights and privileges of colonies, though *Adrian* himself thought the condition of free cities preferable to that of the colonies (3).

(1) Vide *Salmasi*: in *Spart.* p. 23.

(3) *Aul. Gel.* l. xvi. c. 13.

(2) *Idem*, p. 6. & *Dio*, p. 792.

ticus and *Vettius Aquilinus* being consuls, in *Achaia*, and passed the remaining part of the winter at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the rites of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, called the *Eleusinian mysteries*, following therein the example of *Hercules*, and *Philip* king of *Macedon*.

FROM *Athens*, after he had presided there at the public games, and bestowed innumerable favours upon the *Athenians*, he sailed to *Sicily*, where he was led by his curiosity to visit the top of mount *Ætna*, in order to view from thence the rising sun, believed to exhibit there all the colours of the rainbow. From *Sicily* he returned to *Rome* in the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Vetus*, grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, was the third time consul, with *L. Varius Ambibulus* P. The two next years, the eleventh and twelfth of *Adrian's* reign, are quite barren of events. The consuls were *Titianus* and *Gallicanus*, *Torquatus Asprenas* and *Annius Libo* Q. The following year, *P. Juventius Celsus* and *Q. Julius Balbus Marcellus* being consuls, the cities of *Nicomedia*, *Cæsarea*, and *Nicæa*, in *Bithynia*, were almost intirely overturned by an earthquake; but rebuilt at the expence of the emperor, who was thence stiled the *Restorer* of *Bithynia*, as appears from some medals^r. In the beginning of this year *Adrian* was still at *Rome*; for, on the third of *March*, he proposed some difficulties touching inheritances, which were resolved by a decree of the Senate, dated the fourteenth of the same month^s. But, soon after, he set out again on a new progress, passing first into *Africa*; where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five years drought; which, together with the many favours he bestowed upon the inhabitants of that province (for he left every-where signal marks of his liberality and good-nature), gained him the affections of all ranks of men. From *Africa* he returned to *Rome*, and there caused the obsequies of *Plotina*, to whom he was indebted for the empire, to be performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence. She died either while *Adrian* was in *Africa*, or soon after his return from thence. He bewailed her with many tears, appeared for nine days in deep mourning, composed verses in her praise, and caused her to be ranked among the gods^t.

THE next consuls were *Q. Fabius Catullinus* and *M. Flavius Aper*, during whose administration a temple was built at *Rome*, in honour of that city, and of the goddess *Venus*, which

^P NORIS, epist. consul. p. 78. DIO, l. lxxix. p. 797. ^Q IDAT. ONUPH. &c. in fast. ^r EUSEB. in chron. p. 211. BIRAG. p. 123. ^s Digest. v. c. 3. l. xx. NORIS, epist. consul. p. 421. ^t DIO, p. 792.

Year of the flood 2479. Of Chr. 131. Of Rome 879. *Adrian returns to Asia,*
 was called the *temple of Rome*, and the *temple of the fortune of Rome* ^u. On account of this temple, *Adrian* changed the ancient name of the feast, which was yearly kept on the twenty-first of *April* for the foundation of *Rome*, calling it *Romana*, instead of *Palilia* ^w. This temple was one of the wonders which the emperor *Constantius* chiefly admired when he came to *Rome* ^x. It was afterwards consumed by accidental fire, and rebuilt by *Maxentius* ^y (1). In the beginning of the summer, *Adrian* set out from *Rome*, with a design to visit anew the provinces of the East; and, passing through *Athens*, pursued his journey to *Asia*, where he consecrated several temples. In *Cappadocia* he purchased a great number of slaves for the servile offices of the camp. To *Gessio* he sent back his daughter, who had been taken prisoner by *Trajan*, and promised to restore to him his golden throne; but never performed his promise. He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and many of them complied with the invitation; to wit, *Malassès* king of the *Lazi*, *Resnagas* king of the *Abasgi*, *Spadages* king of the *Sauni* or *Sauniges*, *Staquimsan* king of the *Zydrææ*. The territories of these princes lay partly east, partly north, of the *Euxine* sea. Besides these, several other petty kings came to wait upon *Adrian*, and were by him entertained with great pomp and magnificence, and loaded with rich presents upon their departure. The *Bactrian* princes did

and there confers with the Eastern kings.

^u AMMIAN. l. xvi.^w ATHEN. l. viii.^x AMMIAN. *ibid.*^y AUR. VICT. p. 526.

(1) When the fabric was ended, *Adrian* sent the plan of it to the famous architect *Apollodorus*; which was tacitly telling him, that he was not the only great architect in the world: and this was what the emperor meant by sending the plan after the building was accomplished; for though he himself had employed him, yet he bore him a private grudge, on account of his having checked him with great acrimony, for pretending, in *Trajan's* time, to give his opinion concerning certain buildings. *Apollodorus*, who was no flatterer, after having viewed the plan, desired those who brought it to tell the emperor from him, that the fabric was too low for the place in which it stood; and, on the contrary, the statues of *Rome* and *Venus* too tall: "The architect, added he pleasantly, has taken care, that the goddesses shall not rise, nor walk out." *Adrian* was so offended at the freedom of this answer, that, though he had desired *Apollodorus* to acquaint him with his sentiments concerning the building, yet he banished him, and soon after, under some pretence or other, caused him to be put to death (4).

not come, but sent ambassadors to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*. The kings of *Albania* and *Iberia* neither sent ambassadors, nor came in person; which they repented, when they understood how the others had been received and entertained^a. In *Syria* he went up to the top of mount *Cassius* in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, to observe from thence the rising sun, and to offer a sacrifice to *Jupiter*, who was worshiped upon that mountain; but he was there overtaken by a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which fell both upon the priest, and the victim^a. From *Syria* he passed into *He visits Palestine* and *Arabia*, and from thence into *Egypt*^b. It is *Palestine*, observed in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that the famous colossus *Arabia*, of *Rhodes* shook this year, the fourteenth of *Adrian's* reign, and *Egypt*. for the first time^c.

THE next year *Servius Octavius Lænas Pontianus* and *M. Antoninus Rufinus* were consuls. During their administration, *Salvius Julianus*, one of the most learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, the perpetual edict, containing all the laws which had been yearly published by the prætors in their edicts. This collection was called the *edictum perpetuum*, because it was to continue in force for ever, to be as a body of standing laws, to prevent the great confusion occasioned by the new edicts, and to serve as a guide and rule in the administration of justice throughout the whole empire^d. *Adrian* continued in *Egypt* all this and the following year, when *Augurinus* and *Sergianus* were consuls. At *Pelusium* he visited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*; and, finding it almost intirely demolished, he ordered it to be repaired at his own expence^e, and performed the usual ceremonies in honour of the deceased hero. He disliked the fickle, turbulent, and satirical temper of the *Egyptians*, especially of the *Alexandrians* (K). Their city had, it seems, forfeited many of

^a SPART. p. 27. ARRIAN. in perip. Pont. p. 7. ^b SPART. p. 7. ^c DIO, p. 792. ^d Chron. Alexand. p. 598.

^e Vide VOBURG. hist. Roman. Germanic. tit. i. p. 401. Francofurt. 1645. ^f DIO, p. 792. SPART. p. 7.

(K) In a letter which he wrote to *Servianus* his brother-in-law, he tells him, that the *Christians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Jews*, of that country were always ready to change their religion, because they all adored one and the same god, their own interest; and adds, that they all superstitiously observed the motion and aspect of the stars, and pretended to be skilled in divination⁽⁵⁾. He speaks of a patriarch, who now-and-then visited *Egypt*, meaning, no doubt,

of the
Alexan-
drians.
He repairs
the city of
Alexan-
dria, and
restores to
the Alex-
andrians
their an-
cient privi-
leges.

of its antient privileges, probably on account of some sedition ; for St. *Jerom* tells us, that it was almost intirely ruined by the *Romans* ; but *Adrian* not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and restored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon them ; for which they returned him solemn thanks, and conferred upon him what honours they could. But this sense of gratitude was not in them long-lived ; for he no sooner left their city, than they published most bitter and virulent lampoons against him, and his favourites (L). *Adrian* from *Egypt* passed into *Libya Cyrenaica*, where he killed (for he took great pleasure in hunting) a lion of a monstrous size, which had committed great ravages in that country, and even unpeopled some parts of it^s.

† *HIER. chron.*

‡ *ATHEN.⁹ l. xv. p. 677.*

the patriarch of the *Jews* (6). He concludes with this observation, that at *Alexandria* no one was suffered to be idle ; insomuch that even those who were blind followed some profession (7).

(L) In the palace at *Alexandria*, which took up the third part of the city, one quarter was consecrated to the muses and sciences, and thence called the *Museum*. There were lodged and entertained, at the expence of the public, men of learning, divided into several companies or colleges, according to the different sciences and sects which they professed. They were all under one head, who was named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of *pontif*. This institution is generally ascribed to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, who placed there his famous library. The emperor *Claudius* to the antient *Museum* added a new one, with large revenues. In the *Museum* were always persons eminent

in all the branches of literature, and it was by the learned deemed a great honour to be admitted into this society, or, as it is sometimes expressed, to this table. This distinction *Adrian* granted to *Dionysius* the sophist, whom he greatly esteemed, and to an *Egyptian* poet named *Pancrates* (8). *Adrian* did not fail visiting this place, and conversing with the most eminent men of that learned society ; he examined them, and suffered himself to be by them examined, asking them many questions, and answering those which they proposed to him (9). The emperor *Caracalla* suppressed this society in the year 216 (1). but it was afterwards re-established, and subsisted till the civil wars in the time of *Aurelian*, when that quarter, named *Bruchium*, was utterly demolished (2) ; insomuch that, about the latter end of the fourth century, it was quite deserted, and at some distance from the city (3).

(6) *Vide Pearf. de Ignat. c. 3. & Popifc. vit. Sat.*

(7) *Popifc. ibid.*

(8) *Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793, 794. Ammian. l. xxii. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 873.*

Arten. l. vi. & xxvi.

(9) *Spart. p. 10.*

(x) *Dio, ibid. p. 873.*

(2) *Ammian. l. xxii.*

(3) *Vide Gesaub. in Span. p. 36.*

WHAT most of all rendered *Adrian's* journey into *Egypt* ~~The death~~ remarkable, was, the death of *Antinous*, a beautiful youth, of *Antioch* greatly beloved by a prince addicted to the most unnatural, ^{sup-}pleasures. He fell accidentally into the *Nile*, as he was sailing ^{posed to} on that river with the emperor, and was drowned (M). The ^{have been} emperor bewailed him, says *Spartian*^b, with all the tender-^{sacrificed}ness and weakness of a woman lamenting the death of her ^{by him.} husband. To allay in some measure his grief, he desired the *Greeks* to rank him amongst the gods; which they did accordingly: so that in a short time all the eastern provinces were filled with statues, temples, and chapels, consecrated to this new divinity (N). *Adrian* caused his body to be buried with the utmost magnificence, ^{He is ran-}built a city in that place, and ^{ked among} changed his tomb into a temple, where he was said to work miracles¹; which we find exposed and ridiculed by the pagans themselves.

^b SPART. p. 7.

¹ ORIGEN. in Cels. l. iii. p. 132.

(M) This is the account which *Adrian* himself gave of his death. But *Dio Cassius* assures us, that the emperor, who had applied himself to the study of magic, being, by the false and execrable principles of that art, misled into a belief, that he should prolong his life by sacrificing an human victim to the infernal gods, was obliged to accept of the tender which *Antinous* made him of his life, all the rest preferring their own safety to the emperor's. *Adrian* would by choice have rather sacrificed his dearest friends, than his beloved catamite; but, as no constraint was to be used, and none of them cared to prolong the emperor's life at the expence of their own, the offer of *Antinous* was accepted, and he sacrificed (4).

(N) At *Mantinea* in *Arcadia* a magnificent temple was erected to him by *Adrian*, solemn sports instituted, and priests appointed

to offer victims in honour of the deified pathic (5). It was even pretended, that he uttered oracles; but his answers were commonly thought to have been composed by *Adrian* (6). The astrologers, having discovered, or pretending to discover, a new star, gave out, that it was *Antinous* (7). The deifying of *Antinous*, and the sacrilegious worship paid him, was made use of by the Christian writers as an argument to impugn the divinity of the other gods, who were more antient, but had no better claim to their godhead, than the infamous *Antinous*, and to expose the pagan religion. This argument we find wonderfully handled by *Justin the Martyr*, who was converted about this time to the Christian religion, and likewise by *Hegesippus*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, *Tertullian*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and *Origen*.

(4) *Dio*, l. lxxix. p. 93.
p. 653 — 657.

(5) *Dio*, *ibid.* *Spart.* p. 8. *Span.* l. vii.
(6) *Spart.* p. 7. *Dio*, *ibid.*

(7) *Dio*, *ibid.*

Adrian re-
turns to
Syria.

THE following year, when *Hiberus* and *Sisenna* were consuls, *Adrian* left *Egypt*, and returned to *Syria*, where he passed this and the next year, and honoured *Servianus* his brother-in-law with a third consulship, and gave him *C. Vibius Juventius Varus* for his colleague. While *Servianus* was consul, the emperor wrote a letter to him, giving him an account of the state of *Egypt*, and of *Alexandria* its metropolis ^k. At the same time he sent some presents, both to him, and his wife *Paulina* the emperor's sister, who died soon after. As *Adrian* conferred no extraordinary honours upon her after her death, the *Roman* senate and people were the more displeased with those he had bestowed upon *Antinous* ^l. Early in the spring he left *Syria*, in order to return to *Italy*; but made a long stay at *Athens*, after having visited *Thrace* and *Macedon*. During his stay at *Athens*, the *Jews* revolted, provoked chiefly, says *Dio Cassius* ^m, at *Adrian's* sending a *Roman* colony to *Jerusalem*; at his calling that city, after the name of his family, *Ælia Capitolina*; and his erecting a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the place where the antient temple stood. *Spartian* tells us, that *Adrian* published an edict, forbidding them to be circumcised; which prompted them to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty. Be that as it will, *Adrian* had no sooner left *Syria*, than they openly revolted. But of that revolt, and the fatal consequences that attended it, we shall speak at large in a more proper place.

Visits
Thrace
and Mace-
don, and
returns to
Athens.

DIO CASSIUS, after having described the war which *Adrian* the *Alani* waged with the *Jews*, speaks of another, which broke out about the same time, with the *Alani* or *Massagetae*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who, under the conduct of *Pharasmanes* their king, committed dreadful ravages in *Media*, entered *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*; but soon withdraw from thence, not caring to encounter *Flavius Arrianus* governor of that province, who was preparing to meet them ⁿ. The instructions given by *Arrian*, concerning the march of the *Roman* army against the *Alani*, and the order to be observed in the battle, which, it was thought, would ensue, have reached our times ^o. The *Roman* army consisted, as appears from these instructions, of troops from various nations, commanded by one *Xenophon*, who no doubt served under *Arrian* governor of the province, since *Arrian* directs him how he is to conduct himself both in the march and battle (O).

ADRIAN

^k VOPISC. vit. Sat. p. 245. ^l DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 714. ^m Idem, l. lxx. p. 793. ⁿ Idem ibid. p. 794.
^o ARRIAN. mandat. in Alan. U pñaliæ, ann. 1664.

(O) We have a description of bly the governor of *Cappadocia*, the *Euxine* sea by *Adrian*, proba- addressed by way of letter to *Adrian*.

ADRIAN in the mean time continued at *Athens*, being mightily taken with the customs and learning of the *Athenians*. He was there admitted to the great mysteries of *Eleusina*, different from those in which he had been initiated some years before, and celebrated, according to *Eusebius* ^p, the second year of each *Olympiad*, that is, every fourth year. He therefore had not left *Athens* in the beginning of the nineteenth year of his reign, which was the one hundredth and thirty-fifth of the Christian æra, and the second of the two hundredth and twenty-eighth *Olympiad*. As he had been created archon of *Athens* before he was emperor, he assumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magistrates, celebrated the great festival of *Bacchus*, distributing on that occasion large sums, and an immense quantity of corn, among the popu-

Adrian's
generosity
to the A-
thenians.

P EUSEB. chron. p. 214.

Adrian. The author begins his relation with his arrival at *Trebizond*, where, by the emperor's command, a temple was then building in honour of *Mercury*. He embarked at *Trebizond*, in order to view the eastern coast of the *Euxine* sea; which he did accordingly, visiting every where the *Roman* garisons; obliging the soldiers to perform their military exercises before him; paying them their arrears, &c. and acquainting the emperor with the state of each garison (8). He sailed by the mouth of the *Phasis*, the waters of which river he observed swimming a long time, on account of their lightness, upon those of the sea. At the mouth of the *Phasis* stood a castle garisoned by four hundred *Roman* soldiers, and a town inhabited by some veterans and seafaring men; which, for the greater security of the place, he strengthened with a new ditch. He ended his voyage at *Sebastopolis*, the most distant city garisoned by the *Romans*. Of all the barbarous nations, along whose

coasts he sailed, the *Sanni*, called by *Xenophon* the *Drilli*, were the most fierce and warlike. They had then no king; and, as they had formerly paid tribute to the *Romans*, *Arrian*, in his letter to the emperor, offers either to reduce them anew, or to extirpate the whole nation (9). We are sure he did not extirpate them; for we find them mentioned many ages after; neither are we told, that he reduced them. To the account of his voyage along the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, he adds a description of the coasts of *Asia*, from *Byzantium* to *Trebizond*, and another of the country, from *Sebastopolis* to the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, and from thence to *Byzantium*, that the emperor might take what measures he thought proper, in case he designed to concern himself with the affairs of *Bosporus*, the king of that country, by name *Cotys*, being just then dead. From this relation it appears, that at this time a port was forming, by the emperor's order, at *Trebizond* (1).

(8) *Arrian. perip. Pont. Euxin. p. 1, 2, 3.*

(1) *Idem, p. 7—10.*

(9) *Idem, p. 4—7.*

His build- ings there. lace 1 (P). He embellished the city of *Athens* with many stately buildings, especially with a library of marvelous structure. These edifices had been by his orders begun before; but were finished this year, and consecrated by the emperor himself^r. He likewise finished the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympius*^s, begun, according to *Philostratus*^t, five hundred and sixty years before. In this temple he dedicated an altar to himself, and suffered the *Greeks* to build and consecrate a temple to him, which they called *Panellenion*^u, instituting on this occasion annual sports. In short, he embellished *Athens* with so many noble buildings, that he was looked upon as the second founder of that city; whence one quarter of it was from him called *Adrianopolis*. Many monuments of his generosity towards the *Athenians* are still to be seen^w (Q). The *Athenians* employed part of the money with which he presented them, in buikling a city in the island of *Delos*, which they called *Adrian's new Athens and Olympia*^x. The *Athenians* of *Delos* are mentioned in an inscription still to be seen at *Venice*^y; but now remain only some ruins of this city, as well as of the many magnificent buildings, which by the superstitious pagans were erected in that island^z.

Adrian returns at length to Rome;

THIS year, the nineteenth of *Adrian's* reign, and the one hundredth and thirty-fifth of the Christian era, the emperor left *Athens*, and returned at length to *Rome*, *Lupercus Pontianus* and *Rufus Atilianus* being consuls^a (R). He had not been

^r DIO, p. 795. SPART. p. 99.

^t HIER. chron. WHE-

LER's travels, p. 437. SPART. p. 7.

^u DIO, ibid.

^v PHI-

LOST. sop. xxv.

^w SPART. cum not. Casaub. p. 26,

^x Vide

WHELER, p. 421—471.

^y EUSEB. chron. p. 215.

^z GRUT. p. 405.

^a WHELER, p. 93, &c.

^b NORIS,

epist. conf.

(P) *Dio Cassius* tells us, that he subjected to *Athens* the whole island of *Cephalenia* (2); but, in an inscription addressed to *Adrian Olympicus*, as he is there called, the city of *Pale* in that island styles herself *autonomos*, that is, free, and governed by her own laws (3).

(Q) From a decree of this prince concerning the sale of oil,

produced by *Wheler*, it appears, that at this time, all controversies were determined at *Athens* by the senate and people assembled by the magistrate, with an appeal to the proconsul, or to the emperor (4).

(R) *Dio Cassius* tells us, that, in the shews which he exhibited soon after his arrival, the people pressing him to declare free one

(2) DIO, p. 795.

(3) Vide Rein. inscript. p. 335.

(4) Vide *Wheler*,

p. 470.

been long in *Rome*, when ambassadors arrived from *Vologeses*, Year of probably king of *Armenia*, with complaints against *Pharasmanes* the flood king of *Iberia*, and from the *Iazyges*, a people of *Sarmatia*, 2483. who were desirous to have their antient treaties with the people Of Christ of *Rome* confirmed by the emperor. *Adrian* received them 135. in a very obliging manner, conducted them to the senate, and Of Rome there read to them an answer, which, at the request of the 883. senate, he had composed beforehand. *Pharasmanes* came to *Rome* in person, with his wife and his son, to answer the complaints of *Vologeses*, bringing with him rich presents for *Adrian*, where he receives *Pharasmanes* king of *Iberia*. who repaid them with others far more valuable; and, besides, presented him with fifty elephants, and five hundred chosen men, to serve him as a guard; enlarged his dominions; suffered him to sacrifice in the capitol; caused an equestrian statue to be erected to him; and assisted in person at a military exercise performed by him, his son, and the chief men of his court^b (S).

AFTER *Adrian* had traveled, we may say, all over the *He falls* known world, he fell into a lingering disease, attended with a into a lin- frequent bleeding at the nose, which the physicians of those *gering dis-* days ascribed to his going constantly with his head uncovered in ease. the greatest colds, heats, showers, &c. The loss of blood, as he was advanced in years, was followed by a dropsy, from which as he entertained no hopes of ever recovering, he began to think of *Begins to* a successor; when several persons of great merit occurred to him; think of a namely, *Servianus*, who had married his sister, and was now *successor*. in the ninetieth year of his age; *Fuscus* the grandson of *Servianus*, and his own great-nephew; *Pleitorius Nepos*, his antient and intimate friend; and *Terentius Gentianus*, a man greatly beloved and esteemed by the senate. These he judged, among the great men of *Rome*, the most capable of the su-

^b DIO, p. 794.

of the charioteers of the circus, who belonged to a private person, he returned the following answer;
 "It does not become the *Roman*
 "people to beg of their empe-
 "ror the liberty of one who does
 "not belong to him, nor the
 "emperor to oblige the person
 "to whom he belongs to grant
 "him it (5)." •

(S) Nevertheless, by a strange whim, as we may call it, after so

many presents, and such extraordinary honours, he introduced into the amphitheatre three hundred criminals to be devoured by the wild beasts, or to fight as gladiators, in the embroidered tunics with which *Pharasmanes* had presented him, as if they had been fit only for such uses (6). But this, no doubt, happened after the departure of the *Iberian* prince.

(5) DIO p. 795.

(6) SPART. p. 9.

He adopts Commodus Verus. preme power ; but nevertheless neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irreconcilable hatred to them, for no other reason but because they were equal to the empire, contrary to the expectation of all, and the advice of his friends, he made choice of *L. Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus* ; for he is called by all these names, and *Adrian* added those of *Ælius* and *Cæsar*. He was sprung from an illustrious family, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter ; was endowed with many good qualities ; had the port and air of a prince ; was well versed in most branches of learning, especially poetry ; and thought rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. He was of a very weak and infirm constitution, and at the same time intirely addicted to lewdness and debauchery ; nay, it was commonly thought, that his beauty chiefly recommended him to *Adrian*, who is said to have adopted him, upon condition that he should consent to his satisfying the passion which he had conceived for him : but what passed between them on this occasion was never well known, says *Spartian* ^c, both *Adrian* and *Verus* having bound themselves by a solemn oath to keep it secret. The adoption of *Verus* occasioned great rejoicings in *Rome*. *Adrian* gave a largess to the people, distributed three thousand sesterces amongst the soldiery, exhibited games in the circus, combats of gladiators, &c. But, as the new *Cæsar*'s weakness daily increased, and he began to vomit blood, *Adrian* soon repented his choice, telling the captain of his guards, That he had placed his hopes and support on a falling wall ; that he had lost the four thousand sesterces, which he had distributed amongst the people and soldiery ; and had adopted not a son, but a god, alluding to the custom which obtained among the *Romans*, of deifying their emperors and *Cæsars*. These words, being told by the captain of the guards to others, came at length to the ears of *Verus*, and so sensibly affected him, that they are thought to have greatly contributed to his death, which happened in the beginning of the following year. The captain of the guards was immediately discharged, and banished the court.

Verus is sent into Pannonia.

VERUS, a few days after his adoption, was created prætor, and sent to govern the province of *Pannonia* ; in which employment he acquitted himself with reputation, and shewed himself well qualified for the command of an army. In an inscription of the following year, the twenty-first of *Adrian*'s reign, he is stiled *imperator* ^d ; whence we may conclude, if there is not some mistake in the inscription, as father *Pagi* ^e

^c SPART. in *Æl. Ver.* p. 14.
p. 137.

^d GRUTER. p. 23. ^e PAGI,

pretends, that he waged war in those parts; of which, however, no mention is made by historians.

THE following year *Adrian* raised to the consulship his adopted son *Verus*, and gave him for his colleague *Sex. Vetus*, *Civica Pompeianus*, whose sister *Verus* had married. This year *Adrian* retired to *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, where he employed his time in building a magnificent villa, the stately ruins of which are still to be seen in the possession of the *Roman* Jesuits at a small distance from *Tivoli*. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that

Adrian
retires to
Tivoli.

in this retreat he gave himself up, as *Tiberius* had done formerly at *Caprea*, to all manner of lewdness; but he was soon seized with a bloody flux, which reduced him to a miserable condition. In that state, abandoning himself to his natural cruelty, which, till then, he had restrained, he ordered many illustrious persons, under various pretences, to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered. Among the former were *Servianus*, his brother-in-law, and his great-nephew *Fuscus*, who, he pretended, had formed a design of seizing the empire. *Fuscus* was but eighteen, and *Servianus* ninety (T). To palliate his cruelty, to which he had, says *Spartian*, a great bias, he used to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, whose lives, he said, were never thought to have been in danger till they were killed. The following year *Ælius Verus* *Cæsar* was consul the second time, with *P. Cælius Balbinus* *Vibullius Pius*, who had been raised by *Adrian* to the rank of a patrician, and was one of the ancestors of *Cælius Balbinus*, whom we shall see preferred to the empire in the year 237. that is, an hundred years after. This year the Jewish war being ended, *Julius Severus*, who had utterly reduced that rebellious nation, was appointed governor of *Bithynia*, where he behaved with such justice and moderation, having nothing in view but the welfare and happiness of the people committed to his charge, that his name was famous in that province an hundred years after and upwards.

Abandons
himself to
cruelty,
ordering
several
illustrious
persons to
be put to
death.

^c NORIS, epist. conf. p. 98. ^e SPART. p. 13. ^b Idem ibid.

^d ONUPH. IDAT. &c. GRUTER p. 393. ^k DIO. p. 793.

(T) We are told, that the latter, before he was executed, called the gods to witness his innocence, and begged of them that they would punish the cruelty and injustice of *Adrian*, by reducing him to such a state, that he should wish for death, and not have it in his power to die; which happened accordingly (7).

THE next consuls were *Gamerinus* and *Niger*¹. In the beginning of this year *Verus*, who had spent part of the preceding year in *Pannonia*, being returned to *Rome*, and finding himself greatly indisposed, took a medicine, which proving too strong for him, he fell into a sleep, and died the very day in which he was to return thanks to the emperor for the honour he had done him. The speech which he had prepared for this purpose, is commended by *Spartian*, in whose time it was still extant^m. *Dio Cassius* tells us, that he was carried off by a violent voiding of bloodⁿ. His funeral was performed with the utmost pomp and grandeur, and his ashes deposited in the stately mausoleum, which *Adrian* had begun for himself. The emperor caused him to be ranked among the gods, and, in several cities, ordered temples to be built, and statues erected to him^o (U).

Verus
dies, and
is ranked
among the
gods.

Year of
the flood
2486.
Of Chr.
138.
Of Rome
886.

~~~~~

*Adrian*  
adopts  
*Titus An-*  
*toninus*.

*VERUS* being dead, *Adrian* was some time in suspense whom he should choose in his room<sup>p</sup>; but, at length, seeing himself despised, says *Aurelius Victor*<sup>q</sup>, on account of the weakness both of his body and mind, he declared his intention of adopting *Titus Antoninus*, upon condition, that he should adopt *M. Annius Verus*, called afterwards *M. Aurelius*, and *L. Verus*, the son of the deceased prince of that name. *Antoninus*, having taken some time to deliberate, whether he should accept of the adoption upon the terms proposed by the emperor, in the end consented to it; and was accordingly adopted, with the usual ceremonies, on the twenty-fifth of

<sup>1</sup> IDAT. PROSPER, &c.  
<sup>o</sup> SPART. in Vero.  
vit. p. 11.

<sup>m</sup> SPART. p. 11.

<sup>n</sup> DIO, p. 796.

<sup>p</sup> Idem ibid. p. 16.

<sup>q</sup> *Adrian*.

(U) He was, as we have hinted above, extremely addicted to luxury and voluptuousness, and passed most of his time in the company of lewd women; which his wife resenting, he used to tell her, that *wife* was a name of honour, not of pleasure. He had always in his hands, and even in bed with him, *Ovid's* books of love, together with *Martial* the epigrammist, whom he used to call his *Virgil*. When he traveled, he was attended by a great many domestics, who ran by his chariot, with wings to their cloaths, attired like so many

*Cupids*, and called by the names of the winds, *Boreas*, *Notus*, *Aquilo*, *Circius*, &c. He had married the daughter of *Nigrinus*, whom *Adrian* put to death in the beginning of his reign, as we have related above; and had by her a son named *L. Verus*, whom we shall soon see raised to the throne with *Marcus Aurelius*, and several daughters, of whom one was by *Adrian* betrothed to *Marcus Aurelius*, who nevertheless did not marry her. This daughter is thought to be that *Fabia*, who is but too famous in history.

of the same time vested with the  
tribunal and consular power. Many were displeased  
with this adoption; but no one more than *Catilius Severus*,  
governor of *Rome*, who aspired at the empire himself, and  
begot privately to pave himself a way to it; but, being dis-  
covered, he was deprived of his place, which was an employ-  
ment for life. The empress *Sabina* died, it seems, after the *Sabina*  
adoption of *Antoninus*; for, in an antient inscription, he styles *Augusta*  
her his mother. She is thought either to have been poi-  
soned by *Adrian*, or so ill used, that she chose to lay violent  
hands on herself. *Adrian* caused her to be ranked among  
the gods, not caring whether she was in the supernal or in-  
fernal regions, provided he was no longer troubled with her  
bad humour, or pleased his own.

*ADRIAN* bore his disemper a long time with firmness and  
patience; but, being, in the end, tormented with violent  
pains in each joint of his body, he had recourse to magic,  
says *Dio Cassius*, and, by that means, once discharged his  
body of the watry humour with which it was filled. But the  
humour being soon recruited, and his pains increasing daily,  
he became in a manner furious, put several senators to death, *Adrian's*  
and ordered *Antoninus* to take care, that some others, whom *impatience*  
he named, were executed. But that good-natured prince *in his*  
warned them of their danger, and advised them to keep them-  
selves concealed, which they accordingly did, and were saved.  
In the mean time, the emperor, desirous to end his insuffer-  
able pains with his life, often called for a dagger, and for poi-  
son, promising impunity, and a great reward, to such as  
should bring him either. But no one could, by any promises,  
be prevailed upon to contribute to his death. Having one *Attempts*  
day by chance found a dagger, he would have stabbed himself *to lay vio-*  
with it, had it not, by one of his domestics, been wrested *lent hands*  
out of his hand. He then commanded his chief physician to *on himself.*  
give him poison; but he chose rather to kill himself in his  
presence, than obey his command. He often conjured his  
most faithful freedmen to dispatch him, and constrained an  
*Iazygian*, by name *Mastor*, to promise it, but *he* fled,  
and never appeared till the emperor was dead. Another,  
whom he had obliged to make the same promise, hastened to  
*Antoninus*, and acquainted him with it, who thereupon flew  
to the emperor's room, attended by the captains of the guards,  
and besought him to bear his illness, since it was unavoidable,

\* JULIUS CAPITOL in vit Antonin p 18      \* ONUPH.  
p. 223.      \* SPART p 11      \* VICT epitome.      \* BI-  
RAG. p 185      \* Dio, p. 797      \* AUR VICT. in Adr.  
p. 12      Antonin vit p 17.      \* SPART p 12.

with more patience and constancy ; which so provoked him, that he commanded the person, who had discovered his design, to be put to death : but *Antoninus* saved him, and thenceforth narrowly watched the emperor night and day, saying, he should think himself a parricide, if he neglected to preserve his life as long as he could <sup>a</sup> (W).

Adrian

removes to  
Baiz.

His death.

Year of  
the flood

2487.  
Of Chr.

139.  
Of Rome

887.



FROM *Rome*, *Adrian* removed to *Baizæ* in *Campania* ; and there, neglecting the advice of his physicians, and often saying, that a multitude of physicians serves only to dispatch a patient the sooner, he lived without any rule, chose what food and drink he liked best, and, by that means, hastened his death. He was convinced of the immortality of the soul, and seemed apprehensive of his future state, as appears from the celebrated verses (X), which he composed and uttered a little

<sup>a</sup> SPART. p. 12.

(W) *Spartian* writes that two blind persons were restored to their sight by *Adrian*, while in this condition ; but, at the same time, owns, that *Marius Maximus*, who flourished before him, looked upon the whole as a fiction and contrivance of *Antoninus*, to persuade *Adrian*, that he would recover, and, by that means, divert him from laying violent hands on himself. One of these blind persons was a woman, who, as she gave out, had been admonished in a dream to forbid *Adrian* to kill himself, because he would one day recover ; which she neglecting to do, had been struck blind, and ordered to return upon the same errand, having been first assured, that when she

had done it, and kissed *Adrian's* feet, she should receive her sight again. The woman complied with the heavenly admonition, and was accordingly cured, after having washed her eyes in the water of the temple of the place from whence she came. The other was a blind man, who, coming out of *Pannonia*, touched *Adrian*, and that instant received his sight. The emperor was then in a violent fever, which is said to have immediately abated (8).

(X) The verses were ;

*Animula vagula, blandula,  
Hospei, comesque corporis,  
Que nunc abibis in loca,  
Pallidula, rigida, nudula ?  
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.*

Thus happily imitated by Mr. *Prior*.

Poor, little, pretty, flutt'ring thing,  
Must we no longer live together ?  
And dost thou prune thy trembling wing,  
To take thy flight thou know'st not whither !  
Thy hum'rous vein, thy pleasing folly,  
Lies all neglected, all forgot ;  
And, pensive, wav'ring, melancholy,  
Thou dread'st and hop'st thou know'st not what.

(8) *Spart. p. 12.*

*Spartian*

little before he expired, inquiring of his soul, *whither it designed to go*. He died at *Baiæ* on the tenth of *July*, after having lived sixty-two years, five months, and seventeen days, and reigned twenty years, and eleven months, wanting one day <sup>b</sup>. *Antoninus*, whom he had left at *Rome*, and sent for when he found himself at the point of death, arrived, according to *Spartian* <sup>c</sup>, just before, according to others, soon after, he expired. His body was burnt at *Puteoli*, and his ashes conveyed by *Antoninus* to *Rome*, where they were exposed in the gardens of *Domitian*, and afterwards deposited in the magnificent mausoleum, which *Adrian* had built for himself near the *Tiber*, that of *Augustus* being quite full <sup>d</sup>.

*ADRIAN* had, by the cruelties committed in the beginning and the end of his reign, provoked the public hatred to such a degree, that the senate were for annulling all his acts, and calling several persons to an account, who had raised themselves by abusing the interest they had with him. They therefore at first unanimously opposed *Antoninus* demanding for him the same honours which had been decreed to other emperors <sup>e</sup>. But *Antoninus* remonstrating, with great modesty, that they could not condemn the memory of *Adrian* without annulling his own adoption, and degrading him from the empire; the respect and veneration they all had for that prince, who added tears to his intreaties, inclined them at last to comply with his demands, especially when they saw a great number of persons appear, who were thought to have been murdered by *Adrian*, but had been saved, and carefully concealed, by *Antoninus* <sup>f</sup>. The senate dreaded likewise the soldiery, who were greatly attached to *Adrian* <sup>g</sup>. And thus a prince, but deify abhorred by all as a cruel and bloody tyrant, was ranked *him at the* among the gods, and divine worship decreed him. *Antoninus* request of built a temple at *Puteoli*, and instituted annual sports to his *Antoni-* honour, with priests, fraternities, victims, &c. <sup>h</sup>. But what *nus* gave *Antoninus* a far better claim to the title of *pious*, was his interceding with the senate in behalf of those who had been banished by *Adrian*, and whom that prince, said he, would have recalled, had he lived longer <sup>i</sup>.

No prince, perhaps, ever raised so many public and private *Adrian's* edifices as *Adrian*; for he built in most cities of any note, *public* *works*.

<sup>b</sup> SPART. p. 12. DIO, p. 797. EUTROP. <sup>c</sup> SPART. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> JUL. CAPIT. in Anton. DIO, ibid. <sup>e</sup> EUTROP. Antonin. vit. p. 18.

<sup>f</sup> AUR. VIC. in Heliog. p. 103. <sup>g</sup> DIO,

p. 799. <sup>h</sup> SPART. p. 17. <sup>i</sup> ANTON. in vit. p. 19.

*Spartian* seems to despise them: as little of poetry, as he did of which shews, that he understood history.

His house  
at Tivoli.

His bridge  
on the Ti-  
ber, and  
mauso-  
leum.

Many ci-  
ties called  
by his  
name.

His mili-  
tary insti-  
tutions.

especially at *Athens*; and *Greece*, as appears from *Pausanias*, was full of his edifices, bridges, and aqueducts (Y). At *Rome* he rebuilt the *Pautheon*, the temple of *Neptune*, the square of *Augustus*, the baths of *Agrippa*, and an infinite number of other public edifices, consecrating them anew, but leaving them the names of their first founders<sup>1</sup>. His house at *Tivoli* was an extraordinary structure, and adorned with fine paintings, representing, in one apartment, the infernal regions. This palace he stiled his *Lycæum*, *Academia*, *Prytanæum*, *Canopus*, *Pæcile*, and *Tempe*, names of the most celebrated places abroad, and gave to the several apartments of it the titles of the different provinces<sup>1</sup>. He built a new bridge over the *Tiber*, now known by the name of *Ponte Sant Angelo*, and near it his own mausoleum<sup>m</sup>, which, from the description *Procopius* gives us of it<sup>n</sup>, appears to have been rather a castle than a tomb. In the time of the emperor *Justinian* it was made use of as a castle, and is at present the chief, we may say, the only fortress of *Rome*, called by the present *Romans* *Castel Sant Angelo* (Z). Many cities, either built, repaired, or peopled by *Adrian* with colonies, bore, for some time, his name, or that of his family, which was *Ælia*; to wit, *Carthage*, *Jerusalem*, two cities in *Spain*; *Mursa*, now *Essek*, in *Pannonia*; *Strafynice* in *Macedon*; *Palmyra* in *Syria*; *Neocæsaræa* in *Pontus*; *Adrianopolis* in *Thrace*, which still retains it; *Adriane*, or *Adrianopolis*, in *Libya Cyrenaica*; *Antinopolis* in *Egypt*, called also *Adrianopolis*; *Adrianothera* in *Mysia*, which still retained that name in the fifth century; and *Adriane*, in the same province, the birth-place of *Aristides* the sophist, which, however, some writers will have to be the same city with *Adrianothera* o.

<sup>k</sup> SPART. p. 8.

<sup>l</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>m</sup> DIO, p. 797.

<sup>n</sup> PROCOF. de bell. Goth. l. i. c. 22.

<sup>o</sup> Vide SALMAS. ibid.

(Y) In an antient inscription, mention is made of a famous aqueduct begun by him in *New Athens*, and ended by *Antoninus* in the third year of his reign. By *New Athens* some understand a city of *Liguria*, others *New Athens* in the island of *Delos* (9).

(Z) *Spartian*, to give us some idea of the height of this lofty

building, tells us, that the chariot placed on the top of it seemed very small to those who stood on the ground; but, nevertheless, was of so large a size, that a corpulent man could with great ease pass thro' the openings which represented the eyes of the horses (1).

(9) Vide *Salmas.* in *Spart.* p. 53.

(1) *Spart.* cum not. *Salmas.* p. 52.

served as the military laws of the *Romans*, and are often quoted by *Vegetius* (A). *Adrian* was the first who appointed, that each cohort should have its proper masters, architects, and such artificers as were employed in raising buildings, and adorning them <sup>P</sup>. The regulations which he introduced, with respect to the army, to the court, and to the tribunals of justice, were still observed in the end of the fourth century <sup>Q</sup>. He was the first who employed the *Roman* knights in quality of secretaries, and committed to them the care of his domestic affairs, other emperors having employed in such offices only their freedmen <sup>R</sup> (B). The *Romans* had on their estates

<sup>P</sup> VICTOR. epit.

<sup>Q</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>R</sup> SPART. p. II.

(A) *Vossius* is of opinion, that the books of *Mauritius*, which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter, are a collection of the military constitutions of *Trajan* and *Adrian* (2).

(B) *Gotbafredus* supposes *Adrian* to have been the author of a new jurisprudence, especially by his perpetual edict, which he styles the fountain of all laws in force among the *Romans*, at least till the publication of the code by *Theodosius* the younger (3). *Spartian* mentions some of the laws published by *Adrian*, namely, that the children of proscribed persons should enjoy the twelfth part of their fathers estates: that if any one found a treasure in his own grounds, it should be intirely his; if in those of another, the owner of the ground should have the moiety of it; if in any public place, it should be equally shared with the exchequer: that such as had squandered away their estates, should be publicly whipt in the amphitheatre, and banished the city: that men and women should use separate and distinct baths:

that, if a master be found killed in his house, not all his slaves should be put to death; nay, that those only should be put to the question, who were near enough to have prevented the murder: that masters should no longer have power of life and death over their slaves; but that such slaves as deserved to be capitally punished, should be tried and condemned by the magistrates (4). *Porphyrius* informs us, upon the authority of *Pallas*, who wrote before his time, that *Adrian* published an edict prohibiting all human sacrifices, which were still offered in several provinces of the empire (5). However, this execrable custom was afterwards revived, and obtained in *Africa*, where children continued to be immolated to *Saturn* till the time of the proconsul *Tiberius*, who caused the inhuman priests of that deity to be crucified on the trees, which formed the grove round his temple. Those who executed the sentence of the proconsul were still living in the beginning of the third century, as we read in *Tertullian* (6); whence it is

(2) *Vossii* epist. adant. ad *Perisn. Ignatiana*, p. 274.  
cod. *Theod.* prolog. p. 37.

(4) *Spartian* cum *111. Salv.* p. 52.

(3) *Gotbafred.*

(5) *Porphyr.*

apud *Euseb.* in *11. nat. C. constant.* 16.

(6) *Tertul.* ap. c. 9.



*He abolishes all private work-houses.*

estates what they called manufactures, or work-houses, where they kept great numbers of people, especially slaves, at work. These houses were like so many prisons, whither masters sent such of their slaves as had disobliged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being lifted, or punished for crimes they had committed, fled to these work-houses, and were there kept concealed. Besides, the owners of these manufactures were thought to seize passengers and strangers, whether slaves or freedmen, to shut them up in these houses, and oblige them to work, without their ever being afterwards heard of. *Adrian*, therefore, to obviate such inconveniences and disorders, put down all work-houses, except those which belonged to the emperor, or to the public (C). Under *Adrian* flourished many persons eminent in most branches of literature, of whom we shall speak in our notes (D).

THE

\* Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 49.

manifest, that *Tiberius* did not, as some have imagined, govern *Africa* in *Adrian's* time. It appears from the antient writers, that human sacrifices were, notwithstanding *Adrian's* prohibition, immolated to *Diana* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and even in *Rome*, during the solemn mysteries, till the time of *Constantine*, or rather of *Gratian*, who utterly abolished that execrable practice (7).

(C) *Aulus Gellius* tells us (\*), that in *Adrian's* time a woman of known modesty, and an unblemished character, was brought to bed eleven months after her husband's death. The legitimacy of the child being questioned by the heirs of the deceased, the cause was tried before the emperor, who, after having examined a great many unexceptionable witnesses concerning the character of the woman, and with great care and attention consulted the

books of the antient philosophers and physicians, declared, by a special decree, that a child might be born eleven months after its conception. *Aulus Gellius* assures us, that he himself had read this decree.

(D) *Adrian* himself ought to be ranked amongst the writers who flourished at this time; for he published several works both in prose and verse upon various subjects; and, among the rest, a Greek poem intitled, the *Alexandriad*, of which we find the seventh book quoted by some of the antients (8). *Spartian* speaks of certain books composed by him, and published under the title of *Catacrisiani*; wherein he pretended to imitate *Antimachus*, whom he preferred to *Homer*. These, says the above-mentioned writer, were very obscure pieces (9): and truly, from the title, they appear to have been such as *Spartian* describes them. Fra-

(7) *Loth. inst.* l. i. c. 21. *Euseb. in triennial. Constantin.* c. 16. *Prud. in Sym.* l. i. p. 217. *Tatian.* p. 164. (\*) *Aul. Gell.* l. iii. c. 16. (8) *Vide Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 11. *Dio.* l. lxxix. p. 783. (9) *Spart. in Adr.*

THE emperor *Titus Antoninus* derived his origin, on the Antonian father's side, from the city of *Nemausus*, now *Nismes*, in *Languedoc*. His ancestors are said by *Aurelius Victor* to have named *ThePious*.

JUL. CAP. in Antonin. cum not. SALMAS. Paris. 1620.

ben printed in 1551. a dialogue between *Adrian* and *Epictetus*, wherein the emperor proposes several questions, which are answered by the philosopher (1). Some of his *Greek* and *Latin* verses have reached our times, besides those which we read in his life by *Spartian* (2), who speaks of them with great contempt. But his judgment is of no weight with us, who find them mightily extolled by the best writers of those times (3). *Photius*, who had perused his declamations, commends both his stile and thoughts (4). We find the first book of his discourses quoted by the ancients, and the quotation relates to some remarks on the *Latin* grammar (5). Besides his military institutions, some writers ascribe to him a treatise concerning the manner of drawing up an army in battalia, which was long unknown, and first discovered in the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, about the latter end of the fifth century, and published, with some additions, by *Mauritius*, or *Urbicus*, then consul (6). In the year 1664. was printed at *Upsal* in *Sweden*, a treatise on the military art and stratagems, ascribed to *Mauritius*; but that piece was done long after the time of *Mauritius* the consul, since mention

is there made of the *French*, *Turks*, *Sclavonians*, &c (7). *Adrian* was, according to *Dio Cassius* and *Spartian*, so fond of glory, that he wrote his own life in several books; but caused them to be published under the names of persons of learning (8). Among these was *Phlegon*, a native of *Tralles* in *Asia*, who wrote a treatise on the *long-lived*, and another on *wonderful things*. Some fragments of these works are still extant (9); and from a passage in the former it appears, that he had not put the last hand to that piece in the nineteenth year of *Antoninus's* reign, the 156th of the Christian æra. *Suidas* ascribes to *Phlegon* a description of *Sicily*, three books of *Fasts*, an account of the famous places in *Rome*, and their names, and sixteen books of the *Olympiads*, to the 229th, begun in the year 137. of the Christian æra. This piece contained an account of the most remarkable things that in each *Olympiad* had happened in any part of the world. From the 177th *Olympiad*, which has been conveyed to us by *Photius*, that work seems to have been exceeding well digested: had it reached our times, it would have cleared up several obscure passages in history. *Pla-*

(1) *Gieser. epit. p. 2.* (2) *Voss. I. II. Græc. I. II. c. 11.* (3) *V. le Voss. poet. Lat. p. 41.* (4) *Salmas. in Spart.* (5) *Ph. c. 170.* (6) *Vide Salmas. ibid. c. 12.* (7) *Voss. I. II. addit. ad P. c. 12.* (8) *Dio. p. 793.* (9) *Suidas. p. 6.* (10) *Voss. I. II. p. 256.* (11) *Suidas. p. 1071.* (12) *Voss. I. II. Græc. ibid.*

lived at *Lanuvium*, or rather *Lavinium*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*: perhaps they settled there, after having removed from

*tius* finds fault with the author for the trifling accounts he gives of all those who gained prizes in the *Olympic* games, and inserting in his work all sorts of oracles. He likewise censures his style, as not quite pure, and altogether *Attic*. In *Photius's* time only the five first books were extant, which ended with the 177th *Olympiad*; but the author had carried his history down to *Adrian's* time. It was addressed to one *Alcibiades*, belonging to that prince's life-guard (1). In the thirteenth book of this work he is thought to have mentioned the darkness which happened at our Saviour's death (2). He speaks of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, concerning which *Photius* quotes a long passage out of his fourteenth book (3). He is frequently cited by *Stephanus* the geographer. *Suidas* tells us, that *Pblegon* made an epitome of his sixteen books of the *Olympiads*, which epitome consisted of eight books; and that he likewise abridged the history of the victors in the *Olympic* games; and adds, that he published other works, which he does not mention (4). *Pblegon*, in his book of *wonderful things*, describes an hippocentaur, taken on a mountain of *Arabia*, and sent by the king of that country to the emperor, without doubt, *Adrian*, while he was in *Egypt*. The monster died, but was embalmed by the governor, conveyed to *Rome*, and there placed in the

imperial palace; where those may see it; concludes *Pblegon*, who question the truth of my relation (5). *St. Jerom* tells us, that *Antony*, the famous anchorite, was met in the desert by an hippocentaur, who spoke to him, and directed him what way he was to keep (6). *Pblegon* relates another history, no less surprising, of a young woman, who about six months after her death appeared again, walked, conversed, eat, and drank, as she had done formerly; which coming to the ears of her parents, they flew to see her, and, accordingly, had that satisfaction. But the young woman told them, that their curiosity would prove fatal to her, and put an end to her second life; which words she had scarce uttered, when she fell dead at their feet. Such a surprising event, being divulged in an instant, drew vast crowds to the place from all quarters. *Pblegon* hastened thither with the rest, and saw the body of the deceased laid out upon a bed; "but, not satisfied with that sight, I caused the burying-place of the family to be opened, says he, when I observed the bed, on which the young woman had been laid six months before, empty." He relates the most minute circumstances of this wonderful event, names the persons who were present, &c (7).

*Favorinus*, well known by the writings of *Aulus Gellius*, who was his disciple, and by those of

(1) *Photius*, c. 97.

(2) *Hier. chron.* p. 158. *Orig. in Matth. evan.* p. 438.

(3) *Phot.* p. 162.

(4) *Su d.* p. 1071.

(5) *Pbleg. mir.* c. 34.

(6) *He. in vit. Paul. bezzmit.*

(7) *Pbleg. mir.* c. 1. p. 13, 14.

from *Nismes*. The *Aurelian* family, which was the present emperor's, is thought to have been very antient; but was not distin-

*Philostratus*, was a native of *Arlus* in *Provence*, and from his birth an eunuch, by profession a philosopher and sophist, and well skilled both in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. He studied under *Dio Chrysostomus*, and, besides *Aulus Gellius*, had for his disciple the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*, whom he appointed his heir. He wrote a great many works quoted by the antients (8); but his stile seemed to some destitute of the gravity becoming a philosopher (9). He was for a long time *Adrian's* chief favourite; but that prince, growing in the end weary of him, as well as of the rest of his friends, took delight in mortifying him, by preferring to him persons of no merit; which the *Athenians* no sooner understood, than they pulled down and broke to pieces a statue, which they had erected to him. When *Favorinus* was informed of the affront, *Socrates*, said he, without the least emotion, would have been glad to have come off so cheap (1). *Suidas* observes, that he and *Plutarch* strove who should write most books. They lived in great friendship, and *Plutarch* even inscribed one of his works to *Favorinus* (2), who died, it seems, about the latter end of the reign of *Antoninus* (3). *Galen* mentions one *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*, who, imitating the stile of *Favorinus*, whose disciple he was,

used daily to declaim in public upon what subject soever was proposed to him (4). *Dionysius* of *Miletus* was likewise a philosopher of great note, highly favoured by *Adrian*, raised to the equestrian order, and appointed governor of some province, but in the end disgraced. He studied under *Isaurs*, of whom we have spoken in the reign of *Trajan*. *Philostratus* clears him from a charge brought against him, namely, that of being addicted to the study of magic (5). *Heliodorus* likewise felt the effects of *Adrian's* inconstancy; for the emperor, being in the end disgusted with him, wrote some most virulent letters against him (6). One of the same name, perhaps the same person, was according to *Dio Cassius*, for some time secretary to *Adrian* (7).

Of all the philosophers who flourished in those times, *Epictetus* is by far the most renowned: *Aulus Gellius* calls him the greatest man the sect of the Stoics had ever produced (8). He is supposed to have been a native of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, was for some time a slave, and belonged to *Epaphroditus*, whom *Suidas* calls one of *Nero's* life-guard (9). This is, without all doubt, *Nero's* celebrated freedman, to whom *Josephus* inscribed most of his works, and who was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, as we

(8) *Voss. bist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 10. *Suid.* p. 1022. *Philostr. vit. soph.* p. 493.  
 (9) *Lucian. in vit. Demonastis.* p. 549. (1) *Philost. ibid.* *Dio.* p. 719.  
 (2) *Jonf. l. iii. c. 7.* *Gell. l. ii. c. 26.* (3) *Jonf. ibid.* (4) *Galen.*  
*prog. com.* p. 455. (5) *Philost. vit. soph.* p. 522, &c. (6) *Spart.*  
 p. 7. (7) *Dio, l. lxxix.* p. 789. (8) *Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 2.* (9) *Suid.*  
 p. 996.

have related in that prince's reign. *Celsus*, the famous champion of idolatry, writes of *Epi-  
*ctetus**, that while his master was one day squeezing his leg very hard, in order to torment him, *Epi-  
*ctetus** said to him very calmly, *You'll break my leg*; which happening accordingly, *Did not I tell you*, said he, smiling, *that you would break my leg* (1)? *Epi-  
*ctetus** was, as is supposed, set at liberty, but remained always very poor (2). Being obliged, by *Domitian's* edict, banishing all philosophers, to quit *Rome* in 94. he retired to *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*; whence he returned, upon that prince's death, and lived at *Rome* till the time of *M. Aurelius*, says *Suidas* (3), by whom, as well as by his predecessor, he was, according to *Themistius*, held in great esteem and veneration (4). But we cannot fall in with the opinion of these writers, since *M. Aurelius* used to look upon it as a great happiness, not that he had learnt any thing of, or conversed with, *Epi-  
*ctetus**, but that he had read his writings (5). *Epi-  
*ctetus** reduced all his philosophy to two points only; to wit, *to suffer evils with patience, and enjoy pleasures with moderation*; which he expressed with these two celebrated words, *ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι*; that is, *Suffer and abstain* (6). He was against the celibacy of the philosophers, but nevertheless seems to have observed it himself (7). He published several works, none of which, except his *encheiridion*, or manual, has

reached us (8). But *Arrian*, his disciple, published a great work, which he pretends to consist entirely of what he had heard him say, and set down, as far as he could remember, in *Epi-  
*ctetus's** own terms (9).

*Arrian*, a native of *Nicodemia*, was one of the most learned men of his age, and, on account of his eloquence and knowledge, commonly stiled the second *Xenophon*. He was preferred at *Rome* to the highest posts of honour, and even to the consulship (1); whence most writers take him to be the *Flavius Arrianus*, who, while he was governor of *Cappadocia*, repulsed the *Alani*, as we have related above. He lived at *Rome* under *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius* (2). *Themistius* tells us, that *Trajan* forced him from his retirement, in order to employ him as a minister in state-affairs (3). He published in eight books the familiar discourses of *Epi-  
*ctetus**; but only four of them have reached us (4), which are inscribed to one *L. Gellius*. He published twelve books more, containing the speeches of *Epi-  
*ctetus** (5), and wrote his life. *Photius* quotes several other books composed by him; to wit, the history of *Bithynia*, his native country, the history of the *Alani*, and that of the *Partians*, in seventeen books, which he brought down to the war which *Trajan* waged with them (6). He described the expeditions of *Alexander the Great* in seven books, which are still extant; and is

(1) *Orig. in Cels. l. vii.* (2) *Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 18. & l. xv. c. 11.* (3) *Suid. p. 996.* (4) *Themist. orat. v.* (5) *Jul. Cap. in Antonin.* (6) *Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 19.* (7) *Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p. 555.* (8) *Suid. p. 996.* (9) *Arrian. Epic. p. 1.* (1) *Plot. c. 38.* (2) *I'ff. biff. Græc. l. ii. c. 11.* (3) *Themist. orat. xvii.* (4) *Plot. c. 38.* (5) *Idem, c. 58.* (6) *Idem ibid.*

thought by *Photius* to have excelled all who wrote on the same subject (7). He published, in ten books, the lives of the successors of *Alexander*; and gave, in one book, says *Photius*, an account of *India* (8). This account of *India* is now reckoned the eighth book of the history of *Alexander* (9). Besides these works mentioned by *Photius*, *Lucian* ascribes to him the life of a famous robber, named *Telebous* (1). We have already mentioned his description of the coasts of the *Euxine Sea*; but that of the coasts of the *Red Sea*, though commonly ascribed to him, is thought by the learned to have been done by one who flourished before *Adrian*, and was contemporary with *Pliny* the elder (2). Besides the works of *Arrian* already mentioned, we have still his *tactica*, whereof the beginning has been long since lost: to his *tactica* are commonly added his instructions concerning the march of the army against the *Alani*, and the order to be observed in the battle.

*Plutarch* was a native of *Chæroneæ* in *Boeotia*, where he was born in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 50. of the Christian æra. He studied under *Ammonius*, an Egyptian philosopher, in the reign of *Nero*; and in that of *Domitian* taught at *Rome*; where, amongst his other disciples, he had the famous *Arulenus Rusticus*, who was put to death, by *Domitian* in 90 (3). We are told, that he was precep-

tor to *Trajan* (4); which we can hardly believe, since that prince was as old as *Plutarch* (5), and had, from his youth, been brought up in the camp. *Suidas* writes, that *Trajan* distinguished him with consular honours (6), meaning, no doubt, the consular ornaments; and ordered the magistrates of *Illyricum* to advise with him in all affairs of importance. He continued at *Rome* till the death of *Trajan*, when he returned to his own country, and there bore the chief employments (7). He had several children, one of whom, by name *Lamprias*, published a catalogue of his father's historical pieces, which has reached us, but is imperfect (8). The philosopher *Sextus*, one of the preceptors of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, was nephew to *Plutarch* (9). *Plutarch* published a great many works, which are to every one well known, being translated into all the modern languages. His style is not quite pure and *Attic*. Amongst the works commonly ascribed to him, some are thought to have been written by others; and many of his works have been lost, as appears from the citations of *Gellius*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoret*, and others. *Marcus* and *Caninius Celer*, two celebrated sophists, flourished under *Adrian*, and published some declamations (1). *Polemon*, another famous sophist, in great favour with *Adrian*, was a native of *Laodicea* upon the *Lycus*, which some place in *Caria*, others in

(7) *Phot.* c. 58. (8) *Idem*, p. 91. (9) *Voss hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 11.  
 (1) *Lucian*, in vit. *Alex. Præst.* (2) *Vide Salmas. in Solin. & Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 7.  
 (3) *Ruald. vit. Plut.* (4) *Idem*, p. 29. (5) *Vide Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 10.  
 (6) *Suid.* p. 546. (7) *Ruald.* c. 25.  
 (8) *Idem*, c. 6. (9) *Idem*, c. 5. & *Suid.* p. 729. (1) *Philost. soph.* 24.

*Phrygia*; but spent the greatest part of his life at *Smyrna*, whither the youth flocked from all parts to hear him. He was several times sent by that city in quality of ambassador to the emperor *Adrian*, of whom he obtained great fums for the inhabitants, though that prince was more addicted, says *Philostrophus* (2), to the *Ephefians* than *Smyrneans*. As *Adrian* shewed an extraordinary kindness for him, he took care to turn it to his own advantage, and soon appeared with a train and equipage ill suiting his profession; which drew upon him the envy of many, and the hatred of all. *Antoninus* treated him with great respect, though he had just occasion to complain of his rusticity, or rather insolence. *Herodes Atticus*, having heard him declaim, sent him a considerable sum, which, however, he refused, as too small; so that *Herodes*, to content him, was obliged to send him one much larger, which he condescended to accept. The king of *Bosporus*, who was well versed in most branches of learning, coming to *Smyrna* to see that city, and the learned men there, shewed a great desire of conferring with *Polemon*: but the proud and self-interested philosopher would neither visit him, nor be visited by him, till the king had sent him a present of ten talents; and then he deigned to admit him into his house (3). Being greatly tormented with the gout, he retired to *Laodicea*, his native city, and there, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, placing himself a-

mong his dead ancestors, ordered the tomb to be shut up, that the sun, as he said, might never see him silenced (4). He left no writings besides declamations. Under *Trajan* and *Adrian* flourished, according to *Suidas* (5), *Ptolemaus Chennus*, *Zenobius*, *Cephaleo*, and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. *Ptolemaus* wrote several books, and, among the rest, one intitled *the surprising history* (6). *Zenobius* taught at *Rome* under *Adrian*, and translated the history of *Sallust* into *Greek*. He likewise made a collection of proverbs, which is still extant (7). He is sometimes called *Zenodotus*. *Cephaleo*, being banished his own country, retired into *Sicily*, where he published, in the reign of *Adrian*, an history, beginning with *Ninus*, and ending with *Alexander* (8). *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, descended from the famous historian of that name, was a sophist, and is commonly stiled *Dionysius the Atticist*, and the musician, because he applied himself chiefly to the study of music, and published several works upon that subject, and one among the rest divided into thirty-six books, and containing an account of the most famous poets, and players upon instruments (9).

*Herennius Philo*, born in the city of *Byblos* in *Phœnicia*, wrote one book on *Adrian's* reign, twelve on the choice of books, and thirty on various cities, and the eminent persons they had produced: the latter work was abridged by one *Ælius Severus Athenæus* (1). *Origen* quotes a

(2) *Philost.* *soph.* 35. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Idem ibid.* *Ed. Suid.* p. 554. (5) *Suid.* p. 646. 1126. 1447. (6) *Phot.* c. 190. (7) *Voss.* c. 11. (8) *Suid.* *ibid.* *Phot.* c. 68. (9) *Suid.* p. 743. *Voss.* c. 12. *Jouss.* l. iii. c. 8. (1) *Suid.* p. 1065. *Voss. bist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 10.

passage out of *Herennius Philo* concerning the *Jews*, for whom, it seems, he had no great kindness (2). *Philo* translated into *Greek* the history of *Phœnicia* written by *Sanchoniatho*, in his native language, about the time of the *Trojan* war (3). The preface, and some passages of this translation, have been conveyed to us by *Eusebius* (4). *Philo* himself wrote the history of *Phœnicia*, which is quoted by *Eusebius* (5), and *Stephanus* of *Byzantium* (6). *Hermitus* of *Berytus*, or of that neighbourhood, was one of *Philo*'s disciples, and highly esteemed by *Adrian*, tho' the son of a freedman. He wrote five books upon dreams, which are quoted by *Tertullian*, and others (7). The book of *legislators*, quoted by *Origen* (8), is generally ascribed to another *Hermippus*, a native of *Smyrna*, who flourished long before *Adrian*'s time. *Paulus* of *Tyre*, contemporary with *Philo*, published a treatise of *rhetoric*. He obtained of *Adrian* the title of *metropolis* for the city of *Tyre* (9). *Leander Nicanor* of *Alexandria*, the son of *Hermias*, published several grammatical and historical pieces (1). *Diogenianus*, a native of *Heraclea*, published several writings of grammar and geography, which *Hesychius* made use of in compiling his *lexicon* (2). His collection of ancient proverbs is still extant. Under *Adrian* flourished, according to *Vossius* (3), *J.ison* of *Argos*, who comprised in four books the hi-

story of *Greece*, to the death of *Alexander*. *Ælian*, author of the *tasica*, lived at this time; for he addressed his work to *Adrian*. Another writer of the same name flourished about an hundred years after; whence it is no easy task to determine, which of these two was the author of the *history of animals*, of the *historia varia*, and of other pieces which are, by the antients, ascribed to an *Ælian*, but long since lost.

Under *Adrian* flourished the two *Latin* historians *Suetonius* and *Florus*. *C. Suetonius Tranquillus* was the son of *Suetonius Lenis*, or *Latus*, a *Roman* knight, who, at the battle of *Bedriacum*, commanded a legion in quality of tribune, as we have related in its proper place. The historian was born about that time; for he was very young in 88. that is, twenty years after the death of *Nero* (4). *Pliny* the younger had a great kindness for him, kept him constantly with him, and wrote to one of his friends, that the more he knew him, the more he loved him, on account of his probity, ingenuity, prudent conduct, and application (5). We may therefore suppose him to be the *Tranquillus*, whom, in one of his letters, he encourages to plead a cause, without being under any apprehension from a dream, which seemed to threaten him with bad success (6). In another letter (7), he seems very anxious about purchasing for him a little place of

\* (2) *Orig. in Cels.* l. i. p. 13. (3) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. i. c. 1. (4) *Euseb. præp.* l. i. c. 9. (5) *Idem ibid.* l. iv. c. 10. (6) *Voss. ibid.* l. ii. c. 10. (7) *Tertull. de anim.* c. 46. *Voss. ibid.* *Orig. in Cels.* *Su. d.* p. 1043. (8) *Orig. ibid.* (9) *Suid.* p. 465. (1) *Suid.* p. 229. *Voss. ibid.* l. ii. c. 12. (2) *Suid.* p. 737. (3) *Voss. ibid.* (4) *Suet. vit. Orb. & Dom.* (5) *Plin. l. x.* (6) *Plin. l. i. ep. 18.* (7) *Idem ibid. ep. 24.*



retirement near *Rome*, proper for a man of study and application. In other letters he exhorts him to publish his writings, since they were finished (8); and asks his advice even as to his own conduct on a particular occasion (9). He obtained for him the post of a tribune; which *Suetonius* begged him to confer upon *Casennius Silvanus*, his kinsman: this generous action is greatly extolled by *Pliny*. *Suetonius* married, but had no children. However, *Pliny*, from *Bitthynia*, wrote to *Trajan*, begging him to grant to his friend the privileges, which those enjoyed who had three children (1). The emperor seldom granted such favours; but, nevertheless, could not help complying with the request of *Pliny* (2). *Suetonius* was afterwards secretary to *Adrian*, but discharged on account of his disrespectful behaviour towards the empress *Sabina* (3). *Suidas* styles him a *Latin* grammarian, and ascribes to him several grammatical works; adding, that he likewise wrote a book upon the sports of the *Greeks*, two upon the shews of the *Romans*, two upon the *Roman* laws and customs, one of the life of *Cicero*, a catalogue of illustrious *Romans*, and the lives of the emperors, which has reached our times (4). He wrote, likewise, in three books, the history of the kings, which *Paulinus* abridged in verse (5). His book concerning the institution of offices, quoted by *Priscian*, is probably the same with that of the *Roman* laws and customs. He wrote,

according to the same *Priscian*, eight books of the *prætors*. A book, likewise, intitled *de rebus variis*, is, by some, ascribed to him. From the great number of authors, who have quoted his works, it appears, that they were generally read, and greatly esteemed, both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Tertullian* quotes his book of the *Roman* shews (6), and *St. Jerom* that of illustrious men, upon the plan of which he wrote his own (7): perhaps the lives of the illustrious grammarians, orators, and poets, commonly ascribed to *Suetonius*, were part of that work. The life of *Pliny* the elder is thought not to have been done by *Suetonius*, but by a much more modern writer (8). *Vopiscus*, speaking of his history of the twelve *Cæsars*, calls him an impartial and correct writer; but adds, that he cannot compare him to *Sallust*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, or *Trogus* (9). His writings are no less lewd and infamous, says *St. Jerom*, as quoted by *Vossius* (1), than were the lives of the emperors, whose history he writes. And truly, both he and *Lampridius* have mixed too much lewdness, as well as meanness, in their writings; whence they are justly censured by *Rualdus*, as teaching their readers to be vicious (2).

*Florus* is thought to have been a native of *Spain*, and of the lineage of the *Seneca's*; that his family-name was *L. Annaus Seneca*; and that, being adopted by one *Florus*, he took the name of *L. Julius Florus*. We read of

(8) *Plin. l. v. ep. 11.*

(2) *Idem ibid. ep. 101.*

(9) *Idem, l. ix. ep. 34.*

(1) *Idem, l. x.*

*ep. 100.*

(3) *Spart. p. 6.*

(4) *Suid.*

*p. 934.*

(5) *Auf. ep. 19.*

(6) *Tertull. spec. c. 5.*

(7) *Her.*

*vir. illust. præf.*

(8) *Voss. biff. Lat. l. i. c. 31.*

(9) *Vopisc. in Finm.*

(1) *Voss. ibid.*

(2) *Ruald. in vit. Piat. c. 28.*

distinguished very early with preferments in *Rome* (E). *T. Antoninus* was born at *Lavinium*, on the nineteenth of September of

one *Julius Florus*; who, in the reign of *Tiberius*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* with great applause (3). *Spartian*, in the life of *Adrian*, quotes some verses composed by a poet named *Florus*, whom most writers take to be the epitomizer of the *Roman* history; for that epitome was written in the reign of *Trajan*, and seems to be the product of a poetical genius. It is greatly esteemed by the learned, who nevertheless find fault with the author for not observing

with due punctuality the order of time. It is not an abridgment of *Liwy*; for with him the author often disagrees. Whether the summaries prefixed to each book of *Liwy*'s history were done by *Florus*, is uncertain (4). The poet *Florus* used, it seems, to frequent taverns and eating-houses; which was looked upon in those days as highly unbecoming persons of a liberal education. Hence *Florus* having written to *Adrian* the following verses;

*Ego nolo Cæsar esse,  
Ambulare per Britannos,  
Scythicas pati pruinas.*

I would not aim at *Cæsar*'s sphere,  
To walk thro' *Britain*, void of fear;  
And suffer *Scythian* frosts severe.

}

*Adrian* answered thus;

*Ego nolo Florus esse,  
Ambulare per tabernas,  
Culices pati rotundos.*

*Florus*, I envy not thy sphere,  
Taverns to haunt in quest of chear,  
And suffer gnats to sting thee there (5).

}

*Aulus Gellius* mentions one *Terentius Scaurus*, a celebrated grammarian, who flourished under *Adrian*; and highly commends *T. Castricius*, whose disciple he himself had been (6); but neither of them seems to have left any works behind them. *Scaurus* had been preceptor to *Adrian*; his son was preceptor

to *L. Verus*; and his grandson, or rather great-grandson, to *Alexander Severus* (7).

(E) His grandfather *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, or *Fulvius*, was the first consul of the *Aurelian* family. His father *Aurelius Fulvus* was likewise honoured with that dignity, and universally esteemed on account of his extraordinary

(3) *Posf. bist. Lat. l. i. c. 30.* (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Spart. p. 8.* (6) *Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 15. & 13.* (7) *Vid. Casaub. in vit. L. Ver. p. 55.*

of the year 86. *Nitian* being then consul the twelfth time, with *Cornelius Dolabella*. He is styled by *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life, *T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus*; but from several antient inscriptions it appears, that, instead of *Fulvius*, we ought to read *Fulvus* <sup>u</sup>. As from his infancy he behaved himself in a very dutiful and obliging manner towards all his relations, many of them left him their estates, by which means he became exceeding rich. He was a great lover of the country, and country-diversions; but nevertheless did not decline public employments, in which he acquitted himself with great reputation, and universal applause. He was consul in 120. afterwards one of the four consulars appointed by *Adrian* to govern *Italy*, and then sent into *Asia* with proconsular authority; where, by the mildness of his government, his affability, and engaging behaviour, he gained the esteem and affections of persons of all ranks. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Adrian* appointed him one of his council, and transacted nothing without his advice <sup>w</sup>. He married *Annia Galeria*, the sister of *Marcus Aurelius*'s father, and had by her two sons and two daughters. The eldest of the daughters was married to *Lamia Syllanus*, but died soon after: she was probably named *Aurelia Fadilla*; for we find one of that name called, in an antient inscription, the daughter of the emperor *T. Antoninus* <sup>x</sup>. The other, named *Annia Faustina*, was married to *M. Aurelius*, her cousin-german <sup>y</sup>. The two sons, *M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus*, and *M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus*, must have died very young; for no mention is made of them in history.

His issue.

*Hisebara-* *ANTONINUS* is celebrated by all the antients as one of the  
*dir.* best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. His behaviour to all was extremely obliging: he was always ready to hear with patience the meanest of the people: to no one was ever admit-

<sup>u</sup> Vide SALMAS. in not. ad Anton. vit. p. 47.  
 1. lxx. p. 800. JUL. CAP. p. 17.

<sup>w</sup> DIO,

<sup>x</sup> Vide MABILL. anal.  
 lect. c. 4. p. 500.

<sup>y</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 18—23.

accomplishments and integrity. *Arrias Antoninus*, his grandfather on the mother's side, was twice consul, and esteemed one of the greatest and most virtuous men in *Rome* (8). He married *Boionia Procilla*, descended from an illustrious family; and had by her

*Arria Fad'illa* the mother of *Antoninus*, who, after the death of her husband *Aurelius Fulvus*, married *Julius Lupus*, and had by him a daughter named *Julia Fadilla*. This daughter died before the emperor, but left a son named *Mummius Quadratus* (9).

(8) *Jul. Cap. in Antonen.*

(9) *Iidem, p. 25.*

tance denied to his palace or presence, especially when they came to complain of his officers, ministers, or procurators. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and ostentation. His table, says his historian, was rich without extravagance, and frugal without meanness. He never courted the favour of the people, but seemed rather to despise popular applause, which had been the idol of most of his predecessors. He never flattered others, nor suffered any one to flatter him. He observed with great exactness, but without the least affectation, the Roman laws and ceremonies. He offered in person, as high pontif, the sacrifices, which for other emperors had been offered by inferior priests; and never failed to assist, unless prevented by some indisposition, at all public acts of religion, shewing always a profound respect for the Deity <sup>(F)</sup>. As he never admitted any to his friendship, with whom he was not thoroughly acquainted, he was a most constant friend, hearkened to no calumnies against them, nor entertained any fears or jealousies, as *Adrian* had done, who in the end was weary of all his old friends, and discharged them with ignominy. He was naturally of a sweet and mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, which he shewed even to the most vicious and wicked, choosing rather to deprive them of the means of doing mischief, than to punish them according to their deserts. During his long reign of twenty-three years; he is said never to have done any thing that favoured of cruelty, ill-nature, or could give to any person whatsoever just motive of offence <sup>(G)</sup>.

*His religion, constancy in friendship, &c.*

*His clemency and mildness.*

T. AN-

<sup>2</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 18—23. PAUS. l. viii. p. 18. DIO, l. lxx. p. 800.

<sup>2</sup> JUL. CAP.

(F) It appears from an inscription of the year 143. that the senate erected a monument to his honour, in consideration of his great and extraordinary regard for the public ceremonies (1).

(G) When he arrived in *Asia*, with the character of proconsul, he chose to lodge the first night in the house of *Polemon* the celebrated sophist, which was the best and largest in *Smyrna*. But the proud and unmannerly sophist, who was then in the country, returning home about midnight,

and finding the proconsul in his house, instead of thanking him for the honour he had done him, made such complaints of the liberty he had taken, as the clown was pleased to stile it, that *Antoninus*, to quiet him, was obliged to leave the house at that time of night, and seek for a lodging elsewhere. However, when *Antoninus* was raised to the empire, *Polemon* did not fail to come to *Rome* to wait upon him. The emperor received him in a most obliging manner, and ordered him

(1) *Rein. inscript. p. 308.*

What  
prompted  
Adrian to  
adopt him.

T. ANTONINUS was adopted by *Adrian*, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ælius Verus Cæsar*. Some authors write, that *Adrian* was induced to prefer him to so many other great men, by the particular respect, and tender regard, which *Antoninus* shewed to his father-in-law, whom, as he was very old and decrepit, he used constantly to conduct to the senate, attending him like a slave: *Adrian*, seeing him one day leading and supporting the old man, was so pleased

to be lodged in the palace; but at the same time put him in mind of what had passed at *Smyrna*, by ordering his domestics to take care, that no one turned him out of his apartment (2). A comedian complaining to the emperor, that *Polemon* had driven him out of the theatre at mid-day, *Antoninus* answered, "He drove me out of my lodgings at mid-night, and nevertheless I made no complaints (3)." As *M. Aurelius* was weeping for the death of one of his preceptors, the courtiers, creatures for the most part void of humanity, represented to him, that it was beneath a prince to shew so much tenderness and concern; but *Antoninus* checked them with the following remarkable words; *Pray, let him weep; and give him leave to be a man; for neither philosophy, nor the imperial dignity, ought to extinguish in us the sentiments of nature* (4). The emperor going one day to see the fine house of *Valerius Omulus*, and admiring there, amongst other things, certain pillars of porphyry, he asked him, where he had purchased them. But *Omulus*, instead of being pleased to see the emperor take notice of the orna-

ments of his house, returned him this rude answer, *In other peoples houses you must learn to be deaf and dumb* (5). Thus *Omulus*, who was a man of a satirical temper, and given to raillery, treated on this, and several other occasions, the good-natured prince, who could not, as he often owned, prevail upon himself to punish any person for bare words, however free and disobliging. Having sent for *Apollonius* the celebrated Stoic, who resided at *Chalcis* in *Syria*, to instruct *M. Aurelius* in the principles of that sect, the philosopher flew to *Rome*, attended by a great number of disciples, all *Argonauts*, says *Lucian* (6), gaping after the golden fleece. Upon their arrival *Antoninus* invited *Apollonius* to court, in order to deliver his disciple to him. The haughty pedant answered with great insolence, that the master was not to come to the disciple, but the disciple to the master; which words being related to *Antoninus*, *Does Apollonius, then*, said he, smiling, *think it a more troublesome journey from his lodgings to the palace, than from Chalcis to Rome?* However, he ordered *M. Aurelius* to wait upon him (7).

(2) *Pl. of. soph. p.*

*p. 18—3.*  
*p. 552.*

(5) *Idem ibid.*  
(7) *J. Cap. p. 25.*

(3) *Idem ibid.*

(4) *Jul. Cap.*

(6) *Lucian. in vit. Demosthen.*

with that sight, that he adopted him for that very reason<sup>b</sup>. But *Adrian* could not by this alone be prompted to confer so great an honour upon one, who had given so many proofs of his extraordinary talents and ability. He chose him, therefore, because he judged him to be, of all the great men in *Rome*, the best qualified for the sovereign power<sup>c</sup>. He was adopted on the twenty-fifth of *February* of the year 139. and at the same time invested with the proconsular and tribunitial power, honoured with the name of *Cæsar*, now peculiar to the presumptive heir of the empire, and distinguished, as we conjecture from some antient coins, with the title of emperor<sup>d</sup>, which had hitherto been given to none but the sovereign (H). *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus* upon condition that he should adopt *M. Annus Verus*, the son of his wife's brother, and *L. Commodus*, the son of *L. Verus Cæsar*, which he did accordingly before the death of *Adrian*, probably the same day on which he himself was adopted<sup>e</sup>.

THE next day *Antoninus* returned the emperor thanks in the senate for the honour he had conferred upon him, distributed large sums among the soldiery and populace, employing on this occasion his own, and not the public money; and, besides, paid what *Adrian* had promised them. All the cities of the empire used, on such occasions, to present the adopted prince with sums of money instead of crowns, which were thence called *aurum coronarium*. These sums the generous prince remitted intirely to the cities of *Italy*, and a moiety to all the rest. He even contributed, out of his private fortune, a great deal towards the works which *Adrian* was carrying on, and obeyed that prince, so long as he lived, with as much respect and submission as the meanest of his subjects, except when he attempted to murder himself, or others<sup>f</sup>. *Adrian* His gene-  
rosity.  
dying at *Baizæ*, on the tenth of *July*, he prevailed upon the *Adrian* 10

<sup>b</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 17.<sup>c</sup> DIO, l. lxxix. p. 796, 797.<sup>d</sup> GOLTZ. p. 70.<sup>e</sup> SPART. in *Adr.* p. 12. JUL. CAP.

p. 16. DIO, p. 797.

<sup>f</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 18.

(H) We are told, that his succession to the empire was prefiged long before by many omens. While he governed part of *Italy* in quality of proconsul, one from among the croud cried out to him, while he was administering justice, *May the gods prosper your undertakings*, *Augustus*! Upon

his arrival in *Asia*, the priests of the city of *Tralles* in *Lydia* received him not with the usual salutation, *Aus, proconsul! Hail, proconsul!* but styled him emperor. At *Cyzicus*, a crown belonging to the statue of one of the gods was found upon that of *Antoninus*, &c (8).

be ranked  
gods.  
Why ho-  
noured  
with the  
title of  
Pius.

Honours  
conferred  
upon him  
by the se-  
nate.

senate, much against their will, to confer such honours upon him as had been decreed to the best of emperors; and continued all those in their employments, who had been preferred by him. It was, according to some writers, on account of this tender and filial respect for the memory of his father, that the senate decreed him the glorious surname of *Pius*. Others think, that they distinguished him with that title in regard of the great care he had of his father-in-law in his old age, or of *Adrian* in his sickness, or because he saved many whom *Adrian* had commanded to be murdered; or, finally, on account of the natural sweetness of his temper, and the extraordinary respect he shewed on all occasions for religion, and all religious persons<sup>g</sup>. Be that as it will, he bears the epithet of *Pius* in several medals of this very year, and is chiefly known by it in history<sup>h</sup>. *Pausanias* thinks he deserved not only this title, but that likewise which was given to *Cyrus*, to wit, *the father of mankind*, in consideration of the paternal care he seemed to have of all men<sup>i</sup>. *Commodus*, and the emperors who succeeded him, assumed the same title; which served only to render their wickedness the more remarkable<sup>k</sup>. This year *Antoninus* was likewise honoured with the title of *Augustus*, and of *high pontif*, and his wife *Raustina* with that of *Augusta*. He refused many other honours which the senate offered him, and, among the rest, the title of *the father of his country*<sup>l</sup>; which, however, he accepted the following year<sup>m</sup> (I).

WE know but very little of the actions of this great prince, and are almost quite at a loss as to the order of them, with respect to what we know. *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his

<sup>g</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 17. PAUS. lib. viii. p. 275. DIO, lib. lxx. p. 799.

<sup>h</sup> SPANH. l. viii. p. 714.

<sup>i</sup> PAUS. l. viii.

p. 275.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>l</sup> DIO, lib. lxx. p. 799.

JUL. CAP. p. 18.

<sup>m</sup> GOLTZ. p. 71.

(I) We are told, that *Antoninus*, in the beginning of his reign, ordered the proconsul of *Africa* to consult the goddess *Cælestis*, who was worshiped at *Carthage*, about his successors, and the state of the empire; and that the pretended deity, after having uttered, like other oracles, many things obscure and unintelligible, repeated the name of *Antoninus*

eight times; whence it was concluded, that *Antoninus* should reign eight years. But, as he reigned near twenty-three, another construction was long after put upon the oracle; to wit, that eight emperors should reign bearing the name of *Antoninus* (9); which interpretation we shall examine in the reign of the emperor *Opilius Macrinus*.

life, and inscribed it to the emperor *Dioclesian*, is but a very indifferent historian, and greatly confused and perplexed in his accounts. What *Dio Cassius* wrote of *Antoninus* has been lost eight hundred years since, and consequently before *Xiphilin* undertook the epitomizing of that author; so that we can only give our readers a general idea of this excellent prince's government and conduct. He lived, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, after his accession to the empire, in the same manner as he had lived while he was yet a private person; no alteration appeared in his behaviour towards his friends, nor had any of his enemies ever the least motive to be grieved for his preferment. He would suffer none but slaves to wait upon him, *His extraordinary* shewing on all occasions the greatest respect imaginable for the *ordinary* equestrian and senatorial orders. He never transacted any business of consequence without the advice of the senate, *respect for the senatorial and equestrian orders.* paying them, when emperor, that regard which he desired to see paid to them by other emperors while he was a senator. He frequently gave an account, even to the people, of all his actions and negotiations. When he demanded the consulship, or other employments, either for himself or his children, he appeared like a private person among the other candidates; which shews, that he allowed the people, according to their antient right, to choose the magistrates. *M. Aurelius* owns, that *Antoninus* convinced him by his example, that one might lead a private life even in a court.

HE moderated most of the imposts and tributes, and strictly *He lessens* enjoined his receivers and collectors to exact them without any *the trifling* severity or oppression, saying, that he chose rather to be poor, *but.* than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppressed people. He was no sooner raised to the empire, than he disposed of the greatest part of his private estate in favour of the indigent citizens; and, the empress *Faustina* repining at his generosity, he told her, That a prince ought to have no private interest, no private property, and nothing in view but the public welfare. He chose for governors of provinces such only as *Prefers* were persons of known integrity, and is said never to have pre- *only men of merit.*ferred an undeserving man to any employment whatsoever. Hence some continued in their posts during the whole time of his reign; for he was not for removing such as discharged their office to the satisfaction of the people, unless they themselves desired it, as did *Orfitus* governor of *Rome*, and some others. *Gavius Maximus* was for the space of twenty years captain of the prætorian guards; and others held their employments during the whole time of his reign. His paternal estate, which was very great, he laid out in bounties and largesses; but was *Takes* very sparing of the public money: whence at his death his *care of the* private coffers were found empty, but the exchequer full. *He public re-*



deprived several useless persons of the pensions which had been settled upon them by *Adrian*, saying, he could not bear to see the state devoured by those who were no-way serviceable to it, but lived in idleness upon the labours of others (K). Tho' he was thus sparing of the public money, yet no one ever charged him with avarice; for he gave daily instances of an unbounded generosity.

*Instances  
of his  
equity.*

HE would accept of no legacies from such as had children, and ordered the estates of those who had been condemned for extortion, to be restored to their children, after the persons, whom they had pillaged, had been fully satisfied. Under no prince fewer estates were confiscated, than under him. He utterly extirpated the whole tribe of informers, and was ready, upon the least misfortune that happened to any city or province, to lessen their tribute and taxes<sup>n</sup>. Many obtained the privileges of *Roman* citizens for themselves, and not for their children, who, in that case, remained *Greeks*, according to the expression of an antient historian, and consequently were incapable of enjoying their fathers estates, which fell to the exchequer, if the deceased had no *Roman* citizen amongst his relations. But this regulation, favourable indeed to the avarice of princes, but repugnant to humanity, *Antoninus* utterly abolished<sup>o</sup>. He bestowed great privileges and salaries, in all the provinces of the empire, upon such men of learning as undertook the educating of youth; maintained incredible numbers of children, whose parents were indigent; supplied all senators and magistrates with large sums, to defray the expences of their necessary journeys; and spent considerable sums in shews and spectacles, complying therein with the inclinations of the people, though he himself had an utter dislike to such diversions.

*Favours  
men of  
learning.*

*His public  
works.*

THOUGH he was no-way addicted to building, yet he raised a great number of stately edifices at *Rome*, and in the neighbourhood. He caused a port to be made at *Caieta*, now *Gaeta*, repaired that of *Terracina*, finished *Adrian's* magnificent mausoleum, built a stately palace at *Lorium* in *Heturia*, about ten miles from *Rome*, in which place he had been educated; and contributed large sums towards the repairing of several antient buildings in *Greece*, *Ionia*, *Syria*, and *Africa*. The village of *Pallantium* in *Arcadia* was by him made a city, and exempted from all manner of tribute, because *Evan-*

<sup>n</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 20—50.

<sup>o</sup> PAUSAN. l. viii. p. 273.

(K) Among those whom he thus treated, was *Mesomedes*, a lyric poet, whom *Adrian* had re-

warded with a yearly pension, on account of some verses in praise of his beloved *Antonius*.

der was supposed to have built, and peopled with the inhabitants of that village, a city in the place where *Rome* stood <sup>p</sup>. He promised, in the beginning of his reign, to spill the blood of no senator; which promise he observed so religiously, that, one being convicted of parricide, he contented himself with banishing him, even after he had owned his crime, to a desert island. *Atilius Tatianus* and *Priscianus* being accused of conspiring against the life of the emperor, the latter laid violent hands on himself, and the former was only banished. Of his son, *Antoninus* took particular care, and brought him up as if he had been his own child. He would suffer no inquiry to be made after their accomplices, answering the senate, when they pressed him to it, "I do not care the world should know by how many persons I am hated." He never engaged in any war which he could avoid, and was often heard to say, that he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand enemies.

By this means he gained the affection, not only of his own people, who looked upon him as their father and protector, but likewise of the declared enemies of *Rome*, who entertained such an opinion of his equity, justice, and moderation, that, *Rome*, in their disputes, they chose him for their judge and arbitrator; and truly no *Roman* emperor was ever more esteemed and revered by all foreign nations, than *Antoninus*. The king of the *Parthians*, having raised a formidable army, and invaded *Armenia*, retired, contrary to the expectation of all, and disbanded his troops, upon the receipt of a letter from *Antoninus*. The kings of *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and *India*, sent ambassadors to him, courting his friendship, and desiring his alliance. *Pharasmanes* king of *Iberia* came in person to wait upon him at *Rome*, and shewed a far greater respect and veneration for him, than he had formerly done for *Adrian*. The *Lazi*, the *Armenians*, the *Quadi*, and several other nations, readily received such princes as he was pleased to appoint over them, though they were not then subject to the empire <sup>q</sup>. *Antoninus* is by some historians compared, by others even preferred, to *Numa*, on account of the tranquillity which *Rome* enjoyed during the greatest part of his reign, and his extraordinary care of all things belonging to the worship of the gods, and to religion (L).

ADRIAN

<sup>p</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 17—20. PAUSAN. l. viii. p. 273. <sup>q</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 20. BIRAG. p. 194. SPART. l. ix. p. 831, 832.

(L) *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, ranks revered to such a degree, that he was by persons of all that neither the people nor soldiery

ADRIAN died, as we have related above, on the tenth of July 139. *Camerinus* and *Niger* being consuls. These were succeeded by the emperor *Antoninus*, the second time consul, and *Caius Bruttius Præfens*. This year *Antoninus* gave his daughter *Annia Faustina* in marriage to *M. Aurelius*, whom he created *Cæsar*, and, at the request of the senate, though this year only quæstor, named for the consulate of the year ensuing; which he discharged with him, as appears from an antient inscription on a monument raised to the honour of *Marcus Aurelius*, by the two captains of the prætorian guards *Petronius Mamertinus* and *Gavius Maximus*, and by the other officers of the ten prætorian cohorts, and the city-guards (M). The next consuls were *M. Peducaus Syloga* and *T. Hoenius Severus*\*, during whose administration one *Celsus* revolted; but all we know of his revolt is, that on this occasion the empress *Faustina* was greatly displeased with the kindness which the good-natured emperor shewed to his enemies†. Soon after, *Faustina* died, and was, notwithstanding the dissolute life she had led, at the request of *Antoninus*, honoured with divine worship, priests, temples, statues of gold and silver, &c. Games were instituted to her honour, and her statue was, by *Antoninus's* order, carried amongst those of the other gods at the *Circensian* sports. The emperor was not

The em-  
press Fau-  
stina dies,  
and is  
ranked  
among the  
gods.

\* GRUT. p. 258.  
p. 225.

† CUSPIN. p. 353. ONUPH. in fast.  
† Coll. vit. per VULCAT. p. 43.

diery could, for the space of an hundred years and upwards, look upon any one as truly emperor, who did not bear the name of *Antoninus*; which was therefore assumed by all his successors during a whole century: nay, *Severus* appointed, that the name of *Antoninus* should be peculiar to the emperors, like that of *Augustus* (1); so great was the veneration he had for *Antoninus*! That great name was indeed profaned and dishonoured by *Antoninus Caracalla*; but nevertheless respected to such a degree, even after his reign, that the emperor *Macrinus* obliged his son *Diadu-*

*menus* to assume it, fearing the soldiers would not acknowledge him emperor, unless distinguished by that still venerable name (2).

(M) In another inscription, which antiquaries take to be of this year, *Antoninus* is stiled the benefactor and preserver of the city of *Mopsuestia*, for having maintained the inhabitants in the possession of their antient rights and privileges (3). From a third inscription we learn, that *Antoninus* ended this year an aqueduct, which had been begun by *Adrian* at *New Athens* in the island of *Delos* (4).

(1) *Spart. in G. 1. p. 9.*  
p. 225.

(2) *Idem, p. 224.*

(3) *Idem in Diad.*

(4) *Onuph.*

unacquainted with her irregular conduct; but had done all that lay in his power to keep her disorders concealed from the multitude<sup>a</sup>.

THE following year, *Lucius Cuspius Rufinus* and *Lucius Statius Quadratus* being consuls, *Antoninus* instituted solemn sports at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*, which were stiled *Pia* and *Pialia*, and were to be celebrated the second year of each *Olympiad*<sup>a</sup>. The next consuls were *C. Bellicius Torquatus* and *Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes* (N). In the following consulship of *Lollianus Avitus* and *Claudius Maximus*, the *Brigantes* in *Britain* revolted; but were soon reduced by *Lollius Urbicus* governor of that province, who deprived them of great part of their country<sup>b</sup>, subdued the more northern nations, and built a new wall between the fiiths of *Forth* and *Clyde*<sup>c</sup>. For the victories gained by *Lollius*, *Antoninus* was honoured, as appears from some antient medals, with the title of *Britannicus*<sup>d</sup>. The next year *Antoninus* entered upon his fourth consulship, having for his colleague *M. Aurelius Cæsar*, the second time consul, and gave the manly robe to *Lucius Verus* his adopted son, who had ended the fourteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December* of the preceding year. He imitated therein *Augustus*, who had taken upon him the consular dignity when he gave the manly robe to *Gaius* and *Lucius Cæsars*. The same year *Antoninus* consecrated the temple which he had built to the honour of *Adrian*, and on that occasion distributed considerable sums among the populace<sup>e</sup>. In the next consulship of *Sex. Erucius Clarus* and *Cn. Claudius Severus*, some disturbances were raised in *Germany* and *Dacia*;

<sup>a</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 13. PAGI, p. 211.

<sup>c</sup> Vide ALFORD. annal. Britan. ad an. 142. USSER. Britan. ecclæs. antiq. p. 1024.

<sup>d</sup> Vide CASAUB. in SPART. p. 50.

<sup>e</sup> JUL. Cap. p. 36.

(N) The latter, who is greatly extolled by *Aulus Gellius* (5) and *Philostratus* (6), was a native of *Athens*, and the most eloquent orator of his time. He had an extraordinary talent at making speeches off-hand; but, not having succeeded as he expected in one which he made, while he was yet a youth, before the emperor *Adrian*, he attempted to drown himself in the *Danube*. He in-

structed *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* in the Greek tongue, and was greatly esteemed by *Antoninus*, who appointed him governor of the free cities of *Asia*. He died in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, and 176. of the Christian era; and left behind him many speeches, letters, and other works, none of which have reached our times.

(5) *Aul. Gell.* l. ix. c. 2.

(6) *Philosop. soph.* 27.

but

but were soon composed by the governors of those provinces. The *Alani* likewise, attempting to invade the *Roman* dominions, were driven back into their own country with no small loss<sup>a</sup>.

Shows a  
great  
esteem for  
M. Aure-  
lius ;

but none  
for L. Ve-  
rus.

DURING the administration of the following consuls *Largus* and *Messalinus*, the emperor invested *M. Aurelius* with the tribunitial and proconsular power. By *Faustina* the daughter of *Antoninus*, he had already a daughter named *Lucilla*, who was afterwards married to *L. Verus*. The emperor on all occasions shewed a particular esteem for *M. Aurelius*, consulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and suffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the sovereign power, giving no ear to the malicious insinuations of those who attempted to estrange his mind from the young prince, as if he wished for his death<sup>b</sup>. As the conduct of *L. Verus* was very different from that of *M. Aurelius*, the emperor treated him in a quite different manner, not bestowing upon him either the title of *Cæsar*, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire ; nay, he did not, during the whole time of his reign, invest him with any power whatsoever ; which was a plain indication, that he disliked him ; and not without reason, as we shall see hereafter ; and only suffered him, because he had been obliged by *Adrian* to adopt him<sup>c</sup>.

The two  
brothers  
Quintilii.

In the consulate of *Torquatus* and *Julianus*, the *Moors* took up arms, upon what provocation we know not ; but were utterly defeated, driven quite out of their own country, and obliged to shelter themselves in the most distant parts of *Libya* beyond mount *Atlas*<sup>d</sup>. The three following years were quite barren of events. In the first, *Servius Scipio Orfitus* and *Q. Nonius Priscus* were consuls ; in the second, *Glabrio Gallicanus* and *Vetus* ; and, in the third, *Quintilius Condianus* and *Quintilius Moximus*. The two latter were brothers, and are mightily extolled by the antients, on account of their learning, their experience both in civil and military affairs, their wealth, and, above all, in regard of their mutual unity and concord ; for they acted on all occasions, says *Dio Cassius*, as if they had not been two, but one person : whence they are known in history by the name of the *Quintilii*. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other ; were consuls together ; wrote to the emperor, received answers, judged causes, published books, in common ; and were in the end unjustly condemned and executed together, by order of the emperor *Commodus*, as we shall relate in the

<sup>a</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Idem in

Ver. p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> PAUSAN. l. viii. p. 273.

<sup>e</sup> DIO,

l. lxxi. p. 814. CASAUB. in SPART. p. 94. PHILOST. soph. 27.

history

history of that prince's reign<sup>e</sup>. They were natives of *Troas*, and highly esteemed by *M. Aurelius*, under whom they governed *Greece* in 173. and *Pannonia* in 178. They published a treatise on agriculture, whereof some fragments have reached our times<sup>f</sup>.

THE following year, the fifteenth of *Antoninus's* reign, *Sextus Junius Glabrio* and *C. Omullus Verianus* being consuls, that eminent champion of the Christian religion *Justin the Martyr* published his first apology, and presented it to the emperor, to his adopted sons, and to the senate. As *Antoninus* was a prince of a mild disposition, he was so far moved by it, and by the information: which he had received from other parts of the empire, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of *Asia* in favour of the distressed Christians, which he concluded with these words: *If any one for the future shall molest the Christians, and accuse them merely on account of their religion, let the person who is arraigned be discharged, though he is found to be a Christian, and the accuser be punished according to the rigour of the law*<sup>h</sup>. At the same time the emperor wrote in behalf of the Christians to the *Athenians*, *Thessalonians*, *Larissians* in *Thessaly*, and to all the *Greeks*<sup>h</sup>. These letters put a stop to the persecution; which, however, broke out anew, and raged with great violence, under *Marcus Aurelius*, *Antoninus's* successor, as we shall relate hereafter.

THE following year, when *C. Brutius Præfens* and *A. Julius Severus* were consuls, the *Tiber*, overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of *Rome* under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which consumed a part of the city, and a famine, which swept off great numbers of the citizens, notwithstanding the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn conveyed to the city from the most distant provinces. The same year the cities of *Narbonne* in *Gaul*, and *Antioch* in *Syria*, and the great square at *Carthage*, were in great part consumed by accidental fire; but soon restored by *Antoninus* to their former condition<sup>i</sup>. This year *L. Verus* discharged the office of quaestor, and exhibited on that occasion public shews, at which he presided, sitting between *Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius*. The following year he was raised to the consulship, and had for his colleague *T. Sextius*, or, as he is called by others, *Sextilius Interminus*. *C. Julius Severus* and *M. Rufinus Sabinianus* discharged that office next, and were succeeded by *M. Ceionius Suetonius* and *C. Serius Augurinus*, during whose consulship the cities of *Cos* and *Rhodes*,

<sup>f</sup> Vide *CASAEUS*. in *SPARR.* p. 94. <sup>g</sup> *EUSEB.* lib. iv. c. 26. *JUST.* apol. p. 100. *Chron. Alex.* p. 608. 610. <sup>h</sup> *EUSEB.* ibid. & l. iv. c. 13. <sup>i</sup> *JUST.* CAR. p. 20. *VICT.* epit.

with several others in *Lycia* and *Caria*, were overturned by a violent earthquake; but soon restored to their former lustre, *Antoninus* contributing thereto immense sums, and making good the losses which the inhabitants had sustained <sup>k</sup>. The four following years are quite barren of events: the consuls were *Barbarus* and *Regulus*; *Tertullus* and *Sacerdos*; *Plautius Quintillus* and *M. Statius Priscus*; *Appius Annius Bradua* and *T. Vibius Bradus*. The two latter were succeeded by *M. Aurelius Cæsar* the third time, and *L. Verus* the second time consul.

Is taken  
ill, and  
dies.

Year of  
the flood  
2811.  
Of Christ  
163.  
Of Rome  
911.

He is uni-  
versally  
lamented.

DURING their administration, the emperor was seized with a violent fever at *Lorium*, one of his country-seats; which in a few days put an end to his life on the seventh of *March*, after he had lived seventy-three years, five months, and sixteen or seventeen days, and reigned twenty-two years, seven months, and twenty-six days. When he found death approaching, he sent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their presence confirmed his adoption of *M. Aurelius*, and recommended to him the empire, without taking the least notice of *Lucius Verus*. He then ordered the golden image of *Fortune*, which always stood in the emperor's bedchamber, to be removed to the room of *M. Aurelius*. When the tribune came for the parole, the word he gave him was *Equanimity*. He left his paternal estate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domestics. Though he died in an advanced age, he was no less lamented by all the subjects of the empire, than if he had been snatched from them in the bloom of his youth <sup>l</sup>. His funeral was performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and his body deposited in the pompous mausoleum of his predecessor *Adrian*; on which occasion two funeral orations were pronounced, one by *M. Aurelius*, and another by *L. Verus*. He was by the senate ranked among the gods, a temple was built to his honour, priests, sacrifices, and annual sports instituted, &c. <sup>m</sup>. *Gordianus*, who assumed the title of *Augustus* at *Carthage* in the year 237<sup>n</sup>, wrote in his youth an elegant poem, intitled, *Antoninades*, describing the lives, the wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus*, and his successor *M. Aurelius*, named likewise *Antoninus* <sup>n</sup>; but that work has not reached our times. Some speeches were published under the name of *Antoninus*, which *Marius Maximus* maintained to be his, tho' they were commonly thought to have been written by others <sup>o</sup>. Of the

<sup>k</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 21.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, p. 22.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Idem in Gord.

<sup>o</sup> Idem in Anton. p. 21.

writers who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (O).

M. AURE-

(O) These were *Justin*, *Julius Paulus*, *Appian*, *Callistus Sutorius*, *Calvisius Taurus*, *Apollonius*, *Ptolemy* the astrologer, *Fronto*, *Telephus*, and *Claudius Maximus*. *Justin* is thought to have inscribed his abridgment of *Trogus Pompeius* to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. That writer, in an ancient manuscript, is styled *M. Junianus Justinus*. His work was known to *St. Jerom*, *St. Austin*, and *Orosius*, who often copies him. Some have confounded *Justin* the historian with *Justin the Martyr*, who flourished about the same time; but never published any work in the *Latin* tongue, not even the apologies, which he wrote at *Rome*, and presented to the emperor. *Trogus Pompeius*, whose history *Justin* abridged, is ranked among the best historians of *Augustus's* reign, and put upon the level with *Livy*, *Sallust*, and *Tacitus* (7). *Julius Paulus* published several poetical pieces, and is commended by *Aulus Gellius*, on account of his great erudition and probity. He lived in *Gellius's* time; but died before that grammarian began to write: whence he is thought to have flourished under *Adrian* and *Antoninus* (8). *Appian*, who wrote the *Roman* history in *Greek*, was a native of *Alexandria*, pleaded some time at *Rome*, and was afterwards employed by the emperors to take care of their private estates and revenues (9). He lived in the

reigns of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, and was writing in the year 900. of *Rome*, the tenth of *Adrian's* reign (1). His *Roman* history is, properly speaking, a separate and distinct history of all the nations subject to *Rome*, from the earliest times to the reign of *Augustus*, tho' he sometimes carries it down to the time of *Adrian* (2). He speaks of the destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Adrian*, as happening in his time (3). His history of the wars of *Africa*, *Syria*, *Parthia*, *Pontus*, *Iberia*, *Spain*, *Illyricum*, and of *Hannibal* and *Mithridates*, with five books of the civil wars, of which he wrote seven, have reached us; and, besides, some fragments of several other histories copied by *M. Valerius* from the collections of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*. He likewise wrote the history of the wars of *Judea*, and of that which *Trajan* waged with the *Dacians* (4). *Photius* admires the elegance of his style; but chiefly commends him as an unbiassed writer, and one who, in his accounts, aimed mostly at truth (5). He borrowed many things of *Polybius* and *Plutarch*, whom he often copies (6). *Scaliger* is of opinion, that many things, unworthy of so great an historian, have been, by the ignorant transcribers, inserted into his history of *Syria*. His plan, which was to write the history of *Rome*, and of all the

(7) *Voss. bist. Lat.* c. 19. & 23.

*I. xvi. c. 10. l. xix. c. 7. Voss. post. Lat. p. 52.*

*p. 353.* (1) *Appian.* p. 7.

(2) *Appian.* in *Syr.* p. 83.

*ibid.*

(3) *Voss. bist. Græc.* v. 14. c. 13.

(8) *Aul. Gel. l. i. c. 22. l. v. c. 4.*

(9) *Appian.* in *Syr.* *Suid.*

(1) *Idem.* p. 4. *Erugr.* v. 1. c. 24.

(2) *Idem.* p. 10. *Idem.* c. 53.

(3) *Idem.*



**Marcus Aurelius Antoninus** M. AURELIUS is, by all the antients, reckoned the best prince that ever swayed a sceptre, and his reign commonly styled

provinces of the empire, was much admired by *Evagrius* (7). *Callinicus Sutorius* was a native of *Petra* in *Arabia*; but spent most part of his life at *Athens*. He wrote the history of *Alexandria* in ten books, quoted by *St. Jerom* (8), and published several other pieces on various subjects (9). Some fragments in *Greek*, by one *Callinicus*, published by *Leo Allatius*, are ascribed by *Vossius* to *Callinicus Sutorius* (1). But *Jouffius* supposes *Callinicus Sutorius* to have flourished in the time of the emperor *Gallienus*, to whom, and not to *Galen* the celebrated physician, he inscribed, in his opinion, one of his works (2). *Calvisius Taurus* is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who went to hear him while he instructed the *Athenian* youth in the principles of the *Platonic* philosophy (3). He was a native of *Tyre*, according to *Philostatus*; but, according to *Suidas* (4), and *Eusebius* (5), of *Berytus*. He published several works, one among the rest, shewing the difference between the doctrine of *Plato*, and that of *Aristotle*. *Aulus Gellius* quotes a treatise written by him on anger, and the first book of his comments upon *Plato's Gorgias* (6). The same writer commends him on account of his abstinence; for he lived chiefly upon lentils (7). *Telephus*, who instructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue, was born

in *Pergamus*, and wrote a book, on the rhetoric of *Homer*; another on the perfect agreement between that poet and *Plato*; the lives of such poets as had written comedies or tragedies; instructions on the choice of books; a description of *Pergamus*, with the history of its kings and laws; an account of the laws and customs of *Athens*; and a collection of epithets (8). *Claudius Maximus* was by birth a *Tyrian*, and one of *M. Aurelius's* preceptors, whom he instructed in the principles of the *Stoics*. He published several philosophical pieces, and discourses on the *Platonic* philosophy, which have reached our times, and are deservedly esteemed by the learned. Some writers are of opinion, that he was consul in the year 144. and afterwards proconsul of *Africa* (9). We have already mentioned *Apollonius* the Stoic, who was another of *M. Aurelius's* preceptors, and whom that prince went frequently to hear, even after he was raised to the empire. Most writers ascribe to him a work mentioned by *Photius*; wherein the author gives an account of illustrious women, of such especially as had applied themselves to the study of philosophy (1). *Ptolemy*, the celebrated astronomer and geographer, flourished under *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. He made his last astronomical observation on a *Wednesday*, the second of *February*, in

(7) *Evag.* l. vi. c. 24.(8) *H. r. in Dan.*(9) *Suid.* p. 1360.(1) *Voss. bist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 13.(2) *Jouff.* l. iii. c. 9.(3) *Aul. Gel.* l. xviii.(4) *Suid.* p. 871.(5) *Euseb.* in *ekron.*(6) *Aul. Gel.* l. i.

c. 26. l. vi. c. 14.

(7) *Idem.* l. xvii. c. 8.(8) *Suid.* p. 897.(9) *Vid.**P. Pagi.* p. 144.(1) *Jouff.* l. iii. c. 9.*Phot.* p. 161.*Spanb.* p. 53.

filed *The golden age* ; for he made good the saying which he *surnamed* had borrowed of *Plato*, and hid often in his mouth ; to wit, *The Philosopher*. That states would be happy, when princes were philosophers P. *Iosopher*.

P *Dio*, l. lxxi. p. 815. JUL. CAP. in *M. Aur.* p. 33.

the year 141. but, nevertheless, *Suidas* supposes him to have lived to the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and gives us a catalogue of his works. His geography is greatly commended by the antients ; but we are told, that some of the manuscript copies of that work are very different from the printed books (2). *Suidas* writes, that he was born in *Alexandria* ; but *Vossius* maintains, that he was a native of *Pelusium*, and supposed to have been an *Alexandrian*, because he made his astronomical observations in that city (3). *Sulpitius Apollinaris*, a celebrated grammarian, is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who seems to have entertained a great opinion of him (4). He left some letters, and some grammatical writings ; wherein he found fault with another grammarian, by name *Cæsellius Vindex* (5). Some of his observations upon *Terence* have reached our times (6). *M. Cornelius Fronto* is extolled by the antients, as one of the best orators of his age, and by some put upon the level with *Cicero*. *Aulus Gellius* tells us, that he never visited him, which he did frequently while he was yet very young, without profiting much by his instructions (7). In *Adrian's* time he passed for the most eloquent

orator of that age, and was afterwards appointed by *Antoninus* to teach *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the *Latin* eloquence. *M. Aurelius* valued him above all his preceptors, caused a statue to be erected to him in *Rome*, and honoured him with the consular dignity (8). *St. Jerom* styles him an illustrious orator (9) ; and *Sidonius* speaks of him as the author of a particular kind of diction, more grave, and less flourished, than that of the antient orators (1). He published several harangues, one of which, against *Pelops*, was highly esteemed, and preferred to all the rest (2). *Sossipater Chorisus* published some letters of his, and other writings, on the propriety of words, in the collection of authors, who have written on the *Latin* tongue (3). *Sidonius* commends one *Leo*, a man of great rank in the fifth century, for adopting the style of *Fronto*, from whom he was descended (4). We read in *Minutius Felix*, that one *Fronto*, a native of *Cirta* in *Numidia*, published some discourses against the Christians, which were in great request about the beginning of the third century (5). These discourses are, by some able critics, ascribed to *Fronto* the orator.

(2) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. iv. c. 17. *Cyp. disput. append.* c. 16.

*ibid.*

(4) *Aul. G. l.* l. iv. c. 17. *l. xiii. c. 17, &c.*

*l. vi. c. 6. l. xx. c. 6. l. xiii. c. 19, &c.*

(7) *Gell. l. iii. c. 25.*

(1) *Sid. l. i. epist. 1. l. iv. epist. 3.*

*C. fab. in Spart. M. Aur.*

(4) *Sid. l. viii. epist. 3.*

(3) *Voss.*

(2) *Aul. G.*

(6) *Vide Gellij an. 141.*

(9) *Iher. in c. 1.*

(2) *Sid. l. viii. ep. 10.*

(5) *Min. Fel. p. 2.*

His ex-  
traction;  
prefer-  
ments.

He was of the *Annian* family, which some writers derive from *Numa Pompilius*. However that be, it is certain, that his great-grandfather *Annius Verus*, originally of *Succubæ*, a city of *Bætica* in Spain, was the first senator of the *Annian* family, and afterwards created prætor. His son, who bore the same name, was by *Vespasian* raised to the rank of a patrician, appointed governor of *Rome*, and honoured twice with the consulship. He had three children, *Annius Verus*, the father of *M. Aurelius*; *Annius Libo*, who was consul; and *Annia Galeria Faustina*, who was married to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. *Annius Verus* married *Domitia Calvilla*, called also *Lucilla*, the daughter of *Calvisius Tullus*, who had been twice consul, and had by her *M. Aurelius*, and a daughter named *Annia Cornificia*. *M. Aurelius* was born in *Rome*, during his grandfather's second consulship, on the twenty-sixth of *April*, of the year 121. His first name was *Catilius Severus*, that of his mother's grandfather, who had been governor of *Rome*, and twice consul. Upon the death of his father, who died in his prætorship, he was adopted by his grandfather *M. Annus Verus*, and took his name. The emperor *Adrian* used to call him *M. Annus Verissimus*, on account of his great sincerity; and, under that name, *Justin the Martyr* addresses him in his second apology. When he was adopted by *Antoninus*, he took the names of *M. Ælius Aurelius Verus*, the name of *Aurelius* being peculiar to the family of *Antoninus*; and that of *Ælius* to the family of *Adrian*, into which *Antoninus* had been adopted. Upon his accession to the empire, he left the name of *Verus* to *L. Commodus*, his brother by adoption, and took for himself that of *Antoninus*; but is generally distinguished from his predecessor, either by the præ-nomen of *Marcus*, or the surname of *Philosophus*; which was given him by the unanimous consent of historians, and not by any public act or decree of the senate <sup>1</sup>.

His educa-  
tion.

He was from his tender years brought up by the emperor *Adrian*, whom *Dio Cassius* calls his kinsman <sup>2</sup>. That prince would have willingly adopted him, and named him for his successor; but chose in his room, as he was then too young; *T. Antoninus*, who had married his aunt, obliging him to adopt his nephew <sup>3</sup>. *Annius Verus*, his grandfather, committed the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, to a matron, who lived in his house; but *M. Aurelius* thanks the gods, that he was but a short while under her tuition <sup>4</sup>; for *Adrian*, taking him from his grandfather, brought him up

<sup>1</sup> DIO, l. lxi. p. 797. JUL. CAP. in M. AUR. JUSTIN. apol. ii. GRUT. p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> DIO, ibid.

<sup>3</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 23.

EUTROP. <sup>4</sup> M. AUR. de seip. l. i. c. 14.

in the palace, employing the greatest men of that age to instruct him in every branch of literature. He applied himself to the study of philosophy under the celebrated sophist *Apolonius Sextus* of *Chæroneæ*, *Plutarch's* nephew, *Junius Rusticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, *Cinfa Catullus*, and *Claudius Severus*; to that of eloquence under *Herodes Atticus*, and *M. Cornilius Fronto*; and to the study of the law under *L. Volusius Metianus*, or, as some stile him, *Mæcianus*, the most learned civilian of that age. *M. Aurelius* is said to have excelled in all these branches of learning, and to have been one of the greatest orators, philosophers, and civilians, of his time. He delighted chiefly in the study of philosophy, was thoroughly acquainted with the tenets and principles of the different sects, and, when he was, but twelve years old, entered himself among the philosophers, wore their habit, and practised all their austerities, lying on the ground, fasting, and abstaining from several meats. He shewed, even after he was emperor, great respect to those who had instructed him, especially to *Junius Rusticus*, of whom we have spoken in our notes; transacted nothing without his advice (for he was a person well versed in the arts both of peace and war); saluted him always before the captains of the guards; raised him twice to the consulship; and, after his death, prevailed upon the senate to erect him a statue. He shewed no less gratitude and veneration towards his other masters, setting up in his closet their images in gold, visiting frequently their sepulchres, and adorning them with crowns, victims, and flowers.

*His studies and learning.*

*His respect to his preceptors.*

His great application to the study of philosophy, and the austerities he practised, impaired his health to such a degree, that he became very weak and infirm, tho' naturally of a robust constitution<sup>a</sup> (P). As he led a very regular life, he lived, notwithstanding his bad health, almost to the age of sixty, and performed great things, applying himself to the dispatch of business with more care and assiduity, than any of his predecessors had done. He had an utter aversion to all sorts of shews, sports, and diversion, being naturally grave and serious; but nevertheless appeared at them sometimes, tho' very seldom, that he might not seem to condemn those

*Practises the austerities of the philosophers.*

*His aversion to shews, and all diversions.*

<sup>a</sup> JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. M. ANTON. l. i. c. 3.

(P) To strengthen his stomach, which was made up for him by greatly weakened by fasting when he was but a youth, he used to take every day some treacle, by one of his physicians, named *Demetrius*, and, after his death, by the celebrated *Galen* (6).

(6) *Galen. prog. p. 460. de antidot. c. 2. & l. b. de tbur. p. 427.*

who frequented them. He used, while he was emperor, to read, write, or to talk to his ministers about public affairs, during the whole time of the sports; for which he was often raillied by the populace, but despised their railleries <sup>w</sup>. When he was but sixteen, he made over his paternal estate to his sister, saying, that his grandfather's estate was enough for him. *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus Pius*, as we have related above, upon condition, that he should adopt *M. Aurelius*, at that time eighteen years old, and *L. Commodus*, who was only in the seventh or eighth year of his age, but already *Adrian's* grandson by adoption, being the son of *L. Ælius Cæsar*. These adoptions happened, in all likelihood, on the same day that *Antoninus* was adopted, that is, on the twenty-fifth of *February*, of the year 139. *M. Aurelius* was so far from being elated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he could not help betraying great uneasiness and concern, telling those, who came to congratulate him upon his promotion, that they knew not how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to command. *Adrian* at the same time appointed him quæstor for the ensuing year, tho' he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the discharge of that dignity <sup>x</sup>. The same prince had betrothed to him, when he was but fifteen, the daughter of *L. Verus Cæsar*, named, as is commonly believed, *Fabia*; and appointed, that *Antoninus* should give his daughter *Annia Faustina* to young *Lucius*. But, upon the death of *Adrian*, *Antoninus* proposed a match between his daughter and *M. Aurelius*, who agreed to it, married her some years after, and had a daughter by her in the year 172. the ninth of *Antoninus's* reign, named *Lucilla*, who was married to *L. Verus* in 164. and afterwards to *Pompeianus (Q)*.

*ANTONINUS* having declared, a little before he died, *M. Aurelius* his successor, and recommended to him the empire, and his daughter, in the presence of the chief officers of the court, the senate, as soon as he expired, obliged *M. Aurelius*,

<sup>w</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 23.

<sup>x</sup> Idem, p. 24.

(Q) He had several other daughters by her, of whom three were still alive in the year 193. and one was put to death by *Caracalla* in 212. *Annia Faustina* brought him likewise several sons, to wit, *Commodus*, who was af-

terwards emperor, *Antoninus Geminus*, *Severus*, or rather *Verus*, stiled on some medals *Annius Verus*, *T. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *T. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*. and *Antoninus Geminus* were twins

(7) Jul. Cap. in *Avr.* & in *L. Ver.* p. 39. *Hælian.* l. i. p. 46. & l. iv. p. 546. *Grut.* p. 252. *Pægi.* p. 180.

says the author of his life, to accept the sovereignty, and take upon him the management of affairs, without so much as mentioning *L. Verus*, who was likewise the son of *Antoninus* by adoption, but very different in his temper and conduct both from his father and brother, being intirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the footsteps of *Nero* and *Caligula*, than to imitate the virtues of *T. Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius*. *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with his temper, had never invested him with any power, nor even conferred upon him the title of *Cæsar*. However, *M. Aurelius* immediately declared him not only *Cæsar*, but *Augustus*, and his partner in the sovereign power; so that *Rome* saw herself then for the first time governed by two sovereigns at once. As they were at the same time consuls, this year, the 16<sup>th</sup> of the Christian æra, is distinguished in the *fasti*, and inscriptions, by the consulate of the two *Augusti*. This action of *Marcus Aurelius* is cried up by *Aristides* as the greatest, and the most heroic and magnanimous, that is recorded in history of any prince. In raising *Lucius* to the empire, he gave him the name of *Verus*; so that he was thenceforth named *Lucius Verus*, instead of *Lucius Commodus*: he added that of *Antoninus*, which he assumed himself; whence he is stiled, in most antient inscriptions, *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. The two emperors went together from the senate to the camp of the prætorian guards, where they promised the soldiers a bounty of twenty thousand sesterces, *M. Aurelius* speaking for both. They performed afterwards, with great pomp, the funeral of their deceased father, caused him to be ranked among the gods, and instituted a new college of priests, called *Aureliani* (from the name of his family), or *Aurelian* priests. They both governed with great mildness and unity, *Lucius* behaving himself rather as *Aurelius's* lieutenant, than his partner in the sovereignty. Their administration was such, that no one had occasion to regret the loss of *Antoninus*, whose measures were pursued by both princes. That their union might be the more lasting, *M. Aurelius* betrothed his daughter *Lucilla* to *L. Verus*; and, on that occasion, both princes added a great number of children to those, who were supplied with corn at the public expence.

BUT the tranquillity and happiness, which *Rome* and the whole empire enjoyed under the two sovereigns, was soon interrupted by a dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, which happened in the beginning of the following year, when

<sup>1</sup> JUL. CAP. in *M. Aur.* p. 25. & in *Ver.* p. 36.  
orat. xvi, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Vide GOLTZ. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> ARIST.  
<sup>4</sup> JUL. CAP.

ning of  
their  
reign.

*cus* and *Aquilinus* were consuls, overturned many private houses and public buildings in the city, carried away great numbers of people and cattle, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great distance. This inundation was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in several provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced an infinite number of insects, that destroyed what the flood had spared, and occasioned a famine in *Rome*. These calamities were in great measure allayed by the care and presence of the two emperors, who, at their own expence, supplied the distressed city with corn, and made good the losses sustained by particulars. At the same time the *Parthian* war broke out, the *Catti* made irruptions into *Germany* and *Rætia*, and the *Britons* began to revolt. Against the latter was dispatched *Calpurnius Agricola*, and *Ausidius Victorinus* against the *Catti*: but it was thought proper, that *L. Verus* should march in person against the *Parthians*, while *M. Aurelius* continued at *Rome*, where his presence was judged necessary. The good emperor was not displeased to have such a specious pretence of removing his colleague from *Rome*, hoping that a warlike life would give him a distaste to the idle amusements and debaucheries of the town: but he was therein greatly disappointed, as we shall see hereafter. What success attended *Agricola* and *Victorinus*, we are no-where told. All we know of the wars with these nations is, that *Didius Julianus*, who reigned after *Pertinax*, is said to have overcome the *Chauci*, and likewise the *Catti*, who had made inroads into the *Roman* dominions. The war in *Britain* must have likewise lasted a long time; for it was not ended eight years after, when that of the *Marcomanni* broke out.

The Par-  
thians de-  
clare war.

As for the *Parthians*, they had at this time for their king *Vologeses*, probably the son of *Cosroes*, who reigned in the times of *Trajan* and *Adrian*. *Antoninus* had refused to restore to him the golden throne, which had been seized by *Adrian*. This perhaps occasioned the war; for, before *Antoninus* died, the *Parthian* had made vast preparations, and, soon after his death, appeared in the field at the head of a formidable army. Great disturbances, of which we find but a very confused account in the antients, happened likewise at this time in *Armenia*, raised, in all likelihood, and fomented, by the king of the *Parthians*. *Schemus* king of *Armenia* was driven from the throne, and the king of the *Henochii*, a people dwelling between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas, was killed by a petty

Disturb-  
ances in  
Armenia.

<sup>c</sup> JUL. CAP. p. 25.  
in Julian. p. 60.  
Aur. p. 25.

<sup>d</sup> Idem in Ver. p. 37.  
<sup>e</sup> ARIST. ORAT. IX. p. 119:

<sup>c</sup> SPART.  
JUL. CAP. in

prince, namel *Tiridates*, who was afterwards taken prisoner by the *Romans*, and by *M. Aurelius* confined to *Britain* <sup>a</sup>. *Severinus*, a native of *Gaul*, and governor of *Cappadocia*, *A whole* having entered *Armenia* at the head of several legions, was *Roman* there attacked by the *Parthians* near a place called *Elegia*, *army cut* and cut off with all his men: we are told, that not a single *off by the* person of the whole army escaped the general slaughter. *Parthians*. *Dio Cassius* ascribes this victory to *Vologeses*; but he obtained it by *Osrhoes*, or, as *Lucian* calls him, *Othryades*, who commanded the army, and was, in all likelihood, some prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, on whom *Vologeses* designed to bestow the crown of *Armenia* <sup>b</sup>.

*VOLOGESSES*, elated with this victory, entered *Syria* at *Vologeses* the head of a very numerous army, committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in *Cappadocia*, which he *king of the* likewise invaded, after having put to flight *Attidius Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria*. Against so formidable an *Parthians* enemy, it was judged proper, that one of the emperors should *invades* march in person; and accordingly *L. Verus* set out from *Rome* this year for *Syria*. *M. Aurelius* accompanied him as *Syria*. far as *Capua*, whence he was scarce returned to *Rome*, when news were brought him, that his colleague had been seized at *Canosa* with a violent distemper, occasioned by the debaucheries and disorders to which he had abandoned himself on the road: for the luxurious prince, instead of pursuing his march with all possible expedition, and hastening to save *Syria*, which was over-run by the *Parthians*, and ready to revolt from *Rome*, stopped in all the cities through which he passed, spending his time in banquets and revels, and plunging himself into the most infamous debaucheries. Upon the news of his illness, *M. Aurelius* caused vows and sacrifices to be offered for his recovery, and took a second journey to see him. When he began to recover, *M. Aurelius* returned to *Rome*; and *L. Verus* soon after pursued his journey, passing over into *Greece*, and from thence into *Asia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*. As he stopped in every place that could afford him any kind *His de-* of diversion, he arrived, when the year was already far spent, *baucheries* in *Syria*; and, choosing *Antioch* for the place of his residence, *on the* abandoned himself there to all manner of lewdness and *road*. debauchery, while the officers, who commanded under him, carried on the war. These were *Statius Priscus*, *Avidius Cassius*, *Martius Verus*, *Saturninus*, *Fronto*, and *Tatianus*, all persons of great experience, and generally esteemed the best commanders of that age. As for the emperor *Verus*, he *He aban-* doned him- *self to all* manner of *pleasures*, and suffers *his lieute-* nants to *carry on* the war.

<sup>a</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxi. p. 802.  
p. 347. *Dio*, p. 802.

<sup>b</sup> *LUCIAN*, pseud. p. 485. & hist.



The Par-  
thians  
over-  
thrown.

Rome  
happy  
under M.  
Aurelius.

His cle-  
mency and  
good-  
nature.

was so taken up with his pleasures and diversions, that, tho' the war lasted four years, he never once appeared at the head of his army, which consisted of the flower of the *Roman* troops; but wallowed in all manner of lewdness at *Antioch*, *Daphne*, and *Laodicea*, while his officers were signaling themselves in the field <sup>1</sup>. All we know of this war is, that many great exploits were performed in *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, and upon the banks of the *Tigris* <sup>k</sup>; that the *Romans* besieged *Edessa* in the province of *Osrhoene*, and gained many signal victories <sup>l</sup>; that *Osrhoes* was once forced to save himself by swimming cross the *Tigris* <sup>m</sup>; that the *Parthians* received a dreadful overthrow at *Europa*, a city of *Syria*, on the *Euphrates*, a little below *Zeugma* <sup>n</sup>; and that in the end, *Osrhoes*, who commanded the *Parthian* troops, having lost his army, was obliged to conceal himself in a cave <sup>o</sup> (R).

WHILE *L. Verus* wallowed in all sorts of pleasures at *Antioch*, *M. Aurelius* made it his whole study to reform, by his example, and several wholesome laws, the manners of the *Romans*, to redress abuses, to reward the virtuous, and reclaim, rather by gentle means than severity, the vicious. The people enjoyed, under his mild administration, all the blessings of liberty; and were truly no less free, than their ancestors had been in the best times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to the senate than *Antoninus* himself had ever done, referring to them the decision of such causes as belonged to his own tribunal, and undertaking nothing without their advice; to which he readily submitted, saying, "It was more reasonable for him to follow the advice of so many wise men, than for so many wise men to follow his." He never failed attending the senate, delivering his opinion there like a private senator. He administered justice in person with great assiduity and impartiality; heard with patience such as complained of his ministers; and endeavoured, so far as was consistent with equity, to dismiss no one from his presence dissatisfied. He suffered no criminal to be condemned, or executed,

<sup>1</sup> JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 26. & in Ver. p. 37. PHILOST. soph. 27. DIC. in excerpt. VAL. p. 775. & l. lxxi. p. 302. <sup>k</sup> LUCIAN. hist. p. 362.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, p. 358.

<sup>m</sup> Idem, p. 356.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, p. 361.

<sup>o</sup> Idem, p. 356.

(R) *Lucian*, who wrote about this time, is not ashamed to tell us, that, in the above-mentioned battle, three hundred and seventy thousand of the enemy were killed; and that the *Romans* lost only two men, and had but nine wounded (8).

till he had examined with great care and attention the charge, and heard what the person accused could allege in his defence. He was naturally inclined to mercy ; but nevertheless punished such as were guilty of any enormous crime with the utmost rigour. However, we have innumerable instances of his clemency, and very few of his severity (S).

THE following year *L. Ælianus*, or *Lælianus*, and *Pastor*, *Artaxata* being consuls, *Stattius Priscus* made himself master of *Ar-* *taken by*  
*taxata*, and a place called *The new city*, which soon became, *the Ro-*  
says *Dio Cassius*, the first city of *Armenia*. *Priscus* being *mans.*  
soon after sent against the *Parthians*, *Martius Verus* took  
upon him the command of the troops in *Armenia* ; and partly  
by force, partly by his wise conduct, and obliging behaviour,  
prevailed upon the *Armenians* to submit to the *Romans*, and *Armenia*  
to restore *Sohemus* to the throne, who, being driven out by *reduced.*  
*Vologeses*, had resided some time at *Rome*, and had been there  
created senator, and honoured with the consulship <sup>p</sup>. On  
several medals of this year mention is made of the reduction  
of *Armenia* by *Verus*, who, in some inscriptions, is said to  
have given a king to *Armenia* <sup>q</sup>. Tho' he had no share, as  
we have related above, in that conquest ; yet the senate dis-  
tinguished both him and *M. Aurelius* with the title of *Arme-*  
*niacus*, and both assumed this year that of *imperator* <sup>r</sup>, no  
doubt, for the reduction of *Armenia*.

THE following year, when *Macrinus* and *Celsus* were *M Aure-*  
consuls, *M. Aurelius* sent his daughter *Lucilla* into *Syria*, to *lius mar-*  
be married there to *L. Verus*, to whom she had been for some *ries his*  
time betrothed. She was attended by her sister *Cornificia*, by *daughter*  
*Civica Pompeianus*, uncle to *L. Verus* by the father, and by *Lucilla to*  
many other persons of distinction. *M. Aurelius* would have *L. Verus.*  
willingly accompanied her in person into the East ; but parted  
with her at *Brundisium*, and returned to *Rome*, that he might  
not seem to assume to himself the glory of finishing the *Par-*  
*thian* war <sup>s</sup>. The next year, the fourth of *M. Aurelius's*  
reign, *Gavius Orfitus* and *L. Arrius Pudens* being consuls,

<sup>p</sup> *Dio*, p. 804. <sup>q</sup> *Occo*, p. 302, 303.  
*ibid.* <sup>r</sup> *JUL. CAP.* p. 26.

(S) *Aurelius Victor* tells us, of great learning, and extraor-  
that he obliged the inhabitants dinary accomplishments (9). They  
of *Nicaea* to send yearly to *Rome* continued to pay this tribute to  
a certain quantity of corn, for the time of *Constantine*, by whom  
having beaten one of their citi- it was remitted.

(9) *Aur. Vict. in Constant. Arist. d. orat. ix. Dio, p. 724. Jul. Cap. i. M. Aur. p. 26.*

The Par-  
thians ut-  
terly de-  
feated by  
Cassius,  
who takes  
most of  
their ci-  
ties, &c.

Year of  
the flood  
2515.

Of Christ

167.

Of Rome

915.

~~~~~

Vologeses, having attacked the *Romans* at the head of a very numerous army, was utterly defeated by *Cassius*; who, pursuing the advantages of his victory, advanced to *Ctesiphon*, took that city, and laid the palace of the *Parthian* monarchs in ashes. He likewise made himself master of *Edeffa*, of *Babylon*, and all *Media*. The city of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris* opened its gates to him, and received the *Romans* as friends; but nevertheless *Cassius* ordered the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thousand souls, to be inhumanly massacred, and the city to be utterly demolished (T). On his return, he lost great numbers of his men, who died of distempers, or perished for want of provisions¹. For these successes the senate bestowed on *L. Verus*, tho' he had never stirred from *Antioch*, the glorious title of *The conqueror of the Parthians and Medes*, as appears from several antient inscriptions and medals of this and the following year² (U). The war being ended, *Lucius Verus* appointed kings over the foreign nations which had submitted to *Rome*; and left the senators, who had attended him, governors of the *Roman* provinces (W).

¹ *Dio*, p. 802. *LUCIAN*. hist. p. 358. *AMMIAN*. l. xxiii.

² *Occo*, p. 283. *BIRAG*. p. 218. 236.

(T) Some writers ascribe this calamity to the treachery of the inhabitants; others to the cruelty of *Cassius*, who thus retaliated upon the *Parthians* the dreadful slaughters, which the *Romans* had in former times suffered from them.

(U) Of this war the antients give us no farther account; but from *Rufus Festus* (1), and *Dio Cassius* (2), it appears, that, towards the end of the reign of *Commodus*, the provinces of *Osroene* and *Adiabene*, with the city of *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*, were subject to the *Romans*. Many *Greek* historians immediately published accounts of this war; but were guilty, it seems, of considerable mistakes; which prompted *Lucian* to compose his trea-

tise on the manner of writing history (3).

(W) *M. Aurelius* had sent *Annius Libo*, his cousin-german, into *Syria*, to govern that province in quality of lieutenant, while *L. Verus* resided there; but he dying suddenly, *L. Verus*, upon his leaving *Syria*, appointed *Cassius Vestilianus* governor of that province in his room. *Libo* was said to have been poisoned by *Verus*, not able to bear with his haughty and imperious temper. But *Antohinus* gave no credit to that report; nay, at the request of *Verus*, he suffered *Agaclytes*, one of his colleague's freedmen, to marry *Libo's* widow, and even assisted at the nuptial ceremonies, tho' no-way pleased with the marriage (4).

(1) *Fest.* p. 557.

(2) *Dio*, l. lxxv. p. 848.

(3) *Lucian*. de hist.

p. 347.

(4) *Dio*, p. 811. & *Jul. Cap.* in *Aur.* p. 22. & *Ver.* p. 38.

THE next year, *Q. Servilius Pudens* and *L. Fufidius Pollio* *L. Verus* being consuls, *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, which he entered *returns to* in triumph with *M. Aurelius*, who took his children with *Rome*, him in the triumphal chariot. The title of *Parthicus* was *and tri-* given by the senate to both emperors, and both assumed that *umphs* of *Father of their country*, which *M. Aurelius* had declined *with M.* till the return of his brother. *L. Verus*, after his triumph, *Aurelius.* begged, that the title of *Cæsar* might be conferred on the two sons of *M. Aurelius*, to wit, *Commodus* and *Annius Verus*; who accordingly received it on the twelfth of *October*, of this year. The return of *L. Verus* proved fatal, we may *A dread-* say, to the whole world; for he carried the plague into all *ful plague* the provinces through which he passed; so that the infection *rages in* not only spread through *Italy*, but extended to the most *all the* distant countries that were subject to, or had any communi- *provinces* cation with *Rome*, or the *Romans* (X). *M. Aurelius* caused *of the* such of the common people as died, to be buried at his own *empire*; expence; and enacted, on that occasion, some laws concern- ing burials and sepulchres, which were still in force in *Dio-* *clesian's* time^w. The plague was followed by a dreadful *and is fol-* mine, by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. *lowed by* At the same time the *Marcomanni*, one of the most warlike *a fumine,* nations in *Germany*, invaded the empire, having first drawn *by earth-* into their alliance all the barbarous nations which bordered *quakes,* on the *Roman* dominions, from *Gaul* to *Illyricum*; to wit, the *&c.* *Narisci*, the *Hermenduri*, the *Quadi*, the *Suevians*, the *Sar-*

^w JUL. CAP. in *M. Aur.* p. 28. OROS. l vii. c. 15.

(X) We are told by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that this plague first broke out at *Seleucia*, where the soldiers, pillaging the temple of *Apollo*, found a little golden coffer under-ground, which, upon their opening it, cast out such a pestilential air, as immediately infected the neighbouring country, and soon spread into most parts of the world (5); but those, who wrote at this very time, and before the infection reached the provinces of the *Roman* empire, assure us, that it began in *Ethiopia*, and was thence carried into

Egypt, and from *Egypt* into the country of the *Parthians*, where it infected *L. Verus's* army (6). Be that as it will, it was, without all doubt, brought into *Italy* by the troops, which had been employed against the *Parthians*, and made a dreadful havock in all the provinces of the empire, raging with great violence for some years, especially in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, where it carried off many thousands, and, among the rest, great numbers of illustrious persons.

(5) *Ammian.* l. xxiii. p. 251. 253.

(6) *Lucian.* de b. p. 355.

matians, the *Victovales*, *Roxolani*, *Basternæ*, *Gostobochi*, *Alani*, *Vandali*, *Iazyges*, and several other nations.

THIS war, which, by the historians of those times, is called one of the greatest wars *Rome* ever sustained, was kindled while the flower of the *Roman* troops were yet employed in the East against the *Parthians*; but suspended for some time by the address of the commanders on the frontiers, that *Rome* might not be at the same time engaged in two such dreadful wars. The affairs of the East were no sooner settled, and *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, than *M. Aurelius* acquainted the senate, that a war with the *Marcomanni* was inevitable, and of such consequence, that it required the presence of both emperors; for *M. Aurelius* did not care to commit the whole management of the war to *Verus*, judging him unfit to carry it on with success; and was, on the other hand, unwilling to leave him at *Rome*, where he began to be daily more and more despised, on account of his enormous debaucheries. The senate approved his proposal; so that both emperors, after having offered an infinite number of sacrifices, and implored, by all sorts of ceremonies, both foreign and *Roman*, the protection of the gods, left *Rome* about the close of the year, in their military apparel, and hastened to *Aquileia*, to make the necessary preparations there for taking the field early in the spring *.

War with
the Mar-
comanni.
Year of
the flood
2516.
Of Chr.
168.
Of Rome
916.

Both em-
perors set
out from
Rome.

THE next consuls were the emperor *L. Verus* the third time, and *M. Quadratus*, nephew to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. Early in the spring the two emperors took the field, and their approach struck the enemy with such terror, that they repassed the *Danube*, and even put to death the authors and promoters of the war. The *Quadi*, whose king was dead, promised not to crown the person whom they had chosen in his room, without the consent and approbation of the emperors. Most of the nations, who had taken arms, dispatched ambassadors either to the emperors, or their generals, to make their submissions, and ask pardon for having disturbed the peace of the empire. Hereupon *Verus*, who had left the diversions of the city much against his will, and panted after them, was for returning immediately to *Rome*; but *M. Aurelius*, suspecting the sincerity of the barbarians, continued some time at *Aquileia*, fortifying that place with new works; and then passed, together with *Verus*, the neighbouring *Alps*; provided with great care for the safety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*; and returned to *Rome* about the end of this year †. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Paulus* being consuls the se-

The Mar-
comanni
and other
German
nations sue
for peace;

* JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 28. & 39.
JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 28.

† DIO, p. 808.

cond time, the war seems to have broken out anew; for it appears from several antient inscriptions, that both princes took this year the title of *imperator*; which was never done, but on occasion of some victory^a: and in the chronicle of *Eusebius* we read, that the *Romans* gained this year a signal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Dacians*^a. The next year, in the consulate of *Q. Sossus Priscus* and *P. Caelius Apollinaris*, the *Germans*, notwithstanding their late defeat, renewed the war with more vigour than ever; the war insomuch that both emperors left *Rome* in the depth of the winter, and returned to *Aquileia*, with a design to attack the barbarians early in the spring; but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it advisable to leave the place, and hasten back to the metropolis. As they were on the road in the same coach, *L. Verus* was seized with an apoplexy near *Altinum*. *M. Aurelius* caused him to be immediately taken out of the coach, and blooded; by which means he brought him alive to *Altinum*, where he lay three days speechless, and then died, after having lived thirty-nine years, and reigned eight, and some months^b. *M. Aurelius* conveyed his body to *Rome*; caused it to be interred with extraordinary pomp by that of his father *L. Cæsar*, in the mausoleum of *Adrian*; prevailed upon the senate, notwithstanding the hatred they bore him, to rank him among the gods; appointed him priests, sacrifices, &c. and took particular care of all his relations, nay, even of his wicked and debauched freedmen, whom, however, he removed from the court, retaining only one of that herd, by name *Eulestus*, who afterwards murdered his son *Commodus*, as we shall relate hereafter.

L. VERUS was a prince intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, passing his whole time in revels and banquets, and often scouring the streets in the night-time, as *Nero* had formerly done, and committing great disorders in the public-houses and stews, which he used to frequent in disguise, and mix with the mob, by whom he was often roughly handled. During his four years stay in *Syria*, he was so taken up with pleasures, and lewd amours, that he was with difficulty prevailed upon by his officers to march twice to the banks of the *Euphrates*, whence he hastened back to *Daphne*, one of the suburbs of *Antioch*, a place so infamous for all manner of lewdness, that to live after the manner of *Daphne*, was become a proverb to express the most dissolute

^a *Occo*, p. 285. & 309.^a *EUSEB* chron. p. 136.^b *JUL. CAP.* in *M. Aur.* p. 28. & in *Ver.* p. 39. *GALEN.* prog. t. iii. p. 459.

His debaucheries, revels, banquets, &c.

and luxurious way of living; and that all, who had any regard to their reputation, avoided appearing there. In that place *Verus* abandoned himself, without restraint, to all sorts of abominations, while his generals were carrying on the war against the *Parthians*, and their allies; which gave occasion to many severe lampoons, the *Antiochians* being greatly addicted to satire. But *Verus* preferred his pleasures to his reputation: he brought with him out of *Syria* a great number of comedians, players, buffoons, &c. and passed most of his time in their company. Soon after his return to *Rome*, he is said to have spent at one entertainment six millions of sesterces; for he presented each of the guests, who were twelve in number, with crowns of gold, and with all the gold and silver plate, great part of which was set with jewels, which they had made use of during the banquet, and likewise with golden boxes filled with precious ointments; and, at their parting, he gave to each of them a chariot, and mules richly caparisoned, to carry them home. He turned the court, says the writer of his life, into a tavern; for, after he had supped with *M. Aurelius*, he used to withdraw to his own company, and pass the whole night in drinking with his debauched companions, and lewd women.

His fondness for an horse.

HE was so fond of an horse named *Celer*, or the *Swift*, that he erected a statue to him in gold, fed him with raisins and almonds, covered him with purple, ordered him to be kept in a room of the palace, and, when he died, erected a stately monument to him on the *Vatican*. He suffered his slaves to be as free with him at all times, as they were with their masters, according to the *Roman* custom, during the feast of *Saturn*; and was intirely governed by them, his freedmen, and his concubines. He built a magnificent villa on the *Clodian* way, and there spent most of his time in reveling with his freedmen, and such women as were infamous for their lewdness. He once invited thither *M. Aurelius*, who complied with his invitation, and stayed five days with him, hoping to reclaim him from his vices by the example of his regular and blameless conduct; but, finding he was not to be reclaimed, the good emperor bore with him patiently, dissembled his disorders, concealed them as much as lay in his power, and even endeavoured to excuse them. However, it was privately whispered abroad, that *Verus's* horrible excesses, and his arbitrary manner of proceeding after his return from the East, occasioned a misunderstanding between him and *M. Aurelius*, who was thought to have intimated in his speech to the senate, that he was not much grieved for the death of his colleague, which enabled him to do good to all without controul or restraint; nay, as the best of princes are often mali-

maliciously censured, *M. Aurelius* was said to have delivered himself from so troublesome a colleague, either by poison, or by ordering his physician *Posidippus* to let him bleed unseasonably ^c (Y). *M. Aurelius is said by some to have*

M. Aurelius, now delivered from so vicious and troublesome a partner, made it his whole study to oblige all with his engaging behaviour, and unbounded generosity. He seemed to excel not only his predecessors, but even himself, governing with such moderation and mildness, as can hardly be expressed ^d. *caused him to be murdered.*

The necessary preparations for the war with the *M. Aurel-Marcumanni* ingrossed at this time his whole care and attention. His lieutenants gained, it seems, some advantages ^e over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the ensuing year, while *M. Cornelius Cethegus* and *C. Erucius Glarus* were consuls; for, soon after the death of *L. Verus*, *Marco-*

and before the twenty-fifth of February, of this year, he took upon him the title of *imperator*, as appears from several medals and inscriptions ^f. However, the *Marcomanni* soon resumed their courage, and, falling upon *Vindex*, captain of the guards, cut both him and most of his men in pieces ^g. After this victory, they approached the Roman territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, which lasted many hours, both the Romans and barbarians fighting with incredible courage and resolution; but at length the Romans were utterly defeated, and put to flight, after having lost near ^h *The Romans de- feated with great slaughter.*

^c JUL. CAP. p. 28—34. ^d Idem, p. 29. EUTROP.

^e BIRKBE. p. 221. ^f DIO, l. lxxi. p. 803.

(Y) *Dis Cassius* seems inclined to believe, that *M. Aurelius* thought it expedient to prevent, by that means, *Verus* from raising disturbances in the state (7); for he is said to have formed a conspiracy, with a design to murder *M. Aurelius*, and reign alone (8). But it is a crime, say other historians, to imagine, that such a prince as *M. Aurelius*, to whom flattery itself has never equaled any other, would by any means contribute to the death of his brother, whatever his life and

actions might deserve (9). Only such fratricides as *Caracalla*, and persons guilty of the most enormous crimes, can entertain such thoughts of *Aurichus* (1). Some charged the empress *Fauslina* with his death, as if she had poisoned him for having discovered to his wife his incestuous conversation with her. Others said, that he was poisoned by his wife *Lucilla*, jealous of the great passion he had for his own sister *Fabia*, whose power she could not brook (2).

(7) DIO, p. 802.
in Ver. p. 39.
Cap.

(8) Philost. soph. 27. p. 548.
(1) Herodian, l. iv. p. 645. Aur. V. 17.

(9) Jul. Cap.
(2) Jul.

twenty thousand men. The *Marcomanni* pursued the fugitives to the very walls of *Aquileia*; which city they had taken, had not the *Roman* generals rallied their men with great skill and conduct. The barbarians entered *Italy* itself, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing every-where most dreadful devastations ^e. The news of this fatal overthrow filled *Rome* with terror and consternation. As the plague, which still raged in most provinces of the empire, had greatly weakened the army, slaves, gladiators, and even the banditti of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, were admitted among the troops. Besides, *M. Aurelius* prevailed upon some mercenary *Germans* to serve against their countrymen.

THUS a considerable army was soon raised; but, as money was wanting to pay them, and ^gdefray the other charges of so dangerous a war, the good-natured emperor, not being able to prevail upon himself to burden his people with new taxes, exposed to public sale the furniture of the palace, the gold and silver plate, all the valuable pictures and statues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's rich garments embroidered with gold, and a curious collection of pearls, which *Adrian* had purchased during his long progress through the provinces of the empire, and lodged in a particular cabinet, called *Adrian's cabinet*. The sale lasted two months, and produced such an immense sum, as enabled the emperor to relieve the people this year, when provisions were very dear, with an extraordinary largess; to defray the charges of a five years expensive war; and to buy back, when the war was ended, part of what he had sold, allowing however the buyers full liberty to keep their purchases, or return them, and take their money again ^h. When he was upon the point of setting out from *Rome*, he married his daughter *Lucilla*, the widow of *L. Verus*, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was originally of *Antioch*, and the son of a private *Roman* knight, but a person of extraordinary merit, and famed for his wisdom and integrity, which *M. Aurelius* ever preferred to wealth and nobility ⁱ (Z). However, neither *Lucilla* herself, nor her mo-

M. Aurelius sells the plate, jewels, and rich furniture of the palace, to defray the charges of the war.

^e DIO, l. lxxi. p. 803. & LUCIAN. pseud. p. 493. CAP. in Aur. p. 29. EUTROP. & BIRAG. p. 221. in Comm. p. 48. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 464.

^h JUL. ⁱ LAMP.

(Z) *Julian*, surnamed *the Apostate*, blames *M. Aurelius* for having left the empire to his son *Commodus*, and not to *Pompeianus*, who was every way qualified; whereas *Commodus* was altogether unfit for the discharge of so great a trust (3).

(3) *Julian*, C. 21. p. 13.

ther *Faustina*, were pleased with the match. *Lucilla* retained the title of *Augusta*, and all the badges of sovereignty *. Before the emperor left *Rome*, his son *Annius Verus Cæsar* *Annius* died at *Palestrina*, in the seventh year of his age. *M. Aurelius*, the *relius* loved him with all the tenderness of a father; but *emperor's* nevertheless bore his death with great firmness, comforting *second son,* the empress *Faustina*, and the physicians, who are said to *dies.* have occasioned his death by opening unseasonably a swelling under his ear †. The emperor set out at length for *Germany*, whither he shewed a great desire of carrying *Galen* with him; but that celebrated physician choosing to stay at *Rome*, the good-natured prince would not press him to leave it. He left likewise at *Rome* his son *Commodus*, under the care of *Pitholaus*, his chief chamberlain, injoining him to employ none but *Galen*, in case his son should be taken ill during his absence ‡.

THE antients compare this war to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars; but, at the same time, give us a very succinct and confused account of it. The barbarians, say they, laid waste *The bar-* several provinces of the empire; defeated great armies. *barians* *Marcomanni* and the *Vandals* made themselves masters of *over-run* *Pannonia*, and held it for some time. The *Custobichi* over- *several* ran *Greece*, and advanced as far as *Elstea*, a famous city of *provinces* *Phocis* in *Achaia*; they overturned cities, and committed *of the em-* every-where dreadful devastations §. However, they were *pire.* at length overcome by *M. Aurelius*, who, during this bloody *M. Aure-* and destructive war, gave innumerable instances of an ex- *lius car-* traordinary prudence and intrepidity, choosing rather to pro- *ries on the* long the war, and tire out the enemy, than expose his men *war in* to unnecessary dangers. The soldiers, animated by the ex- *person* ample of their leader, behaved with uncommon bravery; and *with great* the captains of the guards, as well as the other generals, sig- *success.* nalized themselves in a very eminent manner ¶. The *Mar-* *comanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Vandals*, were constrained to abandon *Pannonia*, and retire beyond the *Danube*. The emperor pursued them, and, coming up with them as they were passing that river, gave them a dreadful overthrow. The *Iazyges* were twice defeated, first in *Pannonia*, and the second time as they were crossing the *Danube* on the ice (A). *Pom-* *peianus*,

* JUL. CAP. p. 31. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 427. † JUL. CAP. *ibid.* ‡ GALEN. prog. 459. & 461. § AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 425. ¶ JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 29. PAUSAN. l. x. p. 352.
• JUL. CAP. p. 31. ARISTID. orat. ix. p. 117.

(A) A Roman soldier, who near the *Danube*, hearing one of was upon guard during the night his comrades, who had been taken by

Pertinax
created
a senator.

Disturb-
ances in
Egypt ;

peianus, the emperor's son-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, desiring to have *Pertinax* joined in the commission with him, *M. Aurelius* readily complied with his request, tho' he had, not long before, upon some complaints, deprived *Pertinax* of an employment which he had in *Dacia*. *Pertinax* was attended with great success in his new commission ; which induced the emperor to admit him into the senate. Being soon after convinced, that the complaints brought against him were quite groundless, to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with prætorial ornaments, and appointed him governor of *Rætia* and *Noricum*, whence he drove the *Germans*, who had broken into that province ; and was, on that account, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, raised by the emperor to the consular dignity ^p (B).

BEFORE the war with the *Marcomanni* was ended, another broke out in *Egypt*, the robbers and shepherds of that country, who were numerous, taking up arms, at the instigation of their priests, and committing dreadful disorders. Being headed by one *Isidorus*, a man of great resolution and intrepidity, they killed a *Roman* centurion, and some soldiers, by treachery ; and afterwards, the *Egyptians* joining them in great numbers from all parts, they defeated the *Roman* troops in a pitched battle, over-ran the whole country, and would have made themselves masters of *Alexandria* itself, had not *Cassius*, whom *M. Aurelius* had appointed governor of *Syria*, marched against them. *Cassius* was reckoned the best commander of his age, and had signalized himself both in the

P DIO, p. 810. JUL. CAP. in Pertin. p. 54.

by the barbarians, crying on the other side in an affecting manner, threw himself, armed as he was, into the river, crossed it, rescued his fellow-soldier, and returned with him to his post (4). *Dio Cassius* tells us, that the *Roman* soldiers having demanded of the emperor a largess after a bloody battle, in which they had behaved with extraordinary valour, and obtained a complete victory, he refused it, telling them, That he could not enrich them, without impoverishing their parents

and relations ; and adding, as they seemed dissatisfied with this answer, That their complaints gave him no uneasiness or concern, since he was well apprised, that the gods alone disposed of empires (5).

(B) The emperor, during his first expedition against the *Marcomanni*, resided for the most part at *Carnuntum*, a city of *Upper Pannonia* upon the *Danube*, which some take to be the present village of *St. Perrone* in *Austria* (6).

(4) *Dio*, l. lxxi. p. 804, 805. *Aur. Vite* p. 31.
(6) *Dio*, p. 810. *Boadicea* and p. 165.

(5) *Dio*, p. 803.

However, he did not think it
 expedient to engage in bold and desperate an enemy; but,
 having found means to sow divisions among them, as he was
 a man of great craft and address, he obliged them at last to
 submit, and lay down their arms. *Cassius*, having thus suppressed
 quelled the disturbances in *Egypt*, marched into *Armenia* and
Arabia, where he performed great exploits; but neither of
 them, nor of this year, which seems to have lasted some
 time, any farther mention is made in history. At the same Spain in-
 time the *Moor*s over-ran almost all *Spain*, ravaging that
 country with fire and sword; but were in the end driven out
 by the emperor's lieutenants. *Severus*, afterwards emperor, *subo ars*
 was at that time quaestor of the province of *Bætica*. There
 were likewise some disturbances in the country of the *Se-*
quani, now the *Fränkische-Comte*; but these the emperor com-
 posed with his authority, and seasonable severity. The
 next consuls were *Herennianus* and *Severus*, uncle to the
 emperor of that name, who, at his request, was by *M. Au-*
relius admitted into the senate. During their administra-
 tion, a great dispute arising between *Herodes Atticus* and the
 city of *Athens*, the emperor seemed inclined to favour the
 latter; which so provoked *Herodes*, who was a man of a
 violent and fit temper, that, when the cause was to be de-
 cided by the emperor then residing at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*,
 in *Pannonia*, instead of pleading with his usual eloquence,
 transported with rage, he launched into bitter and scurrilous
 invectives against the emperor, telling him, amongst other
 things, that he suffered himself, which was highly unbecom-
 ing an emperor, to be governed by a woman, and an infant
 only three years old; for the empress *Fauslina*, and her young
 daughter, instructed by her, had interceded with the emperor
 in behalf of the *Athenians*. When he had done railing against
 the emperor, *Bassus* (C), captain of the guards, told him,

1 Dio, p. 803. VULCAT GALLICAN. in vit Cass. 2 JUL.
 CAP. in AUG. p. 31. & SPART. in SEVER. 3 JUL. CAP. ibid.
 p. 32. 4 ONUPH. in fast. p. 231. NORIS, epist. consul.
 p. 148.

(C) *Bassus* is, by *Dio Cassius*, siled *M. Rufus Bassus*. He
 was, according to that writer, a common peasant; but, being
 forced into the service, gave such
 proofs of his courage and intelli-
 grity, that the emperor created
 him captain of the guards, tho'
 he was quite destitute of learn-
 ing, and spoke so broad, that he
 could hardly be understood (7).

(7) Dio, p. 803. & in excerpt. Val. p. 717.

That his insolent behaviour might perhaps cost him his life. But *Herodes*, without shewing the least concern or remorse, answered, That a man of his age had nothing to fear; and immediately withdrew.

The emperor bears patiently the reproaches of Herodes Atticus. As for the emperor, he heard him the whole time quite unconcerned; and when he withdrew, addressing the *Asiatic* deputies, *You may allege your reasons*, said he, *tho' Herodes has not been pleased to allege his*. He heard them with great attention, and could not help shedding tears, when they described the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of *Herodes*, and his freedmen, who had usurped a kind of sovereignty over the city, and oppressed the people in a tyrannical manner. However, the emperor did not condemn *Herodes*, but only his freedmen; and the punishment which he inflicted upon them was very small, says our historian, and no way answerable to their crimes^a; nay, to all he remitted part of it, and to one of them, named *Alcimedon*, the whole, thinking him sufficiently punished by the death of his two daughters, killed by a flash of lightning after their arrival at *Sir-mium*. Some time after, *Herodes* wrote to the emperor, complaining, that he did not honour him, as he had done formerly, with his letters; and the good-natured prince immediately sent him an answer, filled with the most tender and sincere expressions of friendship, condescending, in a manner; to beg his pardon for having condemned persons belonging to him^w. The following year, when *Maximus* and *Orfitus* were consuls, *M. Aurelius* gained, it seems, considerable advantages over the *Germans*; for, on all the medals of this year, mention is made of his victories in *Germany*, and on some he is stiled *Germanicus*, which title was given to his son *Commodus* this very year, on the fifteenth of *October*^x. The next consuls were *M. Aurelius Severus* the second time, and *T. Claudius Pompeianus*, during whose administration nothing happened, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity.

M. Aurelius in great danger of being cut off with his whole army. BUT the ensuing year, when *Gallus* and *Flaccus* were consuls, *M. Aurelius*, by an event altogether miraculous, escaped being cut off with his whole army. This happened beyond the *Danube*, in the country of the *Quadi*, where *M. Aurelius* was this year making war, and near the river *Gran*, which, rising from the mountains of *North Hungary*, falls into the *Danube* over-against the ancient city of *Strigonium*,

^a DIO, p. 803. PHILOST. soph. 27. p. 558—561. ^w PHILOST. ibid. ^x BIRAG. p. 225. LAMPRID. in Comm. p. 50.

to which the *Dan* gives its name ^v. This memorable battle was begun by the enemy's slingers and archers, who, from the opposite banks of the *Dan*, galled the *Romans* to such a degree, that the emperor thought it advisable to pass the river, and dislodge them; which was done accordingly, not without great slaughter on both sides; but the enemy retiring in good order, as it had been concerted among them beforehand, drew the *Romans*, who advanced with more bravery than conduct, into a disadvantageous place, among barren mountains, quite destitute of water. The *Romans*, closing their ranks, defended themselves with great bravery, and repulsed the enemy, who thereupon giving over the attack, seized the avenues, and blocked them up on all sides, hoping to reduce by thirst those whom they could not overcome by force of arms. The *Romans*, finding themselves thus shut up among barren mountains, quite spent with their wounds, and the fatigues of the battle, oppressed with heat, and tormented with an insufferable drought, attempted to open themselves a way through the midst of the enemy; but, all their efforts proving unsuccessful, they found themselves obliged to continue under arms, exposed to the rays of the sun, and oppressed with a violent thirst, without being able either to fight or retire. In this deplorable extremity, both soldiers and officers began to abandon themselves to despair, while the emperor, more affected with the miseries of the soldiers than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to inspire them with courage, and raise their drooping spirits; but, as they saw no possible means of escaping the present danger, his words were to no purpose, and nothing was heard but groans and lamentations, nothing seen but marks of the utmost despair.

In this distress, when they expected every moment to be either cut in pieces, or to become a prey to the barbarous enemy, who surrounded them, clouds appeared all on a sudden gathering in the air; the sky was overcast, and, to their inexpressible joy, rain fell in great plenty; which the fainting soldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers, up to heaven, as they are represented on the famous column of *Antoninus* at *Rome*. In this posture the barbarians fell upon them; so that they were obliged at the same time to drink and fight; for they were so oppressed with drought, that such of them, as were wounded, drank their own blood mixed with the water which they had received in their hel-

my by the
Marco-
manni.
Year of
the flood
2523.
Of Chr.
175.
Of Rome
923.

They are
relieved by
a miracu-
lous show-
er.

^v ONUPH. in fast. p. 232. TERTUL. apol. c. 5. DIO, l. lxxii. p. 805. BAUDR. p. 330.

ments. As they were more eager to quench their thirst, than to repulse the enemy, they had been all cut in pieces, had they not been miraculously succoured by a dreadful storm of hail, attended with thunder and lightning, which discharged itself upon the barbarians, as they advanced against them. Thus were seen at the same time fire and water descending from heaven; water to refresh the *Romans*, and fire to destroy their enemies; for either no fire fell upon the *Romans*, or what fell was immediately extinguished; and the rain, which fell upon the barbarians, was so far from overcoming the flames which consumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. The enemy, thus destitute of water in the midst of an heavy shower, were obliged either to wound themselves, in order to extinguish with their blood the devouring flames, or to have recourse to the *Romans*, and throw themselves upon the mercy of *M. Aurelius*, who received and entertained them in a friendly manner^z (D). After so glorious a victory,
M. Au-

^z Dio, l. lxxi. p. 805, 806.

(D) Thus *Dio Cassius* relates this memorable event, so much celebrated by *Apollinaris*, *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Themistius* in his oration before *Theodosius*, *St. Jerome*, *Gregory of Nyssa*, the poet *Claudian*, and the chronicle of *Alexandria*. It was engraved on the famous column of *Antoninus*, with the other exploits of *M. Aurelius* during the *Marcomannic* war, and on another, which *Themistius* tells us he had seen (8). The truth of this event has been universally acknowledged both by the Christian and pagan writers, who nevertheless disagree as to the authors of it. *Dio Cassius* ascribes it to a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, named *Arnuphis*, who attended the emperor in this war (9); *Suidas* to a magician,

by name *Julianus*, who was originally of *Chaldaea*, and wrote several books of magic (1). *Julius Capitolinus* (2), *Themistius* (3), and the poet *Claudian* (4), pretend, that this shower was owing to the emperor's own prayers. In the above mentioned column of the *Antonini*, it is by the pagans ascribed to their *Thundering Jupiter*. But all the Christian writers assure us, that so signal a favour was granted by heaven to the prayers of the Christian soldiers, who served in the *Roman* army. This *Eusebius* asserts upon the authority of *Apollinaris* bishop of *Hierapolis* (5). The Christians, by whose prayers the army was saved, are said to have belonged to the legion *Melitina*, mentioned by *Dio Cassius* (6), or, as *Xiphilin* expresses it, to the

(8) *Themist.* orat. xv.

(9) *Dio*, p. 805, 806.

(1) *Suid.* p. 439.

(2) *Jul. Cap. in M. Aur.* p. 32.

(3) *Themist.* orat. xv.

(4) *Claud.*

in cons. Honor. 6. p. 183.

(5) *Euseb.* l. v. c. c.

(6) *Dio*, p. 806.

legion

M. Aurelius was proclaimed emperor the seventh time, and the empress *Faustina* was honoured by the senate with the title of *mater castrorum*, or, *the mother of armies* *.

MARCUS.

* Dio, p. 806.

legion that had been raised or quartered at *Melitine*; for the legions, as is well known, often borrowed their names from the places where they were quartered. *Melitine* was one of the chief cities of *Armenia Minor*, and stood on the banks of the *Euphrates*. This legion, which, according to *Xiphilin*, consisted intirely of Christians, and had been prompted by a vision, if *Gregory of Nyssa* is to be credited (7), to embrace the true religion, was in all likelihood the twelfth, which by *Titus* had been quartered in the city of *Melitine* in the year 70 (8), and was in *Cappadocia* in the year 230 (9). The province of *Cappadocia* probably comprehended at that time *Armenia Minor*; so that we may suppose it to have been still at *Melitine*; for there we find it placed in a *notitia imperii*, or state of the empire, published many years after the death of *Severus*. The twelfth legion was distinguished by the surname of the *Thundering* (1); and *Apolinaris*, as quoted by *Eusebius* (2), tells us, that the legion *Melitina* was honoured with that title by the emperor, by way of reward for the above-mentioned miracle. The same thing we read in *Xiphilin*, and in *Onuphrius*, who

maintains, that, till the time of *M. Aurelius*, no mention is made of the *Thundering* legion (3). But from an antient inscription it appears, that the twelfth legion was distinguished by that surname, even in *Trajan's* time (4). Of this legion, which still subsisted in the time of *Eusebius* (5), were the forty martyrs of *Sebaste*, so much spoken of by the ecclesiastic writers of the primitive times (6). But what most of all seems to confirm the truth of the above-mentioned miracle is, the letter which the emperor himself is supposed to have written to the senate, giving them an account of it, and of the victory he gained on that occasion (7). *Tertullian* assures us, that in his letter he ascribed, who in a doubtful manner, his deliverance to the prayers of the Christians: *Having obtained rain*, says he, as quoted by *Tertullian*, *perhaps by the prayers of the Christians*. *Eusebius* quotes some passages of it out of *Tertullian*, and speaks of it in his chronicle as a thing that was said to have been. But *St. Jerom*, in translating that passage of *Eusebius*, positively affirms, that it was still extant. *Orosius* and *Xiphilin* only say, that it was thought to be extant in their times (8); whence

(7) *Greg. Nyss. orat. ii. de quadraginta marty.*
l. vii. c. 4.

(9) *Dio, l. lv. p. 564.*

(3) *Onuph. in fast. p. 233.*

(5) *Euseb. chron. p. 233.*

(7) *Dio, l. lxxi. p. 806.*

(8) *Joseph. bell. Jud.*

(1) *Idem ibid.*

(2) *Euseb.*

(4) *Vide Baron. ad ann. 176.*

(6) *Greg. Nyss. de quadrag.*

(8) *Oros. l. vii. c. 7. Dio, p. 806.*

MARCUS AURELIUS could not, however, be yet prevailed upon by his friends to leave *Germany*, and return to *Rome*, being desirous to reduce the countries of the *Marcomanni*, and the *Sarmatians*, to *Roman* provinces, not out of vanity and ambition, says *Dio Cassius*, but because he found by experience, that he could not rely upon their fidelity. This he would have compassed, had he not been interrupted in the midst of his conquests by the revolt of *Cassius*, which we shall relate hereafter. He continued in *Germany* great part of the following year, when *Piso* and *Julianus* were consuls; and, having placed twenty thousand men in the countries of the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, harassed these two nations to such a degree, that they resolved to abandon their native soil, and settle elsewhere. But *M. Aurelius*, having received timely notice of their design, prevented them from putting it in execution; so that their fields being laid waste, and all communication with the neighbouring nations cut off, they were in the end constrained by famine to send ambassadors to the emperor, and sue for peace. The *Quadi* sent with their ambassadors all the *Roman* deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, whom they had taken during the war; and by that means obtained a peace, upon condi-

The Mar-
comanni
and Quadi
sue for
peace.

it is manifest they had not seen it. A letter ascribed to *M. Aurelius* concerning the victory, which he obtained by the prayers of the Christians, has reached our times. It is commonly annexed in *Greek* to the apologies of *Justin the Martyr*, and is to be found in *Latin* in *Onuphrius* (9) and *Baronius* (1), translated, as they tell us, from the *Greek* text, which was itself a translation from the original *Latin*. They both look upon it as an authentic piece; but, notwithstanding their judgment, it is by the best critics rejected as spurious; to whose opinion we readily subscribe, finding it frequently contradicts all the historians who have described the reign of *M. Aurelius* (2). A modern critic,

having taken the whole story of this supposed miracle in pieces, as it is related by *Eusebius*, and examined every particular circumstance, proves with several, in our opinion, unanswerable reasons; 1. That there was not an intire legion of Christians in the army of *Antoninus*. 2. That the *Thundering* legion did not take its name from this miracle. 3. That *Antoninus* never ascribed this miracle to the prayers of the Christians. 4. That *Antoninus*, after this pretended miracle, never published any edict in favour of the Christians. 5. That the Christians in general did not believe this miracle. Lastly, That the deliverance of the *Roman* army, tho' undoubtedly true, was no miracle (3).

(9) *Onuph. fest.* p. 234.

(1) *Baron. ad ann.* 176.

(2) *Vide P.*

Pagi, p. 174. & *Scalig. in chron. Euseb.* p. 223.

(3) *See Mayle, vol. ii.*

p. 82—103.

tion that they should not for the future traffick within the *Roman* dominions, nor settle within six miles of the *Danube*. But this peace was short-lived; for the *Quadi*, instead of executing the articles of their agreement, joined the *Iazyges*, who were still in arms, and drew over the *Marcomanni*. At the same time they drove out *Furtius*, their king, for disapproving their measures, and, of their own authority, appointed one *Ariogestes* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* resented to such a degree, that, tho' the *Quadi* promised to set at liberty fifty thousand *Roman* captives, upon condition that he concluded a peace with them, and confirmed to *Ariogestes* the title of king, the emperor would not hearken to the proposal; but, on the contrary, proscribed the new prince, and set a price upon his head.

HEREUPON the *Quadi*, being joined by the *Marcomanni*, the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, the *Narisci*, and many other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in history, attacked the *Romans*; but were, after a long, bloody, and obstinate dispute, put to the rout, and utterly defeated. *Ariogestes* himself was taken prisoner, and brought to the emperor, who, *They receive a great* notwithstanding his late menaces and resentment, generously spared his life, and contented himself with confining the captive to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt*. *throw.* After this victory, most nations in *Germany* sent deputies to sue for peace, offering to submit to such terms as the emperor should think fit to impose upon them. The *Quadi* seem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*. The *Marcomanni*, after so many losses, submitted, and obtained a peace, upon condition that they should not settle within five miles of the *Danube*. *Zantichus* king of the *Iazyges* came in person to wait on *M. Aurelius*, attended by *The Marcomanni, and other nations,* all the great men of the nation; and was by him received *obtain a peace.* into favour, but obliged to retire with his people farther from the *Danube* than the *Marcomanni*. They were a very powerful and warlike people, and had taken above an hundred thousand prisoners during this war, whom they set at liberty upon the conclusion of the peace, this being in all likelihood one of the articles of it. Besides, they supplied *M. Aurelius* with a body of eighty thousand horsemen, of whom he immediately sent five thousand into *Britain*, where the *Romans* were threatened with a new war. The *Buri*, *Narisci*, and other *German* nations, obtained a peace upon such terms as the emperor would never have granted; had he not been obliged by all means to put an end to this war, in order to

^b DIO, p. 808. & excerpt. VAL. p. 717.

Avidius lead his troops against *Cassius*, whose revolt was likely to bring
Cassius re- dreadful calamities upon the empire, as it had already raised
volts. the courage of the barbarians.

His ex- **AVIDIUS CASSIUS**, whom we have frequently mentioned
traction. in describing the *Parthian* and *Egyptian* wars, was, as some
 authors write, descended by the mother from the antient fa-
 mily of the *Cassii*. His father, by name *Avidius Severus*,
 raised himself, according to the author of his life ^c, from the
 degree of a centurion to the first employments in the state;
 and was, on account of his extraordinary parts, highly fa-
 voured by the emperor *M. Aurelius*, but died before the re-
 volt of his son (E). He was remarkable for maintaining dis-
 cipline among the troops; but his severity, according to
His seve- *Vulcatius*, favoured of cruelty; for, if any soldier was found
city to- to take but the least thing by violence from the people of the
wards the provinces, he caused him to be immediately crucified in the
soldiers. place where the fact was committed: some he ordered to be
 burnt alive; others, chained together, to be thrown into
 some river, or into the sea. He used to punish deserters by
 cutting off their hands and legs, saying, that the sight of a
 criminal, living in misery, made a deeper impression than his
 being put to death at one blow. As he has been attended
 with wonderful success against the *Parthians*, *M. Aurelius*,
 in his first war with the *Marcomanni*, sent him against the
Sarmatians their confederates. As he was encamped near the
Danube, some auxiliaries of his army, upon intelligence that
 the enemy lay carelessly on the banks of that river, went with-
 out his knowledge to attack them, killed three thousand of
 them, and returned to the camp loaded with booty. Their
 centurions, who had put them upon this enterprize, and
 headed them in the action, expected some great reward from
Cassius for having, with an handful of men, killed such a
 number of the enemy, while the tribunes and other officers

^c VULCAT. GALLICAN. in *Cassio*.

^f (E) Such is the account which *Cyrrhus* in *Syria*, and the son
Vulcatius Gallicanus gives us of his extraction. But another histo-
 rian writes, that *Cassius* himself owned, that he had nothing, ex-
 cept the name, common to him with the famous *Cassius*, who
 killed *Cæsar* the dictator; and adds, that he was originally of
Haliodorus, who had the good fortune to raise himself by
 his eloquence to the government of *Egypt* (4). One of *Adrian's*
 secretaries was named *Heliodorus*, and him a modern writer takes
 to have been the father of *Cassius* (5).

(4) *Eric. l. lxxi. p. 610. Arzbid. m. s. xxi.*
Diomed. f. 1. c. 3.

(5) *Pol. f. in excerpt*

had neglected so favourable an opportunity. But *Cassius*, *A signal* looking upon this as a bad precedent, which might be at- *instance of* tended with worse consequences, instead of rewarding the *centurions*, caused them all to be seized, and crucified like slaves. This severity occasioned a mutiny in the army; but *Cassius*, without betraying the least fear, appeared naked and unarmed in the midst of the incensed multitude, crying aloud to them, *Kill me; and, to your neglect of duty, add, if you dare, the murder of your general.* This intrepidity allayed their fury; and, no one daring to utter a single word of complaint, they all returned to their tents, and thenceforth made it their whole study to learn and observe the military laws, knowing they served under a general, who could not by any fears or menaces be prevailed upon to wink at their faults, or suffer them to pass unpunished. This instance of severity made such a deep impression on the minds of the *Sarmatians*, that, despairing to conquer a people thus observant of military discipline, and the rules of war, they immediately sent embassadors to the emperor to beg peace for an hundred years ^d.

AFTER the first *Marcomannic* war, he was by *M. Aurelius* appointed governor of *Syria*, the emperor judging him the best qualified of any in the empire to restore the antient discipline intirely neglected by the troops quartered in that province (F). Nor was he mistaken in his judgment; for in a few

^d VULGAL. GALL. in *Cassio*, p. 46.

(F) The emperor, upon his appointing him governor of *Syria*, wrote the following letter to his lieutenant in that province: "I have given to *Avidius Cassius* the command of the legions in *Syria*, which *Cæsonius Vestilianus* found, as he informs

"me, dissolved in luxury, and abandoned to all sorts of pleasures. He is, you know, a strict observer of the antient discipline, without which the soldiers can never be kept to their duty. You remember the old verse,

"*Moribus antiquis res fiat Romana virilis.*

"In due observance of our antient laws

"Consists the vigour of the *Roman* cause..

"And truly, the strict observance of the antient discipline is the chief support of the empire. Take care that sufficient provisions be got ready for the legions, which, if I am not de

"ceived in *Avidius Cassius*, will not be misapplied." To this letter the lieutenant returned the following answer: "You could not prefer to the command of the legions in *Syria* a man better qualified

He restores
the mili-
tary disci-
pline a-
mong the
troops.

a few months the most dissolute were reclaimed from their pleasures, and luxurious manner of living, the ancient discipline revived, and the whole army thoroughly reformed. *Cassius*, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, ordered all the soldiers and officers to repair forthwith to their colours; published a proclamation, forbidding them, on pain of being cashiered, to appear at *Daphne*; every seventh day examined their cloaths, arms, and equipages; and frequently obliged them to perform their exercises all in a body; saying, It was a shameful thing that wrestlers and gladiators should be continually exercised, and not soldiers, whose labours are lessened in proportion as they become accustomed to them^e. As for *Cassius's* other qualities, the author of his life^e represents him as a man endowed with great virtues, which, however, were allayed with no less vices; insomuch that he was, by some, called a second *Catiline* (G). •

Is an ene-
my to mon-
archy.

DIO CASSIUS speaks of him, not only as an eminent commander, but as a person equal to, and, in every respect, worthy of, the sovereign power^f. He always abhorred an absolute and monarchical government, and is by some thought to have had nothing else in view, when he revolted, but to restore the commonwealth to its former authority. He had been charged in the reign of *Antoninus Pius* with a design of deposing that prince; but his father, who was a man of great interest at court, having prejudiced the emperor in his favour,

^e *VULCAT. GALL.* in *Cassio*, p. 47. ^f *DIO*, l. lxxi. p. 810.

“ qualified for that important
“ trust than *Avidius Cassius*: for
“ only an officer of his severity
“ can reclaim them from their
“ voluptuous manner of living,
“ and put them out of conceit
“ with the pleasures of the effe-
“ minate *Greeks*, to which they
“ have intirely abandoned them-
“ selves. He will shake their
“ flowers off their heads, and
“ teach them their duty. The
“ necessary provisions for the le-
“ gions are already laid up; and
“ nothing can be wanting; so
“ long as they have such an ex-
“ cellent commander as *Avidius*
“ *Cassius* (6).”

(G) To us that writer seems to contradict himself in the character he draws of *Cassius*; for, in one place, he paints him, not only as severe, but cruel and inhuman towards his soldiers; and, in another, tells us, that he was greatly beloved by them. How can his being styled a second *Catiline*, on account of his virtues and vices, his good and his bad qualities, be reconciled with what he writes elsewhere? to wit, that, had he attained the empire, he would have proved an excellent prince, a prince of great clemency and moderation (7).

(6) *Vulcat. Gall. in vit. Cass.*

(7) *Idem*, p. 41—45.

the accusation was dropt. However, he was thenceforth looked upon as a suspicious and disaffected person. When he commanded in the *Parthian* war under *L. Verus*, that prince, suspecting him, and, indeed, not without reason, wrote concerning him to *M. Aurelius*, his partner in the empire (H). But the good-natured emperor took no notice of the charge he brought against him; for, upon the return of *Cassius* from the East, where he had performed great exploits, he put him

(H) “ *Avidius Cassius* seems “ destined to the empire, he will
 “ to me to aspire to the empire, “ fall of himself, without our
 “ as it is well known he did in “ cruelty, into the fatal snare.
 “ the reign of our father *Antoninus Pius*. I therefore advise “ Besides, we cannot in justice
 “ you to keep a watchful eye “ treat a person as a criminal,
 “ over him. He censures and “ who is accused by none, and
 “ condemns all our actions, “ is, as you write, beloved by the
 “ grows exceeding rich, and “ army, and consequently a man
 “ speaks of us both with the “ of merit, and a good com-
 “ utmost contempt, calling you “ mander. In cases of treason,
 “ a doting philosopher, and me “ even when the crime is proved,
 “ a luxurious fool. Consider “ the world is apt to think the
 “ what is to be done: I bear no “ sufferer injured; which made
 “ hatred to the man, but would “ your grandfather *Adrian* com-
 “ have you to reflect, that by “ plain of the hard fate of em-
 “ vesting such a person with “ perors, who are never thought
 “ power, and trusting him with “ to have been in danger, till
 “ the command of the troops, by “ they are killed. I choose to
 “ whom he is greatly beloved, “ name *Adrian* rather than *Do-*
 “ you may injure both yourself, “ mitian, who was the first au-
 “ and your children.” Nothing “ thor of this saying, because a
 “ can give us a greater idea of the “ thing, however well said, has
 “ truly heroic virtue of this excel- “ not its due weight and autho-
 “ lent prince, than his answer to “ rity, when it comes from a
 “ this letter, which was couched “ tyrant. Let, therefore, *Avi-*
 “ in the following terms: “ I have “ dius *Cassius* pursue his own
 “ perused your letter, in which “ measures: he is an excellent
 “ you betray greater fear and “ officer, and a man of great
 “ uneasiness than becomes an “ courage, and useful to the
 “ emperor, or is consistent with “ state. As for my children, to
 “ the equity of our reign. “ whose safety you would have
 “ If the empire is allotted by “ me to sacrifice him; if he de-
 “ heaven to *Avidius Cassius*, it “ serves to be more beloved than
 “ will not be in our power to “ they, if his life promises
 “ cut him off. *You know the “ greater advantages to the state
 “ saying of your grandfather “ than theirs, let *Avidius Cas-*
 “ *Adrian*, that no man cuts off “ sius live, let the children of
 “ his successor. If *Cassius* is not “ *M. Aurelius* perish (8).”

He assumes the
title of
emperor ;

and is
joined by
most of the
eastern na-
tions.

at the head of an army, which he sent against the *Sarmatians*, and afterwards appointed him governor of *Syria*, as we have related above. In the mean time, the *Marcomanni*, and other *German* nations, renewing the war with great vigour, *Cassius* laid hold of that opportunity to seize the empire. Some authors write, that the empress *Faustina*, being well apprised, that her son *Commodus* was no way qualified for the sovereign power, and fearing that some one might seize it, who would destroy her, and her little children, solicited *Cassius* to declare himself emperor as soon as he should hear the news of *M. Aurelius's* death ; and promised, in that case, to marry him. They add, that, a report being spread of the emperor's death, *Cassius* immediately caused himself to be proclaimed in his room ; and that, though the rumour proved afterwards false, he found himself too far engaged to recede. Others clear *Faustina* from being any way privy to the design of *Cassius* (I), and tell us, that the report of the emperor's death was spread abroad by *Cassius* himself, in order to induce the governors of the eastern provinces to join him, *M. Aurelius* being greatly beloved, and his son no less hated. Be that as it will, he soon became master of all the countries beyond mount *Taurus*, and of *Egypt* itself, *Flavius Calvisius*, governor of that province, having declared in his favour. The troops in *Bithynia* were likewise inclined to side with him, but restrained by *Clodius Albinus* their commander, of whom we shall

* VULCAT. GALL. in Cass. p. 42, 43.

(I) *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, to clear the empress from this charge, produces two letters, written by her to *M. Aurelius*, on occasion of this revolt. In one she expresses herself thus : " My mother *Faustina*, in the " time of the defection of " *Celsus*, advised your father " *Antoninus Pius* to shew his " kindness in the first place to his " own family, and next to others. " And, truly, it is incumbent upon every good prince to take care of his wife and children. Your son *Commodus* is yet very young, and your " son-in-law *Pompeianus* is ad-

vanced in years, and a stranger. Do not, therefore, spare men, who, had they conquered, would neither have spared you, nor your wife and children, You will hear from *Cacilius*, whom I shall send to you, what reports have been spread of you by the wife of *Cassius*, " by his son, and his son-in-law, " &c." In the other letter she presses him to pursue *Cassius*, and his accomplices, with the utmost severity, if he loves her, and his children ; assuring him, that if he neglects to oppress them, they will not fail to oppress him (9).

(9) *Vulcat. Gall. in vit. Cass.*

have occasion to speak hereafter. Several foreign princes and nations espoused his cause, but none with more zeal than the Jews^a.

MARTIUS VERUS, governor of *Cappadocia*, was the first who gave the emperor notice of this revolt. *M. Aurelius* concealed it for some time; but, when he found it divulged by public fame, he acquainted the soldiers with it in a very judicious and modest speech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which *Cassius* made him for the kindness he ever had, and should ever have for him, notwithstanding his revolt, as he hoped to shew, as soon as he had brought him to a sense of his duty. Neither did *Cassius*, on his side, utter any injurious reflections against *M. Aurelius*, but only charged him with neglecting the most important affairs of the state to attend the study of philosophy, and with suffering, through an excess of goodness, many disorders, which it was incumbent upon him, as emperor, to correct. In the mean while, *M. Aurelius*, having terminated the war with the *Marcomanni*, and other German nations, as the time approached for his son *Commodus* to put on the manly robe, sent for him from *Rome*, and gave him it with the usual ceremonies, on the seventh of *July*, ordering, on that occasion, considerable sums to be distributed among the *Roman* people^k. At *Rome* the senate were no sooner informed of the revolt of *Cassius*, than they declared him a public enemy, and confiscated his estate, which the emperor ordered to be returned, not into his private coffers, as his predecessors had done, but into the public treasury.

At length *M. Aurelius* left *Germany*, and set out for *Illy-M. Aurelicum*, with a design to pursue his march thence into the East, and meet *Cassius*, declaring, that he was ready to resign the empire to him, if the gods should judge it expedient for the public good, that *Cassius* should reign, and not *M. him*.

Aurelius: "For it is not, added he, any private interest or ambition, but the public welfare, that prompts me to undergo so many labours, to expose myself to so many dangers." He was not advanced far on his march, when news were brought him, that *Cassius* had been killed by a centurion named *Antonius*, and another officer of a still inferior rank, who had the command only of ten men^l. *Dio Cassius* gives us but a confused account of his death; and *Vulcatius Gallianus* promises to inform us how he was killed, and where

^a VULC. GALL. p. 42, 43. DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 718. Albin. vit. p. 81.

^k JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 32. DIO, l. LXXI. p. 809, 812.

^l DIO, p. 812

and his
head
brought to
the emp-
ror, who
is concern-
ed for his
death

he was overcome ; but is not so good as his word. However, from what he writes it is plain, that a battle, or encounter, happened between him and the emperor's troops, probably commanded by *Martius Verus* ; for on his bravery the emperor chiefly relied, and had therefore sent him before him into *Syria*, giving him the government of that province, instead of the government of *Cappadocia* (K). With *Cassius* was killed his captain of the guards, and soon after his son *Metianus*, whom he had appointed governor of *Egypt*, to secure that important province. No other person of distinction, at least of the senatorial order, perished on account of his rebellion, nay, these were put to death without the emperor's knowledge, and against his will ; for he was greatly concerned, that the blood of any senator should have been shed during his reign : hence, when the head of *Cassius* was brought to him, he expressed great sorrow, turned his eyes away, and caused it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of shewing his mercy. The reign of *Cassius*, or rather his dream, as *Dio Cassius* styles it, lasted but three months, and six days". *M. Aurelius* himself would neither try, imprison, nor condemn, any senator concerned in the conspiracy ; but referred the whole to the senate, appointing the criminals a day to appear before their judges.

His letter
to the se-
nate

IN the mean time, he wrote a letter to the senate, wherein, after acquainting them, that he had appointed *Pompeianus*, his son-in-law, consul for the ensuing year, he thus exhorts them to proceed, rather with clemency than rigour, against those whom they were to try " As for what concerns the
" detection of *Cassius*, I beg and conjure you, conscript fa-
" thers, to have a tender regard to your characters, and to
" mine. Let no one senator be put to death ; let the blood
" of no person of distinction be spilt ; let such as have been

^m DIO, p. 813. VULCAT. GALL. in Cass. p. 43. NORIS, ep. con. p. 110.

(K) We are told, that a great many letters, written to *Cassius* by his friends and correspondents, falling into *Verus*'s hands, the generous commander committed them to the flames, saying, he did not doubt but that would please *M. Aurelius*, and,

if it did not, that he chose, however, to save many lives at the expence of one (1). Others write, that these letters were brought to *M. Aurelius*, who ordered them, sealed as they were, to be immediately burnt in his presence (2).

(1) DIO, l. lxxi. p. 813.

(2) Val. in excerpt. Dion.

“ already banished return, nay, and enjoy their estates. I
 “ with I could raise from the dead those who perished in the
 “ first heat of the war. Revenge is never commendable in an
 “ emperor; it ill becomes him in his own cause, let it be ever
 “ so just. You will therefore pardon the children of *Avidius*
 “ *Cassius*, his son-in-law, and his wife. But why do I say
 “ pardon, when they have committed no crime? Let them
 “ live in safety, and enjoy their paternal estate, with all their
 “ father’s plate and furniture. Let them have full liberty to
 “ live where they please, that they may be so many instances
 “ of your clemency, and of mine. I further beg and desire,
 “ that all the senators, and *Roman* knights, in general, who
 “ have been privy to this rebellion, be, by your authority,
 “ exempted from death, proscription, infamy, in short,
 “ from all kind of punishment. Allow it to be said, to your
 “ honour and mine, That in this rebellion such only perished
 “ as were killed in the hurry of the war.” The senate
 not only complied with his request, but returned him thanks
 for the regard he had shewn even to the most undeserving
 members of their body. As for the children of *Cassius*, the *His kind*
 emperor took them under his protection, forbidding any one *ness to the*
 to reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and *children of*
 severely punishing such as did (L). Thus the rebellion of *Cassius*
Cassius

* *VULCAT GAIL* in *Cass.* p 44 & *JUL. CAP* in *Aur* p 33.

(L) *Vulcatius* tells us, that he even raised the sons of *Cassius*, and *Drumianus* or *Drumianus*, who had married one of his daughters, by name *Alexandra*, to great preferments; which was the more commendable, as the emperor was well apprised, that *Cassius*’s wife, children, and son in law, had, with many ill-natured reflections, endeavoured to bring him into discredit with the people and soldiery. Of the many persons concerned in this revolt, only a few centurions were executed, and some officers of greater distinction banished. Among the latter was *Flavius Caelius*, governor of *Egypt*, who was confined to an island;

but the emperor would not suffer his estate to be confiscated. An impostor, who pretended to be inspired by the gods, and was said to have foretold the revolt of *Cassius*, was banished to the island of *Syros* in the *Archipelago*. All the accomplices of *Cassius* were pardoned, as were likewise the cities that had declared for *Cassius*. The empress *Faustina*, in a letter which she wrote to her husband on occasion of this revolt (3), pressed him to pursue the accomplices of *Cassius* with the utmost severity. But the emperor, hearkening only to the impulse of his own good nature, returned her the following answer. “ I have read your let

Cassius served only to give new lustre to the unparalleled clemency, good-nature, and generosity of *M. Aurelius*, who could not prevail upon himself to take away the lives of those, who had conspired to take away his life, and that of his son.

THE senate, in their answer to the emperor's letter, acquainting them, that he had named *Pompeianus* consul against the ensuing year, begged him to return to *Rome*, and to vest his son *Commodus* with the tribunitial power^o. With the latter request he complied, as appears from several antient inscriptions^p. But, as for the other request, the emperor either did not return to *Rome*, or his stay there was very short; for we are told, that, immediately after the death of *Cassius*, he went into the East, and that he had begun his march thither even before he received that news^q: it is not, therefore, likely, that he interrupted it to return to *Rome*. He had sent *Pertinax* before him into *Syria* to make head against the rebels;

^o VULCAT. GALL. in *Cass.* p. 45. ^p ORUPH. in *fast.* p. 235. ^p PAGI, p. 218. NORIS de votis decennalib. imperator. c. 3. & ep. consul. p. 120. ^q DIO, p. 813. JUL. CAP. in *Aur.* p. 32.

“ter, my dear *Fauslina*, where-
“in you advise me to treat the
“accomplices of *Cassius* with
“the utmost severity, which
“you think they well deserve.
“This I look upon as a pledge
“of the love you bear to your
“husband and children. But
“give me leave, my dear *Fau-*
“*stina*, to spare the children of
“*Cassius*, his son-in-law, and
“his wife, and to write to the
“senate in their behalf. No-
“thing can more recommend a
“Roman emperor to the esteem
“of the world, than clemency.
“This placed *Caesar* among the
“gods; this consecrated *Augu-*
“*stus*; this procured to your
“father the title of *Pius*. I
“am grieved even for the death
“of *Cassius*, and wish it had
“been in my power to save him.
“Be therefore satisfied, and do
“not abandon yourself to fear
“or revenge. *Marcus Antoninus*

“is protected by the gods (4).”
Some of his friends openly
blaming his clemency, and taking
the liberty to tell him, that *Con-*
sus would not have been so ge-
nerous, had fortune proved fa-
vourable to him; the emperor
immediately replied, “We have
“not lived, nor served the gods,
“so ill, as to think they would
“favour *Cassius*.” He added,
that “the misfortunes of some
“of his predecessors were intire-
“ly owing to their own ill con-
“duct and cruelties; and that
“no good prince had ever been
“overcome, or slain, by an u-
“surper. *Nero*, *Caligula*, and
“*Domitian* (said he) deserved the
“doom that overtook them;
“neither *Otho*, nor *Vitellius*,
“were equal to the empire; the
“downfall of *Galba* was occa-
“sioned by his avarice, an un-
“pardonable fault in a prince
“(5).”

(4) Vulcat. Gall. p. 32.

(5) Idem ibid.

but, upon the news of the death of *Cassius*, he recalled him, and appointed him governor of *Illyricum*, in which province he had gained no less reputation by his prudence and moderation, than by his many victories over the *Germans* during the *Marcomanic* war; so that he was greatly esteemed and revered both by the *Romans* and foreigners, nay, even by the enemies of the *Roman* name^r. The emperor took with him into the East his son *Commodus*, and his wife, who died suddenly in a village called *Halala* at the foot of mount *Taurus*. She was a woman of a loose and wanton life, and altogether unworthy of having such a father as *Antoninus*, such an husband as *M. Aurelius*, whom some did not believe to be father of *Commodus* (M). *Faustina* being dead, *Fabia*, the sister of *Commodus*.

The emperor goes into the East. Faustina dies. Her character.

^r JUL. CAP. in Apr.

^s Idem ibid. p. 30.

(M) *Dio Cassius* writes, that it was questioned whether she died of the gout, or laid violent hands on herself, to avoid the shame of being named among the accomplices of *Cassius*, who, according to that writer, was chiefly prompted by her to take arms, and revolt (6). Her chief gallants were *Tertullus*, *Utilius*, *Orfitus*, and *Moderatus*, whom nevertheless *Antoninus*, either not giving credit to what was said of the empress, or dissembling her irregular conduct, preferred to several employments. Her lewdness, and her intimacy with the above-mentioned persons, especially with *Tertullus*, were so publicly known, that a mimic having one day asked his companion upon the stage, in the presence of the emperor, what was the name of the person, who was too familiar with his wife, the other repeated the name of *Tullus* three times; whereby the whole audience perceived, that he meant *Tertullus*, the last syl-

lable of his name signifying *three times* (7). Some of the emperor's friends advised him to divorce her; but he answered, "If I divorce her, I must return her her dower, that is, the empire, which I have received of her father." In one place he commends her free and open temper, her sincerity in friendship, and her acquiescence to his will (8). He bewailed her, according to the emperor *Julian* (9), after her death, more than was becoming, in a man of his gravity, for a woman of the most unblemished character. He pronounced himself her funeral oration, and begged the senate to rank her among the gods; for which he is deservedly exposed and ridiculed by the above-mentioned emperor (1). He founded a society of young women, whom he brought up at his own expence, and called after the empress's name. The village where she died he made a colony, and a city, styling it *Faustinopolis*;

(6) *Dio*, p. 813.
Anton. de seip. l. i. c. 14.
p. 50.

(7) *Jul. Cap. in Aur.* p. 32.
(9) *Julian. Cæs.* p. 13.

(8) *M. Anton.*
(1) *Idem ibid.*

of *L. Verus*, who had been formerly betrothed to *M. Aurelius*, did all that lay in her power to induce him to marry her; but he, not thinking it adviseable to subject his children to the authority of a step-mother, took, in the room of a lawful wife, the daughter of one of the deceased empress's domestics^t; for to that purity, which the Christian religion requires and commands, even the most virtuous among the pagan philosophers were utter strangers. As the *Syrians*, looking upon *Cassius* as their countryman, had readily joined him, a law passed at this time, enacting, that no one should be sent with the character of governor into his own country^u.

The emperor's clemency and goodness to the cities that had sided with Cassius.

THE next consuls were *T. Vitravius Pollio* and *M. Flavius Aper*, both for the second time^w. *Claudius Pompeianus*, the emperor's son-in-law, and *Cloelius Albinus*, who had restrained the legions in *Bithynia* from joining *Cassius*, as we have related above, were likewise consuls this year. *M. Aurelius*, arriving in the East, freely forgave all the cities and communities there, which had sided with *Cassius*, except *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that metropolis having distinguished themselves, above all the rest, by their zeal for *Cassius*, and their hatred to him. He therefore published a severe edict against them, deprived them of all their privileges, suppressed their public assemblies, and took from them their shews and spectacles, to which they were greatly addicted. But his anger being soon appeased, before he left *Syria*, he restored them to their former condition, and even condescended to visit their city. From *Syria* he passed into *Egypt*, where he not only forgave, but enriched, with several privileges, the city of *Alexandria*, which had likewise sided with *Cassius*. Having visited most of the chief cities in the East, and given everywhere innumerable instances of his humanity and good-nature,

^t VULCAT. GALL. p. 34. ^u DIO, l. lxxi. p. 813. ^w IDAT. ONUPH. &c.

and erected a temple in it to her honour, which was afterwards consecrated to *Heliogabatus*, the most lewd and debauched of all the *Roman* emperors. The senate, out of flattery and complaisance to the emperor, not only ranked among the goddesses a person unworthy of a place among women of any modesty and reputation, but erected sta-

tues to her and to *M. Aurelius*, with an altar, ordaining, that young women, immediately after their marriage, should repair to it, and there offer a solemn sacrifice (2). By this scandalous institution, they deserved that their daughters should all resemble *Fausina*, and their sons *Commodus*.

(2) *Dio*, l. lxxi. p. 813.

he sailed from *Smyrna*, where he had staid some time, and had several conferences with the celebrated sophist *Aristides*; and arrived at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleusinian* mysteries. He conferred many favours on the city of *Athens*, and established there public professors of all sciences, with handsome allowances to be paid them yearly out of the exchequer^a.

FROM *Athens* he sailed for *Italy*; and, landing at *Brundisium*, commanded his soldiers immediately to resume, as he did himself, the *Roman* gown; for neither he, nor any of his officers or soldiers, ever appeared in *Italy* in a military habit. He returned to *Rome* with his son *Commodus*, whom he named consul, though at that time but sixteen, for the ensuing year. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of *imperator*, which he himself assumed for the eighth time, probably on account of some victory gained by *Pertinax*, governor of *Illyricum*, over the *Germans*. At length, on the twenty-third of *December*, both he, and his son *Commodus*, entered *Rome* distributing; on this occasion, large sums among the people and soldiery, that is, as many pieces of gold a head as he had been years absent, which, according to *Dio Cassius*, were eight; but, according to the calculation of others, in our opinion more exact; only six. At the same time, he exhibited most pompous and magnificent shews, though he took no pleasure himself in such diversions. The following year, *Aurelius Commodus Caesar* and *Quintillus* being consuls, *Commodus* was honoured by the senate with the title of the father of his country, and by the emperor with that of *Augustus*; on which occasion *M. Aurelius* remitted whatever was due from particulars, either to the emperor, or to the treasury, ever since the time in which *Adrian* had forgiven all such debts^z. The same year he presented the inhabitants of *Smyrna* with large sums, enabling them by that means to rebuild their city, which was almost utterly ruined by a dreadful earthquake described at length by *Aristides* in one of his orations^a. As the emperor continued all this year at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, he reformed, partly by his example, and partly by wholesome laws, several abuses. He could not suppress the combats of gladiators without disobliging the people; however, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodshed, he allowed the combatants only blunt swords, in the nature of our toils, saying, that with them they might equally display their skill and dexterity^b. •

He returns
to Rome;
Year of
the flood
2525.
Of Christ
177.
Of Rome
925.

which he
enters in
triumph
with his
son Com-
modus.

Induces
of his ge-
nerosity
and good-
nature.

^a DIO, p. 814. PHILOSTRAT. sophist. 37. ARISTID. ORAT. 7. DIO, ibid. JUL. CAP. p. 29. ^z DIO, ibid. ORAT. 1. vii. c. 15. EUSEB. chron. ^a ARIST. ORAT. XX. ^b DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 718.

*He march-
es against
the Mar-
comanni;*

THE next year, when *Orfitus* and *Julianus Rufus* were consuls, the *Marcomanni*, and their confederates, renewing the war with great vigour, the emperor resolved to march against them in person. But, before he left *Rome*, he married his son *Commodus* to *Crispina* the daughter of *Bruttius Præfens*; and, repairing to the senate, desired leave to take out of the public treasure the necessary sums for carrying on the war, saying, That an emperor had nothing of his own; not even the palace he lived in; but that all belonged to the senate and people^c. He then went to the capitol, where he declared upon his oath, that, since his accession to the empire, no senator had been put to death by his orders; that such as had perished in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowlege; and that he would have spared them all, *Cassius* himself not excepted, had it been in his power so to do. As he was eminently skilled in philosophy, many persons of learning earnestly intreated him to explain to them, before he left *Rome*, the most difficult and intricate points of the different sects of philosophers; which he did accordingly, spending therein three whole days. They seemed to apprehend, that, by his death, this knowlege might have been lost; which shews how thoroughly he was versed in the different tenets of the various sects of philosophers^d. At length he set out from *Rome*, with his son *Commodus*, on the fifth of *August* of the year 179. the eighteenth of his reign^e.

*and gains
a signal
victory
over them.*

THE following year, *Commodus Augustus* and *T. Annius Aurelius Verus* being consuls the second time, *M. Aurelius* gained a signal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Hermonduri*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*; for which both he, and his son *Commodus*, as appears from several antient inscriptions, took the title of *imperator*^f. All we know of this action is, that the *Roman* army was commanded by *Paternus*, and the *Germans* were utterly defeated g; insomuch that all *Germany*, and the different nations inhabiting it, would have been obliged to

*His death.
Year of
the flood
2529.
Of Christ
181.
Of Rome
929.*

submit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Antoninus* been prevented by death from crowning his conquests with the reduction of so powerful and extensive a country. He died the following year, *Præfens* and *Sex. Quintilius Condianus*, being consuls, on the seventeenth of *March*, after having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of *Antoninus Pius*, eighteen years, and ten or eleven

^c DIO, p. 814. ^d JUL. CAP. in Cass. p. 41.

^e SPART.

in Comm. p. 50. & DIO, p. 814.

^f DIO, p. 810. Bt-

rag. p. 227. JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 34.

^g DIO,

p. 810, & 814.

days^b (N). Two days before he died, he recommended his son *Commodus* to the army, and conjured his friends to assist him with their advice. On the seventh day of his illness, he desired to see his son again; but immediately dismissed him, lest he should be infected with the same distemper. When he was gone, he composed himself, as if he designed to sleep, and expired the following nightⁱ. He died, according to *Tertullian*^h, at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Slavonia*; according to the two *Victors*, at *Vendobona*, now *Vicenza*, in *Austria*. We need not mention the concern of the soldiery, and *Roman* people, for the loss of so good and so great a prince. His body, or rather his ashes, were conveyed to *Rome*, and deposited in the monument of *Adrian*. He was immediately ranked among *He is* the gods, a temple was erected to him, and an order of priests ranked appointed to his honour. Whoever had not some image or among the statue of *M. Aurelius* in his house, was judged a sacrilegious gods person, says *Julius Capitolinus*; in whose time, that is, in the reign of *Dioclesian*, he was still worshiped in most families among their domestic gods^l.

HE was, without all doubt, one of the greatest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. His only fault was, according to *Dio Cassius*, his too great goodness; for, though he rewarded with much generosity the good and virtuous, yet he did not restrain and punish, with due severity, the vicious and wicked; whence some governors of provinces, presuming upon his good-nature, plundered, and often with impunity, the people committed to their care (O). The meditations of

^b *Dio*, p. 810, & 814. & *THEOPH. ANTIOCH.* l. iii. p. 137.
ⁱ *Chron. Alex.* p. 614. ^h *JUL. CAP.* p. 34. ^l *TERTUL.*
apol. c. 25. ⁱ *JUL. CAP.* p. 34.

(N) *Dio Cassius* positively affirms, that he was dispatched by his physicians, desirous to curry favour with *Commodus*; and adds, that, when the tribune came to him the last time for the parole, he bid him go to *Commodus*, and court, not the setting, but the rising sun (3). On the other hand, *Julius Capitolinus* seems to ascribe his death to a contagious distemper; for he tells us, that the plague still raged in the army, and adds, that the emper-

ror, with much ado, prevailed upon his son, and his friends, not to abandon him; which he took so much amiss, that he obtained from all sort of nourishment.

(O) *Julius Capitolinus* blames him for winking at the monstrous excesses of his wife, and for promoting to the sovereign power *L. Verus*, whom he must have known to be quite unequal to, and altogether unworthy of, that high dignity, since *Antoninus Pius* had not so much as honoured

His meditations. of *M. Aurelius*, which have reached our times, are highly commended by all the antients, as an epitome of the best rules which human reason, or philosophy, can suggest for the conduct of a virtuous life. Some have questioned, whether what has been transmitted to us be the whole work, or only an abstract of it, seeing it consists of loose and unconnected sentences, whereof the sense is not always complete. But the ablest critics are of opinion, that *M. Aurelius* left the work such as it is at present, having composed it only for his private use^m. It consists of twelve books, of which the first seems to have been composed in the height of the *Marcomanic war*, while he was encamped on the banks of the *Gran* in the country of the *Quadi*ⁿ. He ended the second book at *Carnuntum*, of which city we have spoken above, where he resided, according to *Eutropius*, three whole years. He seems to have put the last hand to this work before the death of *Faustina*; for, in the ninth book, he speaks of her as yet living, and ready to lie-in; that is, before the end of the fifteenth of his reign^o (P). As *M. Aurelius* was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, especially philosophers, flourished in his reign, of whom we shall give a particular account in our notes (Q).

^m Vide Voss. hist. Græc. I. ii. c. 14.
I. i. c. 15.

^o Idem, I. ix. c. 3.

ⁿ M. AUREL.

him^{*} with the title of *Cæsar*. The emperor *Julian* prefers *M. Aurelius* to *Cæsar*, to *Augustus*, and to all the other princes who had reigned till his time; but at the same time finds fault with him for bequeathing the empire to his vicious son *Commodus*, and not to his son-in-law *Pompeianus*, who was a person of extraordinary parts, and well qualified for so great a trust (4).

(P) We must not confound this book with another intituled *horologium principum*, which was published under the name of *M. Aurelius*, but is thought to have been composed by *Antonius Guavara* a Spanish bishop (5).

(Q) The most celebrated among the philosophers were, *Crescentius*, *Celsus*, *Lucian*, *Demonax*, *Alexander* the famous impostor, *Sextus* the Stoic, *Sextus* the empiric, *Numenes*, *Hermogenes*, *Aristides*, &c. *Crescentius* was a Cynic philosopher, and, according to the character which *Tatian* draws of him, intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness (6). He inveighed with great virulence against the Christians, whom he charged with impiety and atheism, though in several conferences and disputes he had been convinced of the truth by *Justin the Martyr*, who was, chiefly at his instigation, crowned with martyr-

(4) *Julian. Cæs.* 13, 14, 22, 23, 41, 49.
(6) *Tatian. p.* 157.

(5) *Proh. Voss. bist. Græc.*

dom (7). We do not know, that he left any writings behind him. We find two philosophers bearing the name of *Celsus*, and both of the sect of *Epicurus*, mentioned by *Origen* (8). Of these, one flourished under *Nero*, and the other under *Adrian*, and his immediate successors (9). The latter wrote several books against magic, much commended by *Lucian*, who inscribed to him his history of the celebrated impostor *Alexander*, which he undertook at his instigation (1). Some distinguish this writer from the author of the discourses against the Christians, whom *Origen* confuted; but *Baronius*, and most critics, ascribe to the same writer the books against magic, and those against the Christian religion. It is certain, that *Celsus*, whom *Origen* answers, lived long before his time; but not before the reign of *M. Aurelius*: for he not only speaks of the *Marcionists*, who first appeared about the year 142. the fifth of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, but of the followers of *Marcellina*, a woman of the sect of *Carpocrates*, who came to *Rome* in the year 157. the twentieth of *M. Aurelius's* reign (2). He probably published his work against the Christians during the persecution of *M. Aurelius*; for he represents them as reduced to conceal themselves through fear of being dragged to execution (3). *Chrysostom* mentions one *Celsus*, no doubt the same writer who published some pieces against the Christian religion before the

time of *Porphyrius* of *Batanaea* (4). *Celsus* intitled his work against the Christians *true discourses*; but *Origen* shews, that he aimed at nothing less than truth, and confutes him with great learning, piety, and judgment. Many writers look upon *Origen's* answer to *Celsus*, as the best apology for the Christian religion that ever was published (5). *Eusebius* thinks it contains whatever was, or ever will be, said upon that subject (6). *Origen* wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, who was killed in the year 249 (7).

The works of *Lucian* have reached our times, and are deservedly admired for the elegance and purity of the style; but filled with impious and atheistical sentiments: whence he had the surname of the *Atheist*, or the *Blasphemer* (8). He was a native of *Samosata* in *Syria*, and of a mean descent. In his youth he declaimed, and pleaded causes, and was in his old age register to the governor of *Egypt* (9). *Suidas* writes, that he was thought to have been devoured by dogs, for having ridiculed the Christian religion, without sparing even the author of it; but of such a death no mention is made by any writer who flourished before *Suidas*. Some say, that he embraced, and afterwards renounced, the Christian religion; but this opinion is founded only on a wrong translation of the word *ἀνυμνίως* in *Suidas* by *concoinator*, and upon *Lucian's* being bet-

(7) *Euseb. l. iv. c. 16.*
ibid.

(1) *Lucian. pseud. p. 498.*

p. 424. & l. v. p. 272. Iren. l. i. c. 24.

in 1 Corinth. hom. vi.

seeb. l. vi. c. 36.

p. 55.

(8) *Orig. in Cels. l. i. p. 8.*

(2) *Orig. in Cels. l. viii.*

(3) *Idem ibid.*

(4) *Idem ibid.*

(5) *Vile Du Pin, tom. i. p. 388, 389.*

(6) *Idem ibid. & Hier. p. 422, 434.*

(7) *Lucian, bist. p. 359. & apol. p. 262.*

ter acquainted with the tenets and doctrine of the Christians, than other pagans. He wrote the life of *Sostratus of Buxia*, a famous philosopher, who practised great austerities (1); but that work has not reached us. Some have, against all reason and authority, ascribed to him the life of *Apolonius Tyanus*, which was done by *Philostratus* (2). He wrote, according to *Eunapius*, the life of the philosopher *Demonax*, whose disciple he had been. He represents him as the greatest philosopher of his time; but, after all, he was only a Cynic, somewhat more polished and civilized than the rest of his brethren. What we find most commendable in him is, that, though he was of a noble family, rich, eloquent, and well versed in most branches of learning; yet he lived in poverty, practised great austerities, and would not suffer any one to attend him. When he grew old, and could no longer live without being assisted by others, he chose rather to die of hunger, than to suffer any one to perform the least office about him. He was a native of *Cyprus*; but lived at *Athens*, where he was highly esteemed in his life-time, and equally regretted after his death. The *Athenians* intending to establish in their city a combat of gladiators, he told them, That they ought first to overturn, and utterly demolish, an altar which they had erected to *Mercy*. The emperor having desired some of his friends to ask him, in his name, what was the best method of governing, he answered, "To speak little, to hear much,

and to fall upon no provocation into a passion (3)." *Lucian*, in his dialogue on friendship, speaks of several wars between the *Scythians*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and the other northern barbarians, especially those of *Bosporus*, who were in *Lucian's* time governed by *Leucanor*, and afterwards by *Eubiotus* his natural brother. *Leucanor* probably succeeded *Rhemetalces*, who was king of *Bosporus* in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. The ships which saved *Lucian*, as we shall relate presently, were carrying the ambassadors of *Eupator*, king of the same country, to *Pontus*, either to pay there the money which was yearly owing from them to the *Romans*, or to receive that which the *Romans* annually paid to them; for the words *ἐνι καμίδῃ* are capable of both senses. *Eubiotus*, in his war against the *Scythians*, led with him all the *Greeks*, according to the expression of *Lucian* (4); that is, as we suppose, the inhabitants of the *Greek cities* on the *Chersonesus*: which confirms the opinion of those who maintain, that the kings of *Bosporus* were masters of that country. The account which *Lucian* gives us of the celebrated impostor *Alexander* is very diverting. He was a native of *Abonitichos*, a maritim city of *Pamphylia*, and generally revered on account of his pretended predictions, and counterfeit miracles, as a prophet. *Lucian*, however, who was not easily deceived, looked upon him as an impostor, ridiculed his miracles, and exposed him in all companies; which

(1) *Lucian*, in vit *Dem nat.* p. 546.

(2) *Lucian*, *ibid.* p. 546 — c. 5.

(3) *Lucian* *de* *frat. amic.* l. ii.

(4) *Idem*, *Toxar.*

so provoked the pretended prophet, that he endeavoured to stir up his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Aboniticus*, against him. *Alexander*, nevertheless, some time after, pretended to be reconciled to him; and even offered him a ship to convey him to *Amasris* in *Pontus*, whither his affairs called him. *Lucian* accepted the offer; but was not a little surprised, when, at a great distance from land, he observed the pilot bursting all at once into tears, and making various signs to the mariners. *Lucian* imagined the vessel to be in danger; but was more terrified, when the pilot frankly owned to him, that he had received positive orders from *Alexander* to throw him into the sea; but could not prevail upon himself, after having lived so long without reproach, to commit a murder in his old age. He left him, however, in a desert and barren island, where he must have soon perished, had he not been saved by the vessels of the king of *Bosphorus*, which happened to sail by. He was for prosecuting *Alexander* before the governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*; but that magistrate dissuaded him from it: telling him, that he could not condemn *Alexander*, without incurring the displeasure of *Rutilianus*, who was very powerful at court, and had in his old age married the daughter of the impostor, believing the moon to be her mother. Thus *Lucian* had no other means left of being revenged on *Alexander*, but by

writing his life, and painting him in his true colours. This piece, however, he did not publish till the impostor's death, which seems to have happened in the reign of *M. Aurelius*.

Sextus was a native of *Cheronea* in *Boeotia*, by sect a Stoic, and had been preceptor to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. Most writers suppose him to have been nephew to *Plutarch*. *M. Aurelius* went frequently to hear him after he was emperor, and owns in his meditations, that he was indebted to him for many excellent rules relating to the conduct of a moral and virtuous life (5). *Apuleius* glories in being descended from him by his mother (6). At the same time flourished another philosopher bearing the same name, but a native of *Libya*, and by sect a *Pyrrhonian* (7). He is styled by *Galen*, and *Dionysius Laertius*, the empiric. Some of his works have reached our times (8). *Suidas* confounds him with the other *Sextus*, and the other with *Sextus Condianus*, who was consul in 180. There are still extant four hundred and thirty sentences of a philosopher named *Sextus* or *Xysus*, which were translated into *Latin* by *Rufinus* of *Aquileia*, under the name of *St. Sixtus*, pope and martyr (9). *St. Austin* was for some time deceived by them (1). But *St. Jerom*, in several places of his works, ascribes them to some philosopher of the sect of *Pythagoras* (2). About this time *Nu-
mencus* is likewise supposed to have

(5) *M. An. l. i. c. 6.*

see *Plutarch. c. c.*

p. 265.

c. 2. in *Eccl. b. xliii. c. c.*

(6) *Apul. metim. l. i. p. 103.*

(8) *Prolog. l. i. c. 1.*

(1) *Aug. retract. l. ii. c. 42.*

(7) *Ruaid.*

(a) *Bib. patr.*

(2) *Hier. ad C. c.*

flourished, whose writings are often quoted by *Eusebius*, and *Theodoretus* against the pagans. St. *Clement of Alexandria* quotes him for this famous saying, *That Plato was but Moses speaking* Greek (3). He was, according to *Suidas* (4), a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*. He shews, that *Plato* copied from *Moses* what he wrote concerning God, and the forming of the universe (5). He has been blamed by the pagans for explaining the mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*; which goddesses are said to have appeared to him in the attire of common prostitutes, to reproach him by that means with the state to which he had reduced them, by acquainting the world with the ceremonies practised in the celebration of their mysteries; which is not much to their honour. He published several works, which are frequently quoted by *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoretus*, and *Hesychius*; but none of them have reached us (6). He seems to have joined together the tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*: whence he is by some ranked among the followers of *Plato*; by others, among the *Pythagoreans* (7). *Cronos*, *Aristocles*, *Antiochus*, *Alexander*, *Hermogenes*, *Aristides*, and *Phrynicius*, were all cotemporaries with *Numenes*. *Cronos* was one of his disciples, and wrote a treatise on the generation of things, which we find quoted by *Origen* and *Plotinus* (8). *Aristocles* was a native of *Pergamus*, and first a Peripatetic philosopher; but afterwards he abandoned the study

of philosophy, and applied himself to that of eloquence, under the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*. He declaimed in his own country; but did not meet with the applause he expected (9). *Antiochus* was a native of *Bege* in *Cilicia*, by profession a sophist, and one of the disciples of *Dionysius* the *Milesian*, of whom we have spoken in the reign of *Adrian*. *Philostratus* seems to have entertained a great opinion of him, and not undeservedly; for he is said to have had an utter contempt for riches, and to have spent his whole estate in purchasing corn for his poor countrymen during a famine (1). *Alexander* was likewise by profession a sophist, and is greatly commended by *Philostratus*. He was born in *Seleucia*, comprised at that time in *Cilicia*; but afterwards raised to the metropolis of *Isauria*. His mother, though married, was thought to have had him by a criminal conversation with *Apolonius Tyanæus* (2), whose chastity has, by some writers, been mightily cried up. He was one of the disciples of *Favonius*, *Adrian's* great favourite, and afterwards secretary for the Greek tongue to *M. Aurelius*. *Hermogenes*, a native of *Tarsus*, gained such reputation among the sophists, when he was but fifteen years old, that *M. Aurelius* went in person to hear him, was greatly taken with his extraordinary genius, and loaded him with presents; but, as he surpassed most men when he was but a child, so, when he attained to man's

(3) *Clem. Strom. i.*(4) *Suid. p. 242.*(5) *Idem ibid.*(6) *Vide Jones. lib. vi. c. x.*(7) *Idem ibid.*(8) *Idem*(9) *Philost. sophist. 29.*(1) *Idem. soph. 31.*(2) *Idem.*

estate, he deserved to be ranked among children, says *Philostrophus* (3). However, he lived to a great age, despised by those who had once admired him (4). *Aristides*, one of the most celebrated sophists of his time, was a native of *Adrianothera* in *Mysia*. He is highly commended on account of his eloquence, by *Phrynichus* his cotemporary (5), by *Philostrophus* (6), and generally by all the antients; but, if he excelled, as he is said to have done, all the other sophists, several of his orations, which have reached our times (7), convince us, that we have no reason to regret the loss of their works. He was subject to various infirmities, and constantly indisposed. We read in his journal, which he intitules *sacred discourses*, many things relating to maladies, and their remedies, which he pretends to have learnt of *Æsculapius* in his dreams (8). Notwithstanding his infirmities, he lived to a great age, and died in the reign of *Commodus*.

Lucius, or, as he is styled by others, *Saturantius*, *Apuleius*, was a native of *Madaura* a Roman colony on the borders of *Numidia* and *Getulia*, the son of one of the chief men of that city, and of *Salvia* one of the descendants of *Plutarch* (9). He passed his childhood partly in *Greece* (for his mother was originally of *Thessaly*), and partly at *Carthage*, where he learnt, without the assistance of an instructor, the *Latin*; but not with-

out much labour, as he himself owns. From *Carthage* he went to *Athens*, where he applied himself to the study of poetry, geometry, dialectics, and music, and thoroughly informed himself of the different tenets of the various sects of philosophers; but embraced that of *Plato*, which, however, did not prevent him from studying magic with great application. He is even said to have been so well skilled in that art, as to work several miracles, which the pagans opposed to those of our Saviour (1). These miracles, however, are not well attested; and *Apuleius* himself, being accused as a magician before *Claudius Maximus* proconsul of *Africa*, endeavoured to clear himself from that charge, as from an enormous crime, by an excellent discourse, which has reached our times (2). He is thought to have studied that art in *Thessaly*, where it was in great request (3). *St. Austin* (which to us seems very strange) doubts whether what *Apuleius* writes of his being, by a magic potion, transformed into an ass, was true or fabulous (4). The pagans themselves looked upon his metamorphoses as only fit to amuse children (5). He wrote with great elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*; but his style is somewhat affected, he is fond of antiquated words, coins new ones, and frequently gives new ideas to old ones. He was reckoned one of the most eloquent men of his age; but neither his eloquence, nor his other extraordinary accomplish-

(3) *Philostroph. soph.* 31.

(4) *Dio. l. lxxi. p. 302.*

(5) *Phos.*

c. 158.

(6) *Philostroph. soph.* 35.

(7) *Vide Phos. c. 246, &c.*

(8) *Philostroph. ibid. Suid. p. 426.*

(9) *Apul. met. l. ii. p. 112. & prol.*

p. 29.

(1) *Hier. ps. lxxxi.*

Last. hb. v. c. 3.

Aug. epist. cxxxvi.

(2) *Apul. apol.*

(3) *Vit. Apul. p. 15.*

(4) *Aug. civit. Dei. l. xviii.*

c. 18.

(5) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. iv.*

Macrob. in som. Scipion. l. i. c. 2.

ments, ever raised him to any dignity in the empire; though he was far from despising honours, as appears from the manner in which he speaks of a statue erected to him at *Oca*, a city of the province of *Tripolitana*, where he married a woman named *Pudentilla*; and of the office of pontif conferred upon him in his own country, which gave him a right to exhibit combats of gladiators and wild beasts. Several pieces of *Apuleius* are still extant, and some fragments of others, which have been long since lost. Of the former, some are but a bare translation of *Aristotle*, or of other antient writers (6). He is often quoted by the antients, as appears from the collection of such quotations prefixed to his works, but especially by *St. Austin*, who takes great pains to confute his false theology (7).

Amongst the historians who flourished under *M. Aurelius*, those of chief note are *Polycenus* a *Macedonian*, who inscribed to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the eight books of stratagems published by *Cassaubon* (8). He left other works (and, among the rest, a description of the city of *Thebes*), which have been long since lost (9). *Amyntianus* wrote, and addressed to *M. Aurelius*, the history of *Alexander the Great*, which was not much admired. He likewise published the life of *Domitian*, and the lives of some other *Latin* and *Greek* princes (1); but none of his works have reached our times. Those of *Damophilus* have undergone the same fate: he was a philosopher and sophist,

brought up, as *Suidas* informs us, (2), by *Julianus*, who was consul in the year 175. the sixteenth of *M. Aurelius's* reign. He is frequently quoted by the emperor *Julian*, who supposes him to have been a native of *Bithynia*. Some of his works he inscribed to *Lollius Maximus* (3). The history of *Greece*, written by *Pausanias* in ten books, has reached us. The author describes with great care and exactness the situation and antiquities of each city, and all the curiosities which in his time were to be seen in a country once so famous; but some critics find fault with him for interweaving his history with so many fables, which, however, are of great use for the right understanding of the antient writers (4). It appears from the quotations of *Stephanus* the geographer, that he described after the same manner *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. He bestows mighty encomiums upon *Antoninus Pius*, and mentions his wars with the *Germans*, *Sarmatians*, and other barbarians; whence it is plain, that he had not done writing in the year 175 (5). He relates nothing posterior to the reign of *M. Aurelius*; whence we may conclude, that he either died, or ended his work, under that prince. *Philostratus* speaks of one *Pausanias* a sophist, a native of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and disciple of *Herodes Atticus*. Of this *Pausanias* he observes, that he spent the greatest part of his life at *Rome*; that, in speaking, he changed all the quantities, and did not distinguish the letters that had a like sound;

(6) *Apul. prol. bist. Græc. lib. ii. c. 14.*

(7) *Suid. p. 640. Græc. l. ii. c. 14.*

(8) *Aug. civ. Dei. l. viii. c. 14.*

(9) *Suid. p. 559.*

(3) *Pide Jons. l. iii. c. 11.*

(5) *Paus. l. viii. p. 272.*

(8) *V. Jff.*

(1) *Plot. c. 137.*

(2) *V. Jff. bist.*

which, however, was common to all the Cappadocians (6). *Philostrophus* ascribes to him some declamations; whence he ought, in our opinion, to be distinguished from the historian of that name, though *Vossius* and *Sylburgius* take the author of the history, and of the declamations, to be one and the same writer (7); for we cannot think, that *Philostrophus* would have passed over in silence so great and important a work, had the sophist been the author of it. *Suidas* speaks of another *Pausanias*, by birth a Lacedæmonian, who wrote the history of his own country; but we must distinguish him also from the author of the history of Greece, who rebukes the Lacedæmonians with great liberty, and whose dialect comes nearer the Ionic than the Doric, which was the dialect of the Lacedæmonians (8). In the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*, flourished one *Iamblicus*, by birth a Babylonian, and by profession a magician. He published several works in Greek; and, among the rest, one titled *Babylonica* (9), which is said by *Tennulius* to be still preserved in the famous library of the *Escorial* in Spain (1). Perhaps it was consumed by the late conflagration; for that was the fate of many inestimable manuscripts lodged in that famous library. *Leo Allarius* published a fragment of it. *Vossius* takes *Iamblicus's* *Babylonica* to be nothing else but the silly romance, of which *Photius* has been at the trouble of giving us too long an abstract. *Suidas* seems to insinuate

the same thing. *Photius* tells us, that *Iamblicus* was originally a slave, and relates several particulars concerning him, copied from an unknown author (2). *Theophylus* of *Antioch* has transmitted to us a table of the Roman emperors, from *Julius Cæsar* to the death of *M. Aurelius*, with the years, months, and days, of their respective reigns. This table was made by one of *M. Aurelius's* freedmen named *Cbrysores*, and not *Craator*, as *Vossius* calls him, led into that mistake by the text of *Theophylus*, where we read *ἐν ὃ μὲν Κράτωρ* instead of *νομικλάτωρ*, as it is corrected by *Scaliger* (3). The above-mentioned table was copied from a work of *Cbrysores*, containing the names and chronology of all those who had ruled in Rome, from the foundation of the city to the time of *M. Aurelius*. *Scaliger* has added it to the chronology of *Eusebius*. It is likewise to be found in the works of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, free from most of the faults which have crept into that of *Theophylus*. *Æmilius Parthenianus* composed the history of all those who attempted to usurp the sovereign power. He did not end his history before the year 175. for he wrote the life of *Acridius Cassius*. He is quoted by *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, who flourished under *Dioclesian*. *Vossius* ranks him among the Latin historians (4). The grammarian *Proculus*, who instructed *M. Aurelius* in the Latin grammar, and was on that account raised by him to the con-

(6) *Philost. soph.* 39.(7) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 14.(8) *Suid.* p. 466.(9) *Phot.* c. 49.(1) *Voss. ibid.* l. iv. p. 582. & *Samuel Tennul.* in not. ad *Iambli. arith. Armenia*, ann. 1608.(2) *Phot.* p. 242.(3) *Vide Scal.* in *chron. Euseb.* p. 396.(4) *Voss. hist. Lat.* l. iii.

fulship, published a work on foreign countries, or, as some read it, religions, *de regionibus*, or *religionibus* (5). He was by birth an *African*; but thoroughly versed in the *Latin* tongue (6). *Hephestion* and *Harpocration*, who instructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue (7), have both left some works behind them. An excellent piece *de re metrica*, which seems to be very antient, and bears the name of one *Hephestion*, a grammarian of *Alexandria*, has reached our times, and is commonly ascribed to *Hephestion* the preceptor of *L. Verus*. *Suidas* mentions several other works published by him (8). Another learned piece is still extant, on the ten orators of *Athens*, done by one *Valerius Harpocration*, suppos'd to have been preceptor to *L. Verus* (9). At this time flourished *Apollonius* of *Alexandria*, surnamed *Dyscoles*, who published several grammatical pieces. Some of his works have reached our times; to wit, four books on the syntax, to which is prefixed his life, done by an anonymous writer, and another piece, intituled, *Some false histories*, or rather *wonderful histories* (1). He was father to one *Herodianus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, in the time of *M. Aurelius*, and published several grammatical pieces (2). *Ammianus Marcellinus* reckons him among the many great men for whom the world was indebted to the *museum* of *Alexandria* (3). *Sylburgius* takes him to be the historian *Herodianus*, who wrote

the lives of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to the reign of *Gordian*; that is, to the year 238 (4). But *Vossius* speaks of the grammarian and historian as two different persons: and truly the historian might have been born in the reign of *M. Aurelius*; but cannot be said to have flourished under that prince, since he was still writing fifty-eight years after his death (5). *Artemidorus*, author of several books on the interpretation of dreams, lived under *Antoninus Pius* and *M. Aurelius*; for he is quoted by *Lucian*; and he himself tells us, that he was acquainted with one who had entered the lists in the combats that were exhibited by *Antoninus Pius* at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*. He was a native of *Ephesus*, and in his other works stiled himself *Artemidorus* the *Ephesian*; but, in that on the interpretation of dreams, he took the surname of *Daldianus* from *Daldis*, a small city of *Lydia*, the birth-place of his mother. He wrote four books on the interpretation of dreams, which have reached us, with a fifth, wherein he relates the issue of several dreams. Of these books he inscribed the three first to one *Cassius Maximus* a *Phœnician*, who, it seems, was a man of great eloquence, and his particular friend; and the two others to his son, named likewise *Artemidorus* (6). Besides these books, he wrote some others (according to *Suidas* (7), who stiles him a philosopher) on the manner of

(5) *Tzet. Pollio. bistor. origin. tyrannor.* p. 195.

(6) *Voss. bistor. Lat.*

l. i. c. 12.

(7) *Jul. Cap. in vit. Ver.* p. 35.

(8) *Suid.*

p. 1209.

(9) *Idem.* p. 441.

(1) *Voss. bistor. Græc. lib. ii.*

c. 14.

(2) *Suid.* p. 379.

(3) *Ammian. l. xxii. p. 23c.*

(4) *In*

Herodian. prol.

(5) *Voss. ibid. l. i. c. 1.*

(6) *Artemidor.*

l. i. c. 28. l. iii. c. 67.

(7) *Suid.* p. 442.

foretelling events by birds, and by the lines of the hand. For the compiling of his books on dreams, he read all the authors who had handled the same subject, and were very numerous; he spent many years in traveling through all the provinces, and visiting all the cities of the empire; he conferred with all those who pretended to any knowledge in divination (8); and the fruit of so many labours, journeys, inquiries, conferences, &c. was a work the most useless and trifling that ever was published, as is owned by those who have been at the pains of illustrating it with notes (9). The same author wrote some books on physic (1). *Marcellus* of *Ida* in *Pamphylia* wrote, in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, forty-two books, in hexameter verse, on physic; and is quoted by *St. Jerom* (2). *Marullus* a *Latin* poet wrote some satires in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*, not sparing that prince, nor his predecessor *Antoninus Pius*; but he patiently bore his railleries (3). *Apuleius* speaks of a poet who lived in his time, and had begun an excellent poem upon *Alexander the Great* (4). This is probably the writer whom he calls elsewhere (5) *Corvinus Clemens*, and who was quaestor. *Aulus Gellius*, or *Agellius*, must have flourished about this time; for he was disciple to *Titus Castricius*, to *Favoninus*, to *Herodes Atticus*, and to *Cornelius Fronto*, who all lived under *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius* (6). *Cor-*

nelius Fronto had been consul, when *Aulus Gellius* was yet a youth (7). He bestowed great encomiums on the celebrated philosopher and apostate *Peregrinus*; but does not mention his death, which rendered him more famous than any thing he had done in his life-time; for he publicly burnt himself at the sports of the two hundredth and thirty-sixth *Olympiad*: whence we conclude, that *Aulus Gellius* had done writing before that time, that is, before the year 165. of the Christian æra, the fifth of the reign of *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. He studied grammar at *Rome*, and philosophy at *Athens*, under *Calpurnius Taurus*; whence he returned to *Rome*. He left no work behind him, except his notes *Attica*: for thus he styled the collection of several memorable and amusing events, which he compiled for the use of his children (8). *St. Austin* commends him on account of his easy and elegant elocution (9). but most critics find fault with his antiquated words, his harsh and improper expressions, and, above all, with want of judgment in choosing, for his collection, such events as are for the most part of no importance, and only contain some grammatical and trifling remarks. *Macrobius*, however, often copies him. The annals of *Gellius* are frequently quoted by the writers of the *Roman* history; but the author of these annals, by name *Gn. Gellius*, lived about the year 620. of *Rome*, and was contemporary with *Cicero* (1).

(8) *Suid.* p. 3.(9) *Voss. Hist. Græc.* l. iii. c. 22.(1) *Artemidor.* *prof.* p. 4.

p. 52.

(2) *Voss. ibid.*(3) *Idem, poet. Lat.*(4) *Aul. Gell.* l. xii. c. 21.(4) *Apul. flor.* p. 344.(5) *Idem, apol.* p. 338.(6) *Aul. Gell.* l. xii. c. 21.(7) *Idem, l. xix. c. 8.*(8) *Idem, prefat.*(9) *Aug. civit. Dei.* l. ix. c. 4.(1) *Voss. hist. Lat.* l. i. c. 8.*Macrob. Saturnal.* l. i. c. 16.

C H A P. XXII.

The Roman History, from the Death of M. Aurelius, to the Death of Alexander, when the Empire was first transferred without the Consent of the Senate.

• Commo-
dus.

His cruel
ty.

COMMODUS was the first emperor that was born in his father's reign, and the second that succeeded his father in the empire. He was born on the thirty-first of *August* of the year 161. and raised to the empire on the seventeenth of *March*, of the year 181. He is commonly called *L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*, and sometimes *Commodus Antoninus*. He was educated with great care by his father; but nevertheless proved one of the most lewd, cruel, and wicked tyrants that ever disgraced a throne; which confirms in some degree the opinion of those who believed him to be the son of a famous gladiator, with whom his mother *Faustina* was said to have had a criminal conversation^a. He gave, when only twelve years old, a remarkable instance of his cruelty, at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*; where, finding the water in which he bathed somewhat too warm, he commanded the person who attended the bath to be thrown into the furnace; nor was he satisfied, till those who were about him pretended to have put his order in execution^b. After his accession to the empire, he equaled, if he did not exceed, in cruelty, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Nero* himself, playing, we may say, with the blood of his subjects and fellow-creatures, of whom he caused great numbers to be racked and butchered in his presence, merely for his diversion (A). As for his lewdness, the author of his life tells

^a JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 30.
mod.

^b LAMPRID in Com-

(A) The antients relate several instances of his cruelty, very odd and monstrous: he caused one to be thrown to the wild beasts, for reading the life of *Caligula* written by *Suetonius*, because that tyrant and he had been born on the same day, (1). Seeing one day a corpulent man pass

by, he immediately cut him asunder, partly to try his strength, in which he excelled all men, and partly out of curiosity, as he himself owned, to see his entrails drop out at once. He took pleasure in cutting off the feet, and putting out the eyes, of such as he met in his rambles through

(1) Lamprid. in Commod.

tells us, that even in his father's reign he turned the court into a brothel; and, upon his death, he abandoned himself, without restraint or shame, to all manner of abominations, spending whole days and nights in public-houses amongst the meanest of the people, and in the company of gladiators, buffoons, common prostitutes, &c. He kept constantly three hundred concubines, and the like number of catamites. He debauched all his own sisters, and murdered one of them, by name *Lucilla*, after he had forced her to comply with his incestuous desires. But to give a detail of his infamous practices and pollutions, is beneath the dignity of an historian, and what we cannot help blaming in *Suetonius*, and the *Augustine* writers.

HE took great delight in shooting with the bow, and gave innumerable proofs of his dexterity and skill in that art, which we should look upon as fabulous, were they not attested by all the antients. He excelled all men in strength, and is said to have run an elephant through with his spear, and to have once killed in the amphitheatre an hundred lions, one after another, and each of them at one blow. Forgetful of his rank and dignity, he entered the lists with the common gladiators, having learned with them, in the public school, the use of their weapons. He is said to have fought in the open amphitheatre seven hundred and thirty-five times, and to have always come off conqueror; whence he often subscribed himself in his letters, *The conqueror of a thousand gladiators*. He seemed to be more pleased with the applause of the populace on these occasions, than any of the antient Roman captains had ever been with a triumph. Imagining one day, that the peo-

ple of the city, telling the former, after he had thus maimed them, by way of raillery, that they now belonged to the nation of the *Monopodii*; and the latter, that they were now become *Luscinis*; alluding to the words *Luscinia*, a nightingale, and *Luscus*, one-eyed. Some he murdered, because they were negligently dressed; others, because they seemed trimmed with too much nicety. He pretended to great skill in surgery, especially at letting blood: but sometimes, instead of eating by that means those whom he visited, or who were prevailed upon

to recur to him, he cut off, by way of diversion, their ears and noses. He assumed the name and habit of *Hercules*, appearing publicly in a lion's skin, with an huge club in his hand, and ordering several persons, though not guilty of any crime, to be disguised like monsters, that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great destroyer of monsters. In short, the shedding of blood seemed to be his chief diversion (2).

(2) *Lampid. in Corn. 2.*

His avarice.

ple rather derided than applauded him, he ordered them all to be massacred upon the spot, and the city to be set on fire ; which barbarous sentence had been put in execution, had not the captain of the prætorian guards, with much ado, appeased him. Having with his extravagancies soon drained and exhausted his exchequer, he betook himself to all manner of rapine ; loaded the people with taxes ; sold the governments of the provinces, and other employments ; exempted criminals from the punishment due to their crimes, upon their paying him a sum of money, and allowed others to murder whomsoever they pleased ; so that the city, and indeed the whole empire, was filled with blood and massacres, every one purchasing of the emperor the liberty of murdering such as he feared or hated ^c. But to proceed to the history of his reign, according to the order of time.

He concludes a peace with the Marcomanni, Quadi, &c.

COMMODUS, a few days after his father's death, went to the camp, attended by all the chief officers ; and there, after a plausible and popular speech to the soldiers, presented them with the usual donative. He was for returning immediately to *Rome*, panting after the diversions of the city ; but *Pompeianus*, who had married his sister, representing to him how dangerous and shameful a thing it would be for him to return before he had ended the war, he was, with much difficulty, prevailed upon to continue some time in *Pannonia*, where he is said to have gained some advantages over the *Quadi*, which must have been very inconsiderable, since he did not on that score take upon him the title of *imperator*. However, both the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, imagining that he was resolved to pursue the war, and finding themselves no longer in a condition to make head against his victorious troops, sent ambassadors to him, with proposals of an accommodation ; which he readily hearkened to, and granted them a peace upon the following terms : 1. That they should not settle within five miles of the *Danube*. 2. That they should deliver up their arms, and supply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they should assemble but once a month in one place only, and in the presence of a *Roman* centurion. And, 4. That they should not make war upon the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, or the *Vandals*, without the consent of the people of *Rome*. On the other hand, *Commodus* promised to abandon, which he did accordingly, all the castles and fortresses which he held in their country, except such as were within five miles of the *Danube* ^d. With the other *German* nations, which his father had almost intirely reduced, he con-

^c LAMPRID. in *Commod.* ^d DIO, l. lxxii. p. 817. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 461. AUR. VICT.

cluded a very dishonourable peace; nay, of some he purchased it with very large sums. Having thus rather abandoned than ended the war, he hastened back to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, with the surname of *Pius*, and with all the marks of distinction that had ever been conferred upon the most deserving princes. Having visited the capitol, and other temples, and returned thanks to the senate, the people, and the soldiery, for their fidelity and attachment to him during his absence, he was conducted by them to the palace on the twenty-second of *October* ^c.

THE following year *Commodus* entered upon his third consulship, having for his colleague one *Birrus*, or *Burrhus*, probably *Antistius Burrhus*, who had married his sister ^f (B). The next consuls were *Mamertinus* and *Rufus*, during whose administration *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* for the fifth time, on account of some advantages gained by his lieutenants *Albinus* and *Niger* over the barbarians who dwelt beyond *Dacia* &c. The above-mentioned consuls were succeeded by *Commodus* the fourth time consul, and *Victorinus* the second time. During their consulship, the *Caledonians*, having passed the wall which parted them from the *Romans*, committed dreadful devastations, and cut in pieces a *Roman* army, with their general; but were in the end repulsed with great slaughter by *Ulpus Marcellus*, a man of a mean descent, but an excellent commander, and a strict observer of the military discipline. Of this war the ancients give us no particular account; but only tell us, that it proved very bloody; that the emperor, for the great advantages gained by his lieutenant, took the title of *imperator* the sixth time, with the surname of *Britannicus*; and that *Ulpus Marcellus*, by his gallant and prudent conduct, gained such credit and reputation, that *Commodus*, envying him the glory he had acquired, designed to put him to death; but in the end he spared him ^h.

The Caledonians invade the Roman territories; but are repulsed by Ulpus Marcellus.

^c LAMPRID. in *Commod.* DIO, p. 818. HERODIAN. p. 471. GOLTZ. p. 81. ^f VIT. *Commod.* p. 48. OROSI. p. 238. ^g GOLTZ. *ibid.* BIRAG. p. 246. DIO, p. 820. ^h DIO, l. lxxii. p. 821. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 725.

(B) On one medal of this, and on several of the following year, *Commodus* bears the title of *Felix*, the *Happy*; whence it is manifest, that *Lampadius*, whom most modern antiquaries follow, was mistaken, when he wrote, that this title was not by the senate decreed to him till the death of *Perennis*, which happened five years after (3).

Commodus dismissed his father's friends and counsellors.

A conspiracy formed against him by his sister Lucilla, and others;

who were all put to death.

THIS year *Commodus*, who had hitherto followed the advice of his father's friends and counsellors, began to despise them, thinking himself sufficiently qualified to govern without so many tutors about him, as he expressed it. He therefore discharged them all, employing in their room either his debauched companions, or such as were recommended to him by them. Thus *Pescennius Niger* was preferred to the command of the armies in *Syria*, at the recommendation of the wrestler *Narcissus*; and many others were raised to great employments by means of the emperor's freedmen, slaves, concubines, &c. whose imperious and arrogant behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the senate; which he being well apprised of, began in his turn to put to death, under various pretences, some of the most eminent members of that illustrious body. His sister *Lucilla*, seeing him abhorred, on account of his cruelties, by all the great men in *Rome*, formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to place in his room a person whom she favoured, and was thought to love both above her brother, and her husband *Pompeianus*. She had the title of empress, and all the honour attending it, being the widow of the emperor *L. Verus*; but nevertheless was obliged to give place to *Crispina* the wife of *Commodus*; which her haughty spirit could not bear. She therefore drew into a conspiracy *Claudius Pompeianus*, to whom she had betrothed her daughter, *Quadratus*, and many other senators of distinction. It was agreed among the conspirators, that they should fall upon the emperor while he was going to the amphitheatre, through a narrow and dark passage; and that *Pompeianus* should give him the first blow. Accordingly they assaulted him at the appointed place; but *Pompeianus*, shewing him, instead of striking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, *This present the senate sends you*, the guards had time to rescue the emperor, and seize the conspirators, who were soon after put to death. The emperor banished his sister to the island of *Capreae*, where he afterwards ordered her to be privately murderedⁱ (C). This same year the empress *Crispina* was likewise confined to the island of *Capreae*,

ⁱ Vit. Commod. p. 46. HERODIAN. p. 474. DIO, p. 818.

(C) *Herodianus* tells us, that one *Quintilianus* was to give the first blow; and *Ammianus*, who follows him, adds, that *Quintilianus* actually wounded the emperor, who, by the loss of blood, fainted away (4). But we have chosen to follow such writers as lived nearest those times.

(4) *Ammian.* l. xxix.

and there murdered by the emperor's order, for imitating him in his debaucheries^k (D). One *Anterus*, or, as others call him, *Saoterus*, a native of *Nicomedia*, and the emperor's favourite freedman, was thought to have put him upon the wicked measures which he was pursuing; for he bore a great sway with the prince. Wherefore the captains of the guards caused him to be murdered by one *Cleander*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. The emperor expressed greater concern for his death, than he had done for the conspiracy formed against himself; and, being informed, that *Tarruntinus Paternus*, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he removed him from his employment, under colour of creating him a senator, and a few days after caused him to be assassinated, with *Salvidius Julianus*, to whose son the daughter of *Paternus* had been betrothed, pretending, that they had both conspired to depose him, and seize the empire for themselves^l. *Salvidius Julianus* was grandson to the famous civilian of that name under *Adrian*, and uncle to *Didius Julianus*, who was afterwards emperor.

THE same year were falsely accused of treason, condemned, and executed, *Vellius Rufus*, *Egnatius Capito*, and the two persons *Quiutillii*, *Maximus* and *Condianus*, who had been all consuls. *Sexus Cnidianus* the son of *Maximus*, who had been consul, and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned with his father and uncle; but escaped, at least for some time, by causing a report to be spread, that he was dead; but, many attesting that he was still alive, diligent search was made after him. Many persons, who had never seen him, were accused of having harboured and concealed him in their houses, and, upon that charge, either put to death, or banished. Of *Sexus* himself we find no further mention in history. *Emilius Junius* and *Attilius Severus* were both banished in their consulship, which they held, it seems, during the two last months

^k DIO, p. 818.^l VIT. COMMOD. p. 47. DIO, p. 819.

(D) *Quadratus* had a concubine by name *Marcia*, and a favourite freedman named *Ecclestus*. The latter the emperor created his chief chamberlain; and the former, who was a woman of great beauty, he kept for his concubine, and distinguished her with all the honours that were peculiar to the empresses, except

that of having fire or torches carried before her (5). She is supposed to have been a great friend to the Christians; and to her power at court, and authority with the emperor, is commonly ascribed the profound tranquillity which the church enjoyed in the midst of so many cruel executions (6).

(5) Herod. l. i. p. 486.

(6) Vide Bâron, ann. 112.

Perennis,
the emper-
or's fa-
vourite,
minister,
put to
death.

of the year, and, with them, many senators and knights of great distinction ^m. Under the succeeding consuls *M. Eggius Merullus* and *Gn. Papirius Ælianus*, was accused of aspiring to the empire, and put to death, the emperor's favourite minister *Perennis*. He was captain of the prætorian guards, an excellent commander, and, according to *Dio Cassius*, a man without reproach ⁿ (E). This year *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* the seventh time, probably on account of some advantages gained by his lieutenants in *Britain*; for the disturbances there were not yet intirely quelled ^o.

THE next consuls were *Commodus* the fifth time, and *Acilius Glabrio* the second ^p. This year, while *Commodus* was assisting at the *Capitoline* sports instituted by *Demitian* in 86. a person, in the habit of a Cynic philosopher, appeared unexpectedly in the midst of the theatre; and, addressing the emperor, told him aloud, That, while he minded nothing but his pleasures and diversions, he was in danger of losing both his life, and the empire, by the wicked practices of *Perennis*, and his children. *Perennis* caused the pretended Cynic to be immediately seized as a madman, who disturbed the public sports, and soon after ordered him to be burnt alive; which gave the emperor no small jealousy. Not long after, some soldiers, arriving at *Rome* from *Illyricum*, where the son of *Perennis* commanded, shewed to *Commodus*, in a private audience, some medals, on which was engraved the image of the son of *Perennis*, as if he had been already emperor; which so alarmed the prince, that he commanded the traitor to be immediately put to death ^q. Thus *Herodian*. But *Dio Cassius* and *Lampridius* relate his downfall in a quite different manner. According to them, the army in *Britain*, dissatisfied either because he had punished them with too great severity on account of some sedition, or because he had removed several senators, and given their posts in the army to *Roman* knights

^m Dio, l. lxxi. p. 819. Vit. Commod. p. 47.

p. 821.

ⁿ BIRAG. p. 248. Vit. Commod. p. 48.

epist. consul. p. 116.

^o HEROD. l. i. p. 474, 475.

^p Dio,

^q NORIS,

(E) But *Herodianus* and *Lampridius* give him a quite different character, and speak of him as one who abused the great authority he had with the emperor, sticking at no violence, murder, or injustice, to fill his own cof-

fers, while *Commodus* was wholly intent upon his pleasures and diversions, in which he encouraged him, that he might govern with an absolute sway; which he did but for a short while, as we shall see hereafter (7).

his creatures, sent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred, says *Dio Cassius* (which seems altogether incredible), to complain of him, and charge him with a design of raising his son to the empire. They were backed by *Cleander*, and the emperor's other freedmen, who could not brook the arbitrary and haughty conduct of the favourite minister. Hereupon *Commodus*, naturally timorous, abandoned the traitor to the rage of the provoked soldiery, who, after a thousand outrages, tore him in pieces. His wife, his sister, and his two sons, *His wife and children undergo the same fate.* underwent the same fate. To his eldest son, who commanded the army in *Illyricum*, the emperor wrote an obliging letter, injoining him to come with all possible expedition to *Rome*, to receive there new marks of the esteem and affection he had for him and his father. As the young man was an intire stranger to what had passed, and not yet in a condition to revolt openly, he readily complied with the invitation; but had no sooner entered *Italy*, than he was cut in pieces by the soldiers who attended him, pursuant to the private orders they had received from *Rome*. The other brother was probably killed at *Rome* with his father. *

PERENNIS was succeeded in the post of prime minister by *Perennis* *succeeded by Cleander*; for the emperor himself was so taken up with his pleasures and diversions, that he could not bestow one minute on the affairs of the state: he would not even be at the trouble of signing his dispatches: and, in several letters to his friends, all he wrote was, *Vale, Farewel*. *Cleander* was by birth a *Phrygian*, and originally a slave, having been sold as such in *Rome* by auction, as were in those days most slaves. He belonged at first to *M. Aurelius*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, who, favouring him above the rest of his slaves, gave him leave to marry *Demostracia*, one of his concubines, brought up the children he had by her in the palace, presented him with his liberty, and appointed him his chamberlain. He is thought to have procured the death of *Perennis*, that he might ingross all the power to himself; which he easily compassed, and abused his authority in a more flagrant manner than *who abuses his authority*. *Perennis* had ever done. By him all things were openly set to sale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. *Antistius Burrhus*, who had married one of the emperor's sisters, took the liberty to acquaint the prince with the unaccountable conduct of his minister; but that liberty cost him his life, *Cleander* having charged him with aspiring to the empire, and prevailed upon the emperor, whom he blindly controuled, to condemn him, and all those who espoused his cause, or attempted to

The cap-
tains of the
guards
changed
daily and
hourly.

defend him. Among these was *Ebutianus* captain of the guards, in whose room *Cleander* persuaded the emperor to substitute himself, and two others, whom he named to him. Upon the death of *Perennis*, that employment had been given to one *Niger*, who held it only six hours; another enjoyed it but five days, and several others not so long, the timorous emperor changing the captains of his guards daily and hourly. Most of these officers lost their lives with their employment, being accused of treason by *Cleander*, who courted, and at last obtained, that important post for himself.

The Ro-
man sol-
diers in
Britain
mutiny.

AFTER the death of *Perennis*, the emperor pretended to be greatly concerned for many things that had been done during his administration, in order to throw the whole odium upon him. He wrote an obliging letter to *Pertinax*, whom *Perennis* had banished into *Liguria*, his native country, and kept there for the space of three years, appointing him commander of the troops in *Britain*, which had mutinied, and raised great disturbances in that island, neither the *Roman* soldiers, nor the *Britons*, being able to brook the tyrannical government of *Commodus*. Upon the arrival of *Pertinax*, the soldiers pressed him to assume the sovereignty; but he, rejecting the offer with indignation, brought, by degrees, the mutinous soldiery to a sense of their duty, and restored tranquillity to the province, but not without great trouble and danger; for one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was spilt, and *Pertinax* himself was left upon the spot for dead. As his severity drew upon him the hatred and ill-will of the soldiery, he desired to be recalled; but the emperor did not comply with his request till three years after. This year *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* for the eighth and last time, on account of the advantages, as is conjectured, which *Clodius Albinus* is said to have gained about this time over the *Frisans*.

The war
of the de-
serters un-
der the
conduct of
Maternus;
Year of
the flood
2535.
Of Christ
187.
Of Rome

UNDER the next consuls, *Crispinus* and *Ælianus*, a common soldier, by name *Maternus*, having fled from his colours, and being joined by many others guilty of the same crime, grew in a short time so powerful, the banditti flocking to him from all parts, that he over-ran and plundered great part of Gaul and Spain, stormed the strongest cities, and struck the emperor and people of *Rome* with such terror, that troops were raised, and armies dispatched against him. *Pescennius Niger* was sent to make head against him in *Gaul*, where he became very intimate with *Severus*, who was then governor of the country of *Lyons*, and wrote a letter to the emperor,

935.
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\* HEROD. p. 475. DIO, p. 882. Vit. Comm. p. 48. Vit.  
Com. ibid. & Pertin. p. 54. \* Albin. vit. p. 81.

com-

commending the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of *Niger* in pursuing the rebels and deserters <sup>w</sup>. *Maternus*, finding himself reduced to great streights by the brave *Niger*, divided his men into several small bands, and marched privately with them, by different ways, into *Italy*, having nothing less, in view than to murder the emperor during the solemnity which was kept annually, in honour of the mother of the gods, and, upon his death, to seize the empire. They all arrived at *Rome* undiscovered; and some of his men had already mixed themselves with the emperor's guards, when others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately seized, and executed; and his death put an end to the disturbances, which some of his followers had begun to raise in other provinces <sup>x</sup>. The same year broke out the most dreadful plague, says *Dio Cassius*, that had been known. It lasted two or three years, and raged with the most violence in *Rome*, where it frequently carried off two thousand persons a day. The emperor, to avoid the contagion, retired to *Laurentum*, a city of *Latium*, on the sea-side <sup>y</sup>.

THE following year, *Fuscianus* and *Silanus* being both consuls for the second time, the emperor gave out, that he designed to pass over into *Africa*; but, having, under that pretence, exacted very considerable sums, and even suffered the people to offer up vows for his safe return on the fifth of *April*, he spent the money in banquets and revels, and continued at *Rome*, and in the neighbourhood <sup>z</sup>. About this time *Severus* was translated from the government of *Pannonia* to that of *Sicily*, whence he returned to *Rome*, to clear himself of a crime with which he was charged; to wit, of consulting the astrologers, as if he entertained thoughts of usurping the sovereignty. His cause was heard by the captains of the guards, the colleagues of *Cleander*; and, as *Commodus* was hated, says *Spartian*, *Severus* was cleared, and his accuser crucified <sup>a</sup>. This year great part of the capitol, a famous library, and several contiguous buildings, were utterly destroyed by lightning <sup>b</sup>. *Eusebius* says, it consumed whole quarters of the city, and in them several libraries. At the same time the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occasioned, as some authors write, by *Cleander*, who, having now nothing less in view than the sovereignty, bought up under-hand all the corn, in order to raise the price of it, and gain the affections of the soldiery and people, by distributing it among them <sup>c</sup>. Other writers tell us <sup>d</sup>, that *Papirius Dionysius*, whose province it

<sup>w</sup> Nig. vit. p. 75.

<sup>x</sup> HEROD. l. i. p. 475.

Vit. Com. p. 51.

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>z</sup> Vit. Com. p. 49.

<sup>a</sup> SPART. in Sever.

<sup>b</sup> EUSEB. in chron. OROS. l. viii. c. 16.

<sup>c</sup> DIO, p. 823.

<sup>d</sup> Vit. Com. p. 51.

was to supply the city with provisions, contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people rise against *Cleander*.

*Cleander  
acts in an  
arbitrary  
manner.*

But that as it will, the populace ascribed all their calamities and misfortunes to the hated minister, who now began to act in a more arbitrary manner than ever, putting to death and pardoning, banishing and recalling from exile, whom he pleased. Several manumitted slaves he created patricians, and gave them a place in the senate; others he made governors of provinces, and raised to the first employments. But his reign was short-lived; for the following year, in which *Rome* saw for the first, and, indeed, for the last time, twenty-five consuls, all named by *Cleander*, and most of them his creatures, while the people were celebrating the *Circensian* games, a troop of children, having at their head a young woman of an extraordinary stature, and a fierce aspect, entering the circus, began to utter aloud many bitter invectives, and dreadful curses, against *Cleander*; which being for some time answered by the people with other invectives and curses, the whole multitude rose all on a sudden, flew, in a tumultuous manner, to the palace of *Quintilius* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where the emperor was then residing with *Cleander*; and there renewing their curses and imprecations, demanded the head of the perfidious wretch, by whom they had been so grievously and tyrannically oppressed.

*The people  
rise a-  
gainst him.*

*The præto-  
rian horse  
fall upon  
them; but  
are put to  
flight.*

Hereupon *Cleander* ordered the prætorian cavalry to charge the multitude; which they did accordingly, driving them, with great slaughter, into the city; but there the populace discharging showers of stones, bricks, and tiles, from the tops of the houses, and from the windows, and the city-guards, who hated *Cleander*, joining the multitude, the prætorian horse were forced to give way, and save themselves by a disorderly flight. The people pursued them to the palace of *Quintilius*, where the emperor was passing his time in the company of some lewd women, utterly unapprised of the tumult, *Cleander* having forbidden those who were about him to acquaint him with it. However, *Marcia*, his favourite concubine, thought it incumbent upon her to inform him of what had passed; and his sister *Fodilla*, entering his apartment in a great fright, and with her hair dishevelled, cried out to him aloud, That all was lost, unless he abandoned *Cleander* to the fury of the incensed populace. Hereupon the emperor, struck with terror and amazement, sent for *Cleander*; and, having caused his head to be struck off that instant, sent it to the people; the sight of which put an end to the combat, which still continued with great slaughter. His head and body were, by the incensed populace, insulted in a most outrageous manner. His wife, his children, and most of his creatures, were, at the same time, massacred; and their bodies first dragged through

*The emper-  
or causes  
his head to  
be struck  
off.*

the streets, and then thrown into the common sewer\* (F). *Julianus* and *Regillus* were appointed captains of the guards in the room of *Cleander*, and his colleagues; but the emperor caused them both to be soon after put to death, though he had ever shewn a particular kindness and affection for *Julianus*, whom he used to stile his father†. About the close of this year, *Pertinax* was, at his own request, recalled from *Britain*, and charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions, in the room of *Papirius Dionysius*, who was likewise put to death, with all those who had any ways contributed to the raising of the price of corn.

THE following year *Commodus* entered upon his sixth consulship, having *Petronius Septimianus* for his colleague. The several conspiracies which had been formed against himself and his ministers, filling him with jealousies and suspicions, he abandoned himself, without controul, to bloodshed and cruelty (G). This year *Severus*, who had been one of the twenty-five consuls of the preceding year, was appointed commander

\* DIO, l. lxxii. p. 823. HEROD. l. i. p. 479—481. Vit. Com. p. 48. † Vit. Com. ibid. & DIO, p. 823.

(F) *Lampridius* tells us, that the people were chiefly provoked against him, for having caused *Arrius Antoninus* to be falsely accused of treason, and put to death, because he had, while proconsul of *Asia*, condemned one of his creatures, by name *Attalus* (8).

(G) He put to death, besides many others mentioned by *Spartian*, and other writers, *Petronius Mamertinus*, who had married one of his sisters; his son *Antoninus*; *Annia Faustina*, cousin-german to *M. Aurelius*; *Sulpicius Crassus*, proconsul of *Asia*, and six consulars, on one day. He caused all those who were any ways related to *Avidius Cassius*, of whom we have spoken above, to be burnt alive. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions, who were doomed to be inhumanly massacred this year,

*Dio Cassius* gives us a particular account of the death of one *Julius Alexander*, a native of *Emesa* in *Syria*; who, being informed, that the emperor had sent thither a centurion, with a band of soldiers, to murder him, surprised them in the night, and killed them all to a man, with several others, whom he suspected to be his enemies. Having thus filled the city with slaughter, he retired on horseback, with a design to take refuge among the barbarians; and would have made his escape, had he not been retarded by a friend of his, who could not keep up with him, and whom he could not find in his heart to leave behind him. Being, therefore, overtaken by those who pursued him, he first killed his friend, that he might not fall into their hands, and afterwards himself (9).

(8) Vit. Comm. p. 48.

(9) Dio, p. 823.

The temple  
of Peace  
consumed  
by fire,  
and the  
temple of  
Vesta,  
with many  
other  
buildings.

Year of  
the flood  
2539.

Of Christ  
191.

Of Rome  
939.



of the troops in *Illyricum*; and *Pertinax* was sent into *Africa*, with the character of proconsul. The following year, *Antoninus* and *Bradya* being consuls, a fire broke out in the night-time in the celebrated temple of *Peace*, preceded, and, as some writers suppose, produced, by a small earthquake; for no thunder was heard<sup>s</sup> (H).

THE fire spread with great violence to other quarters of the city, and consumed a great number of stately edifices; among the rest, the temple of *Vesta*. The vestals fled to the palace, with the statue of *Pallas*, which was supposed to have been brought from *Troy*, and had never before been exposed to public view; but the flames seized the palace itself, and reduced great part of it to ashes, before their rage could be staid. However, the public papers, and registers were with difficulty preserved. The conflagration lasted several days, in spite of the utmost endeavours of the people, the soldiery, and the emperor himself; who, returning, on that occasion, from the country, exposed his own person, in order to encourage others to exert themselves by his example. It ceased, at length, of itself, or was extinguished by a sudden and violent rain, which they all looked upon as sent by the gods<sup>h</sup>. This year *Pertinax* was preferred from the government of *Africa* to that of *Rome*, and *Didius Julianus* sent to govern *Africa* in his room. The next consuls were *Commodus* the seventh time, and *Helvidius Pertinax* the second. This year the *Roman* troops were defeated by the *Saracens*, whom we find now mentioned for the first time in history<sup>i</sup>. *Commodus*,

<sup>s</sup> HERODIAN. l. i. p. 485. DIO, p. 829.

<sup>h</sup> HEROD. p. 482.

<sup>i</sup> Vit. Nigr. p. 77.

(H) *Dio Cassius* writes, that it began in the adjoining houses. Be that as it will, the temple, with all the buildings round it, was reduced to ashes. That magnificent structure had been raised by *Vespasian* after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and enriched with all the spoils and ornaments of the temple of the *Jews*. The ancients speak of it as one of the most stately buildings in *Rome*. There men of learning used to hold their assemblies, and lodge

their writings, as many others did their jewels, and whatever else they had of great value. It was likewise made use of as a kind of magazine for the spices that were brought by the *Roman* merchants out of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; so that many rich persons were at once reduced to beggary, all their valuable effects and treasures being consumed in one night, with the temple (1). *Galen* complains, that many of his books were lost by this misfortune (2).

(1) *Dio*, p. 829. *Herod.* l. i. p. 485. *Galen, de libris suis*, p. 363.

(2) *Galen.*

being told, that *Severus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and *Nomius Murcus*, who had the command of some other army, aspired to the empire, appointed *Clodius Albinus*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, governor of *Britain*, and wrote a letter to him with his own hand, says *Julius Capitolinus*, giving him leave to assume the title of *Cæsar*, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in case any disturbances should arise in the empire. *Albinus*, adds the same writer, prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of *Commodus*, which he apprehended to be at hand. The account which *Dio Cassius* and *Herodian* give us of the latter end of *The emperor's* reign, is nothing but a detail of his follies, and the shews which he exhibited, and in which he himself acted and public the chief part. Both these historians were present; and the former, who assisted at the above-mentioned shews in quality of senator, tells us, that he, and the other senators, chewed, the whole time, bay-leaves, that by their bitterness they might be diverted from laughing at the prince's folly; which would have cost them their lives. However, he owns, that the address and skill which the emperor displayed in shooting with the bow, was universally admired and applauded; for a panther having seized a man, and being ready to devour him, *Commodus* let fly an arrow against the beast with so much skill and force, that the panther fell dead to the ground; before the man received the least hurt<sup>1</sup> (I).

<sup>\*</sup> Vit. Albin. p. 79.

<sup>1</sup> DIO, p. 484. HEROD. p. 826

(I) A few days before his death, he changed the names of some of the months, calling *August* *Commodus*, *September* *August*, *October* *Hercules*, *November* *Invincibilis*, *December* *Exuperatorius*, and *January* *Amazonius*; which last title he himself assumed, because he had first fallen in love with *Marcia*, upon seeing her painted in the dress of an *Amazon*. He was likewise for changing the name of the city itself, and calling it *Colonia Commodiana*, or *The colony of Commodus*. Upon this head he wrote to the senate, styling himself in the letter, *Imperator Cæsar Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximinus, Britanni-*

*cus, Pacator orbis terrarum, Invictus Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunus Potestatis XVII. Imperator VIII. Consul VII. Pater Patriæ, &c.* The senate readily complied with his desire, and not only stiled *Roma Colonia Commodiana*, but the house in which they assembled, *The house of Commodus*. They had given him before, by way of derision, says *Lampridius*, the title of *Pius*, upon his raising to the consulship one of his mother's gallants; the title of *Happy*, for having compassed the death of *Perennis*; and that of *Hercules*, in consideration of his extraordinary strength, and his killing many thousand wild beasts in the amphitheatre.



HE had often appeared on the public stage in the *Amazonian*, and other fantastical dresses; but this year he was not ashamed to enter the lists with the gladiators, to act and to dance in the theatre quite naked. Not satisfied with these follies, he resolved to appear on the first day of the ensuing year 193. as consul, and at the same time as gladiator; and, in order to that, to cause *Brucius Clarus* and *Sofius Pælex*, the two consuls elect, to be murdered. This design he imparted to *Marcia* the night before it was to be put in execution; telling her, that the consuls were to be murdered the following night; and that he intended to march in procession, not from the palace, and with the ensigns of the imperial dignity, as was usual on the first of *January*, but from the school of the gladiators, armed like one of them, and attended by them alone. *Marcia* threw herself at his feet, and conjured him with tears in her eyes, to reflect on the danger to which he exposed his life, by trusting it to men destitute of all honour and probity. But *Commodus*, without giving ear to her remonstrances, ordered *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and *Ecleëtus*, his chief chamberlain, to get ready the apartment which he had built for himself in the house where the gladiators belonging to the public were lodged. These two officers did, likewise, all that lay in their power to divert him from so strange a resolution; but to no purpose: for the emperor, instead of yielding to their intreaties, flew into a great passion; and, retiring to his chamber, as if he designed to repose a little, it being then about noon, he set down, on a piece of paper, the names of many illustrious senators, and other persons of distinction, whom he designed to murder, in order to enrich himself with their estates; and at the head of the fatal list the names of *Marcia*, *Lætus*, and *Ecleëtus*. Having left this paper upon his bed, when he went to bathe before dinner, according to the *Roman* custom, a little child, with whom he used to amuse himself, entering his bedchamber, innocently took it up to play with it; but *Marcia*, meeting him, snatched it out of his hand, imagining it to be some writing of consequence. She was greatly surprised, when, upon viewing it, she found herself, *Lætus*, and *Ecleëtus*, doomed, with the rest, to destruction. She immediately acquainted *Lætus* and *Ecleëtus* with the danger that threatened them, who thereupon resolved to be beforehand with the tyrant<sup>m</sup> (K).

THE

HEROD. l. i. p. 486, 487. u

(K) Such is the account which already related the death of *Domitian* gives us of this conspiracy. But *Dio Cassius*, who had stances, tells us only in this place, that

THE conspirators agreed, that the safest, and most expeditious, way was, to dispatch him with poison; which was accordingly administered to him by *Marcia*, as he returned very hot from bathing, after having killed some wild beasts. The emperor, being soon after seized with an heavy slumber, retired to refresh himself with a short sleep (for he slept, as historians observe, at all hours); and *Eccleſtus*, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping, by that means, to conceal the cause and manner of his death; but *Commodus*, awaking when the company was scarce gone, was seized with a violent vomiting; and, suspecting that poison had been given him, began to threaten all about him with immediate death. Hereupon, the conspirators, fearing he should void the poison, and escape, sent in haste for his great favourite *Narcissus*, the famous wrestler, who, being gained over by them with great promises, threw himself upon the emperor, and, seizing him by the throat, strangled him<sup>a</sup>. *He is murdered.*  
 Thus died *Commodus*, the last night of the year 192. after having lived thirty-one years, and four months; and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was murdered in a palace which stood on mount *Cælius*, where he then resided, because he could not sleep, as he said, in the imperial palace<sup>b</sup>. His body was privately conveyed away, and buried in the fields; but was afterwards taken up by *Pertinax*, who succeeded to the empire, and deposited in the monument of *Adrian*. The conspirators gave out, that he died of an apoplexy; which *Eutropius* seems to have believed. *Year of the flood 2540. Of Christ 192. Of Rome 970.*

His death was no sooner known, than the senate assembled, without waiting for the return of day; and declared him a public enemy, loaded him with curses, ordered his statues to be broken to pieces, his name to be rased out of all public inscriptions, and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the streets, and thrown into the *Tiber*. When *Pertinax* his statues are pulled down, and his ashes annulled.

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. l. i. p. 488. DIO, p. 82<sup>c</sup>. COMM. vit. p. 52. <sup>b</sup> VIT. COMM. p. 51. EUSEB. CHRON. p. 226.

that *Latus* and *Eccleſtus*, no longer able to bear the cruelties and follies of *Commodus*, and terrified with his menaces, agreed with *Marcia* to dispatch him. *Julius Capitolinus* writes, that they acquainted *Pertinax* with their design, who did not strive to divert them from it (3). But *Dio Cassius* (4) and *Herodian* (5) assure us, that he was altogether unapprised of their attempt, the conspirators not having time to think of any thing but dispatching the tyrant, and securing themselves.

(3) *Jul. Cap. in Pert.* p. 55. l. ii. p. 490.

(4) *Dio, l. lxxiii.* p. 830.

(5) *Herod. tinax,*

*Titus*, who had already been declared emperor, answered that it was buried, they desired to know, who had been so bold as to pay that honour to a gladiator, to a parricide, to a more cruel and bloody tyrant, than *Nero* or *Damian* P. Though he was thus generally abhorred as a monster of cruelty, and an enemy to mankind, yet the emperor *Septimius* styled himself his brother, caused him to be ranked among the gods, appointed priests and sacrifices to his honour, and ordered the anniversary of his birth to be observed with great solemnity. However, the empire was greatly indebted to him for establishing a company of merchants, and a fleet for conveying corn from *Africa* to *Rome*, when any misfortune should befall the fleet that transported it from *Egypt*. Another action we find recorded of his, truly worthy of the son of *M. Aurelius*: one *Manilius*, who had been secretary to *Avidius Cassius*, and privy to his conspiracy, having made his escape, and concealed himself ever since his death, was apprehended in the beginning of the reign of *Commodus*, to whom he offered to discover many things of great importance; but *Commodus* would not so much as hear him; nay, he burnt all his letters, without opening any one of them. But this happened in the very beginning of his reign, when he followed the advice of the wise counsellors whom his father had placed about him. No mention is made in history of his children; but it appears from an antient medal, that he had some, who must have died very young. Of the authors who wrote in his reign, we shall give an account in our note (L).

COMMODUS

¶ Vit. Com. p. 53. Dio, p. 850.  
Dio, p. 824. Vit. Com. p. 52.  
p. 725. Spart. l. vii. p. 659.

¶ Vit. Com. ibid. &  
¶ Dio in excerpt. Val.

(L) *Julius Pollux* inscribed to *Commodus*, when he had only the title of *Cæsar*, his *onomasticon*, which is still extant, and consists of ten books. It is a collection of synonymous words used by the best *Greek* writers to express one and the same thing. He was one of the preceptors of *Commodus*, who, being chiefly taken with his fine and harmonious voice, honoured him with the professorship of eloquence

lately founded in the city of *Athens* (6). He was, according to *Philostratus*, who ranks him among the *sophists*, well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and a good judge of the writings of others, but no great writer himself, his style being quite flat and lifeless. He was a native of *Nesocratis*, once a famous city of *Egypt*, on one of the arms of the *Nile*, to which it gave its name (7). He died in the fifty-eighth

(6) *Philost. soph.* 38. p. 590.

(7) *Idem*, p. 488.

\* Commodus being dead, and his body privately conveyed *Latus* and away, *Latus* and *Eclætus* repaired, without delay, to the *Eclætus* house offer the

year of his age (8). In the library of the duke of *Bavaria* is lodged a manuscript chronicle done by one *Julius Pollux*, and extending from the creation to the reign of the emperor *Valens*; which plainly shews, that it is not the work of this *Julius Pollux*, but of another, who flourished near two hundred years after his time (9). *Phrynicius* was cotemporary with *Pollux*, and likewise inscribed to *Commodus*, when he was only *Cæsar*, a work, of which *Photius* had read thirty-five or thirty-six books. It was a collection of words, phrases, and some sentences extracted out of the best *Greek* writers, and alphabetically digested. But these 35 books might have been reduced, according to *Photius*, to six or seven, by retrenching the author's useless digressions and repetitions. In some of these books *Phrynicius* addressed himself to *Commodus*; in others to *Basylides* a sophist of *Miletus*, and to his other friends (1). A collection of *Attic* words, done by *Phrynicius*, has reached us, with a letter to one *Cornelianus* prefixed to it, wherein he mentions another work, compiled by him at the request of *Cornelianus*, which contained a collection of many *Greek* words commonly used, but not quite pure and *Attic*. He owns, that some of them are to be found in the antients; but maintains, that they were therein faulty, and ought

not to be imitated (2). We find one *Attidius Cornelianus* governor of *Syria* in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*; and to him, in all likelihood, the above-mentioned letter is addressed (3). *Phrynicius* is not mentioned by *Suidas*. *Philostatus* speaks of one *Aristænetus* of *Byzantium*, who flourished under *Commodus*, and ranks him among the most eloquent men of his time (4). As for *Aristænetus*, the author of some letters that are still extant, it is manifest, that he wrote after the foundation of *New Rome*; that is, either under *Constantine*, or after his time. Both he and *Apollinaris Sidonius* speak of a celebrated mimic, by name *Caramallus*; whence some writers conjecture, that these two authors lived at the same time; that is, about the middle of the fifth century (5). The author of the letters was, as is evident, a pagan, though in his time paganism was almost utterly abolished, his work being a confused heap of follies and absurdities, altogether unworthy of one who had the least tincture of Christianity (6). Those who have been at the trouble of illustrating these letters with comments, distinguish the author of them from *Aristænetus* quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer (7), and from another of the same name, who was consul with *Honorius* in the year 404. and frankly own, that they know not who he was.

(8) *Suid.* p. 559. (9) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. iv. c. 17. (1) *Phot.* c. 158.  
 (2) *Vide Petr. Hallicum de vit. S. Alherici*, p. 114. *Duaci*, ann. 16:6.  
 (3) *M. Aur. vit.* p. 25. (4) *Philost. soph.* 37. p. 187. (5) *Voss.*  
*rebet.* p. 115. (6) *Vide Aristænet.* l. i. epist. 26. *Parisi.* ann. 1686. (7) *Steph.*  
*p.* 203.

empire to house of *Helvidius Pertinax*, whom they judged the most deserving person in the senate, and the most worthy of the empire. As the death of the emperor was not yet publicly known, *Pertinax*, roused out of his sleep (for it was about midnight) by their entering his house, did not doubt but they had been sent by *Commodus* to murder him. However, he ordered his domestics to let them into his room; and, upon their appearing there, without rising from his bed, or betraying the least concern, he told them, That as *Pompeianus* and he were the only friends of *M. Aurelius* left alive, he had long expected every day to fall a sacrifice to the cruelty of the tyrant; and, with great firmness, bid them strike, and put their orders in execution. *Lætus*, admiring his constancy and intrepidity, told him, that the tyrant was dead; and that they were come to offer the empire to him, as the person in the senate the most worthy of it. *Pertinax*, suspecting some treachery, even after they had acquainted him with all the circumstances of the death of the tyrant, sent some of his friends to the place where his body lay; and, upon their return, no room being left for any further doubt, he yielded to their intreaties, accepted the empire, and went to the camp of the prætorian guards with *Lætus* their captain, causing, in the mean time, a report to be spread in the city, that the emperor was dead of an apoplexy, and that *Pertinax* reigned in his room. The soldiers were greatly surprised to see him appear in the camp at that time of night; but *Lætus*, assen-

They even seem inclined to think it a mere rhapsody, published under the name of *Aristænetus*, which was prefixed to the first letter. The whole work seems to be a collection of several passages copied out of *Plato*, *Lucian*, and others, and jumbled together, if we may be allowed the expression. *Athenaus*, whose work, intituled, *deipnosophista*, has reached our times, lived under *Commodus*; but did not begin to write, as we may well judge from the liberty with which he speaks of him, till after his death (8). But he must have been then very old; for he had known *Pancrates*, a famous poet

in the reign of *Adrian*, since *Cassaubon* pretends, that *Athenaus* himself speaks in that place, and not *Callixenes*, whom he had quoted before (9). *Suidas*, who supposes him to have flourished under *M. Aurelius*, styles him a grammarian, and tells us, that he was a native of *Naucratis* in *Egypt* (1). We have but an abridgment of his *deipnosophista*, made, according to *Cassaubon*, at *Constantinople* five or six hundred years since. This writer is highly esteemed, and not undeservedly, by such as are fond of the *Grecian* antiquities. He published other works; but none of them have reached our times (2).

(8) *Athen.* l. xii. *Voss. l. 2. c. 1. ec. l. 5. c. 15.*  
(1) *Suid.* p. 111. (2) *l. 1. hyst. Græc.* 1013.

(9) *Athen.* l. xv. p. 677.

bling them, told them, that the emperor being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new prince, the most deserving person in the senate, who, he was sure, would be received with great joy, and acknowledged by all the armies of the empire, since he had every-where given signal proofs of his courage, prudence, and other princely virtues.

• PERTINAX himself spoke after *Latus*, and, in his speech, promised to each soldier three thousand drachmas; which would have gained them over to his interest, had he not added very unseasonably, that he hoped, by their means, to reform several abuses; for they concluded from thence, that he designed to restore the antient discipline, and deprive them of many privileges, which had been granted them by *Commodus*. This occasioned an universal discontent, which, however, they dissembled for the present; and, a small number having, at first, saluted him with the title of *emperor*, the rest followed their example, took the oath of allegiance to him, and, after the usual sacrifices, accompanied him, crowned with laurel, to the senate; where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable by the new consuls *Quintus Sossius Falco* and *Caius Julius Erucius*, and by all the magistrates, and other senators, who had assembled upon the first news of the death of the tyrant (M). When the senators had taken their places, *Pertinax*, before they had conferred upon him the title of *Augustus*, earnestly intreated them not to lay so heavy a burden upon him in his old age, but to pitch upon some other more able to discharge such an important trust, and better qualified by his nobility and birth for so high a station<sup>u</sup>. He was not satisfied with begging them in general to choose another, but particularly named *Acilius Glabrio*, who had been twice consul, and pretended to derive his pedigree from *Anchises* the father of *Æneas*, took him by the hand, and earnestly intreated him to place himself upon the imperial throne; but *Glabrio*, and with him all the rest, de-

who is ac-  
knowleged  
by the præs-  
torian  
guards,  
and the  
senate.

Year of  
the flood  
2541.  
Of Christ  
193.  
Of Rome  
941.

<sup>u</sup> HEROD. l. iv. p. 482—493. DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 830. VIT. Pert. p. 55.

(M) Among the rest came *Pompeianus*, who, in congratulating him upon his new dignity, could not hold bewailing, at the same time, the unhappy end of his brother-in-law *Commodus*; which *Pertinax* was so far from

resenting, that he pressed him to accept the empire, and would have willingly yielded it to him, says *Capitolinus*, could *Pompeianus* have been prevailed upon to accept it.

He accepts claring, that they would acknowledge no other prince but the empire *Pertinax*, he was, in the end, obliged to yield \* (N).

AGAINST his will. AFTER the senate had saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, he returned them thanks in an oration suited to the occasion, which was received with loud acclamations both of the senate and people, who were come in crouds to pay their homage to the new prince, whom they highly esteemed and revered. The consuls pronounced, according to custom, his panegyric : after which *Falco*, who was one of them, upon the emperor's commending *Latus*, captain of the guards, and owning himself indebted to him for the empire, is said by *Capitolinus* to have rebuked the new prince with great freedom for countenancing one who had been the chief minister of the crimes of *Commodus*. *Pertinax* heard him without the least emotion, and only told him, when he had done speaking, that he was young, and had not yet learnt to obey ; that *Latus* had put the orders of *Commodus* in execution against his own inclination, and shewn, as soon as he was at liberty to act as he pleased, what were his private sentiments \* (O). From the senate, the emperor went to offer the usual sacrifices in the capitol, visited the other temples, and then, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, re-

\* HEROD. DIO, *ibid.*

\* Vit. Pert. p. 55.

(N) *Capitolinus*, though no way favourable to *Pertinax*, cannot, however, help owning, that he was raised to the empire against his will, and that he had ever shewn an utter aversion to the sovereignty, and to all the ensigns of the sovereign power ; in confirmation of which, he alleges a letter written by *Pertinax* himself, and recorded by *Marius Maximus* (3).

(O) *Pertinax* received, with the title of *Augustus*, all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, that of the father of his country not excepted, which is said to have never before been given to any prince on the first day of his reign (4). To the rest he desired that the title of the prince of the senate might

be added, which had been laid aside ever since the times of the republic (4). At the same time the senate decreed the title of *Augusta* to his wife *Flavia Titiana*, and that of *Caesar* to his son. But he could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to accept that honour for his wife, whose conduct he disliked ; and, as to his son, he told the senate, that he should enjoy the title they had decreed him when he deserved it. He would not even suffer his son, who was yet very young, to live with him in the palace ; but sent him, and his sister, to the house of *Flavius Sulpicianus*, their grandfather by the mother, to be brought up there far from the gaieties and licentiousness of the court.

(3) Vit. Pert. p. 59.

(4) *Iacm*, p. 55.

(5) Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 832.

paired to the palace, where he gave a great entertainment, as it was the first day of the new year, to all the magistrates, and the chief men of the senate, pursuant to an antient custom, which had been neglected by *Commodus* (P).

THUS *Pertinax* began his reign, to the great satisfaction of Rome, and of all the provinces of the empire, where he was proclaimed emperor with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; no one doubting, but he would soon restore the state to *Pertinax*. its former lustre, and redress the abuses and disorders introduced by *Commodus*. He was born on the first of August of the year 126. the tenth of *Adrian's* reign, in a little village called *Villa Martis*, at a small distance from *Alba Pompeia*, now *Alba*, in the duchy of *Montferrat*. He is commonly stiled by historians, and in most inscriptions, *Publius Helvius Pertinax*. His father, by name *Helvius Succensus*, had either been a slave himself, or was the son of an enfranchised slave, and followed the mean profession of drying wood, and making charcoal. We are told, that he gave the name of *Pertinax* to his son, on account of his obstinately adhering, for some time, to the same calling, which, however, he was afterwards persuaded to abandon, and to keep a grammar-school in Rome, his father having taken care to have him instructed, when very young, in the Greek and Latin languages. But that profession not answering his expectation, he betook himself to a military life, and served first in Syria, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, as a common soldier; but was soon raised to the rank of a centurion, by the interest of *Lollius Avidus*, or rather *Lollius Gentianus*, his father's patron.

HAVING in that post distinguished himself under *Lucius His rise* *Verus*, *M. Aurelius's* colleague in the empire, during the Par- and pre-  
thian war, he was rewarded with the command of a cohort ferments.  
in Syria, and afterwards employed in Britain, or, as some read, Bithynia, Mæsia, Italy, and Germany, in which last place he commanded the Roman fleet. From Germany he was sent into Dacia, and there, upon some false information, deprived of his employment, whatever it was, by *M. Aurelius*,

HEROD. l. ii. p. 494. Vit. Pert. p. 55. DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 831. Vit. Pert. p. 52. VICT. epit.

(P) *Dio Cassius* saw that day, weakness of his eyes, for not for the first time, *Pompeianus* in assisting at the deliberations of the senate; for, during the last years of *Commodus's* reign, he says *Dio*, ceased when *Pertinax* had lived constantly in the country, alleging his old age, and the returned as soon as he died (6).



notwithstanding the esteem he had for him. *Capitolinus* writes, that he was governor of *Dacia*, and charged with aspiring to the empire. Be that as it will, *M. Aurelius*, being soon after convinced of his innocence, created him senator, honoured him with the ensigns of prætor, and gave him the command of the first legion, which he led against the  *Germans*, who had made themselves masters of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*. These countries he recovered in one campaign; for which eminent service *M. Aurelius* made him consul. He was afterwards sent into *Syria* against *Avidius Cassius*; and, upon his death, recalled from thence to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and command the army in *Illyricum*. Having acquitted himself in that office to the general satisfaction both of the *Romans* and barbarians, he was afterwards preferred to the government of the two *Mæsia's*, then to that of *Dacia*, and lastly to the government of *Syria*, which he held to the reign of *Commodus*, when he returned to *Rome*; but did not continue long there, being ordered by *Perennis*; who then governed with an absolute sway, and suspected all men of merit, to quit the city, and retire to *Liguria*, \* his native country, where he lived, as it were, in exile, three whole years; during which he embellished the place where he was born with a great number of fine buildings; but would not suffer his father's cottage, or rather shop, which stood in the midst of them, to be pulled down, or any-ways altered. After the downfall of *Perennis*, he was, by *Commodus*, sent into *Britain*, to restore the antient discipline among the troops there, that were ready to revolt; which he compassed, not without exposing himself to great dangers. He was recalled from thence at his own request; and, upon his return, charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions; then appointed proconsul of *Africa*; and lastly, governor of *Rome*, which employment he held when *Commodus* was killed †.

His character.

THE conspirators judged him, as we have related above, of all the great men in *Rome*, the most worthy of the empire. And truly he was, according to *Herodian*, in every respect well qualified for so important a trust, being a man of great wisdom, extraordinary valour, and a blameless character ‡. *Dio Cassius* extols him on account of his mild temper, his goodness, and his application to business; and adds, that he was grave without being sullen, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or arrogance §. *Aurelius*

\* Vit. Pert. p. 54, 55. HEROD. l. ii. p. 493. DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 831. VICT. epit.    † HEROD. ibid.    ‡ DIO, p. 832. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 743.

*Victor* styles him a person thoroughly acquainted with mankind, and one who admired and imitated the manners of the antient *Romans* <sup>d</sup>. The other *Victor* says, that he was an enemy to all pomp, and outward appearance; that he received persons of every rank and condition with great affability, and treated them as his equals. *Julius Capitolinus* is the only writer who gives him but an indifferent character, and charges him with avarice, and want of sincerity; but that writer lived an hundred years after *Pertinax*, whereas both *Dio Cassius* and *Herodian* were personally acquainted with him. The emperor *Julian* charges him only with having been privy to the conspiracy <sup>e</sup>; but even from that charge he is cleared by the above-mentioned writers.

As he found the exchequer quite drained, he ordered all the silver statues of *Commodus*, which had been pulled down by a decree of the senate, to be melted, and turned into money; and sold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his arms, his horses, his gold and silver plate, and all his rich moveables; among which particular mention is made of chariots so contrived, as to shew the hour, and measure the way <sup>f</sup>. By this means he raised money wherewith to pay the prætorian guards what he had promised them, to discharge several debts contracted by *Commodus*, and to give a bounty to the people. At the same time he restored to the lawful owners whatever had been unjustly taken from them by *Commodus*, recalled such as had been banished for the pretended crime of treason, put them in possession of their estates, and punished, with the utmost severity, those who had been any-ways accessory to their misfortunes. He publicly declared, that he would accept of no legacies or inheritances from such as had children or lawful heirs of their own, saying, *I had rather be poor, than wallow in riches acquired by dishonourable methods*. He abolished all the taxes laid by *Commodus* on the rivers, ports, and highways; and would not suffer his name to be set up, according to custom, in such places as belonged to the emperors, saying, that they did not belong to him, but to the public <sup>g</sup>.

Thus by the mildness of his government, by his equity and moderation, he gained the affections both of the senate and people; but, by attempting to restrain the licentiousness of the prætorian guards, he disobliged both them, and their commander *Lælius*, who at first had been so zealous in his cause. The private men, not doubting but he would restore

*His conduct and excellent administration.*

*The prætorian guards dissatisfied with him.*

<sup>d</sup> AUR. VICT. p. 56. <sup>e</sup> JULIAN. Cæs. p. 14. <sup>f</sup> Vit. Pert. p. 56. <sup>g</sup> Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 832. Vit. Pert. p. 56—59. HEROD. l. ii. p. 496.

They re-  
volt, and  
attempt to  
raise Fal-  
co to the  
empire.

the antient discipline among them, had, three days after his accession to the empire, attempted to set up another, to wit, *Triarius Maternus Lascivius*, a senator of an illustrious family; but he, escaping from them while they were carrying him to the camp, fled to *Pertinax*, assured him of his loyalty, and then withdrew from *Rome*. This obliged the emperor to confirm to them all the privileges which had been granted them by *Commodus*. However, he kept them to their duty, which they, inured to the licentiousness of the preceding reign, not being able to brook, attempted to raise *Falco*, the consul, to the empire. *Pertinax*, who was then at *Ostia* giving the necessary orders for supplying the city with provisions, returned in great haste to the palace; and, repairing from thence to the senate, complained there of *Falco*, whom the senators were for condemning immediately as a traitor, and a public enemy. But *Pertinax*, rising up, cried out, that in his reign no senator, however guilty, should be put to death; and publicly declared, that he forgave him. *Falco*, being thus dismissed, retired to his estate, where he lived in safety. Some writers pretend, that he was utterly unacquainted with the design of the prætorian guards, who had agreed to make him emperor, without imparting their resolution to him. However that be, the soldiers, highly exasperated against *Pertinax*, who laboured to revive the antient discipline, and stirred up underhand by *Lætus*, who did not think his former services sufficiently rewarded, began openly to mutiny, and declare that they would no longer obey the orders of *Pertinax*, nor acknowledge him for emperor. To exasperate them still more, *Lætus* caused several of them to be publicly executed, as privy to the late conspiracy; pretending, that he obeyed therein the orders of *Pertinax*, though the prince was quite unapprised of these proceedings.

Three hun-  
dred of  
them  
march to  
Rome,  
and enter  
the palace.

By this means the mutiny increasing daily, on the twenty-eighth of *March* a body of about three hundred of the mutineers, more bold than the rest, leaving the camp, and passing through the streets of *Rome* with their drawn swords, went strait to the palace, which they entered without opposition, the emperor's freedmen and officers either betaking themselves to flight through fear, or treacherously opening all the gates to them. *Pertinax*, in the mean time, knew nothing of what passed, till his wife, in a great fright, brought him word, that the prætorian guards had revolted, and were already in the palace. Hereupon the emperor dispatched *Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of *Rome*, to appease the tumult in the camp, and ordered *Lætus* to stop those who had entered the palace. But *Lætus*, covering his face, that he might not be known, instead of obeying

obeying the emperor's orders, retired to his own house. As the mutineers still advanced, some of the emperor's friends, who had remanded with him, advised him to retire, and conceal himself, till the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, could come to his assistance. But *Pertinax* rejected their advice, saying, That to save his life by flight was a thing altogether unworthy of an emperor. He therefore resolved to go forth, and meet them in person, believing that, awed by his presence, they would return to a sense of their duty. Accordingly, he appeared unexpectedly before them; and asked them, without betraying the least fear or concern, whether they, whose duty it was to defend the emperor's person, were come with an intent to betray and murder him. At the same time he represented to them the heinousness of their crime, the ignominy which it would cast upon their memories, and the fatal consequences of so black a treason, with such spirit and energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to sheath their swords, and retire. But a *Tungrian*, by name *Tausius*, darting his javelin at the emperor's breast, and crying out, *The soldiers send you this*, the rest fell on with great fury, and dispatched him with many wounds. The emperor made no resistance; but, covering his head with his robe, and calling upon *Jupiter the Avenger*, received their blows. *Eclectus* alone remained with him, and endeavoured to defend him; but, after having killed two of the soldiers, was himself run thro', and left dead by his master, for whose safety he had sacrificed his life. The soldiers cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a spear, as it were in triumph, to the camp, whither they retired with great precipitation, before the people could assemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they so tenderly loved.

AND truly it was no sooner known, that *Pertinax* had been murdered, than the enraged populace flocked together from all quarters of the city; and uttering dreadful menaces against the authors of his death, ran up and down the streets in quest of them. The senators were no less concerned for his death, than the people; the more, because they were now convinced, that the soldiers would suffer none to reign but tyrants. However, as they had more to lose than the common people, they did not offer to revenge his death; but either shut themselves up in their own houses, or in those of the soldiers of their acquaintance, thinking themselves there most safe<sup>b</sup>. Such was the unfortunate and much-lamented end of *Publius Helvius Pertinax*, after he had lived sixty-six

<sup>b</sup> DIO, p. 834, 835. HEROD. l. ii. p. 498. VIT. PERT. p. 58.  
years,

Honours  
paid him  
after his  
death.

years, seven months, and twenty-six or twenty-eight days; and reigned, according to *Dio Cassius*, eighty-seven days, that is, from the first of *January* to the twenty-eighth of *March*<sup>1</sup>. His body, together with his head, was interred with great pomp by *Didius Julianus*, his successor, in the burying-place of his wife's family. The emperor *Septimius Severus*, with the title of emperor, took the name of *Pertinax*, which he knew would, above any thing else, recommend him to the army in *Illyricum*, and to the *Roman* people. He punished, with great severity, all those who had been accessory to his death, disbanded the prætorian guards, honoured his memory with a most magnificent funeral, at which was carried the effigies of the deceased prince, pronounced himself his panegyric, and caused him to be ranked in the number of the gods, appointing the son chief-priest to his father. The day of his accession to the empire was yearly celebrated with the *Circensian* games; and his birth-day, for many years after, with other sports<sup>k</sup>. He performed great things, says *Herodian*, during his short reign, and would have restored the empire to its former lustre, had he reigned longer<sup>l</sup>.

The empire  
exposed to  
sale;

*PERTINAX* had sent, as we have related above, *Flavius Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, to appease the tumult in the camp of the prætorian guards; but, in the mean time, the news of his death reaching the camp, and the three-hundred foldiers arriving soon after with his head stuck on a spear, *Sulpicianus* was not ashamed to apply to the murderers of his son-in-law for the empire, and to offer them money for it. But they, resolved to make the most of it, caused it to be proclaimed on the ramparts of the camp, that the empire was exposed to sale, and the best bidder should have it. When news of this scandalous proclamation was first brought to *Rome*, *Didius Julianus*, the wealthiest man in the city, was entertaining some of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midst of their mirth and jollity, advised him, as he had more ready money than any man in *Rome*, not to lose the opportunity of making so valuable a purchase. *Julianus* ravished with the dazzling prospect of rule and empire, hearkened to their advice, rose from table, and hastened to the camp; where he represented to the foldiers, whom *Sulpicianus* was haranguing in his own behalf, that his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his son-in-law; and gave them it under his hand, that he would restore all things to the condition they were in under *Commodus*. This pleased the li-

<sup>1</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxiii. p. 834.

<sup>k</sup> *Idem*, p. 840—842. *VICT.*

*epit.* *Vit. Pert.* p. 59. *HEROD.* p. 495.

<sup>l</sup> *HEROD.* *ibid.*

centious and dissolute soldiery, who had committed, in that prince's reign, all sorts of disorders with impunity.

HOWEVER, they would hear what they both offered, and suffered them to bid upon one another, *Sulpicianus* in the camp, and *Julianus* at the gate; till the latter, rising at once from five thousand drachmas a man to six thousand two hundred and fifty, to be immediately paid, silenced the other, and purchased by *Didius* was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed emperor, on condition that he should forgive his competitor, and never take the least notice of his aspiring to the empire<sup>m</sup> (Q). *Julianus*. *M. Didius Severus Julianus*, thus raised to the empire, was His ex- descended from an illustrious family, come originally from *tration* *Milan*, in which city his grandfather was born. The em- and pre- peror was the son of *Retronius Didius Severus*, and *Æmia* *ferments*. *Clara*, the grand-daughter of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, who flourished under *Adrian*, and compiled the perpetual *edict*. He was born on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth of *January* in the year 133. the sixteenth of *Adrian's* reign, and brought up by *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *M. Aurelius*. That prince, who had a particular affection for him, created him first *quæstor*, then *ædile*, afterwards *prætor*; and when the time of his *prætorship* expired, gave him the command of the twenty-second legion, then quartered in *Germany*. Not long after, he appointed him governor of *Belyc Gaul*, where, with the few forces he had under his command, he drove back the *Chauci*, who had made an irruption into the *Roman* territories; for which service he was rewarded with the consulship. After he had discharged that office, he was sent into *Illyricum*, which country he defended with great valour against the neighbouring barbarians; and was, on that

<sup>m</sup> *DIO*, p. 835. *HEROD.* p. 499.

(Q) *Spartian* relates his accession to the empire in a different manner: according to him, the senate assembled upon the news of the emperor's death; but *Julianus*, coming too late, and finding the doors shut, was accosted by two tribunes, *P. Florianus* and *Vestius Aper*, who encouraged him to seize on the empire. *Julianus*, believing that *Sulpicianus* had been proclaimed emperor by the prætorian guards,

answered, that the empire was already disposed of; but they, nevertheless, carried him to the camp against his will, where, upon his warning them not to choose one who would undoubtedly revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and his promising to respect the memory of *Commodus*, he was proclaimed *Augustus* upon the above-mentioned condition (7).

(7) *Spart. in Jul.* p. 60.

account,

account, preferred to the government of *Lower Germany*; whence he was recalled to *Rome*, and charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions<sup>a</sup>. He narrowly escaped being put to death in the reign of *Commodus*, as privy to the pretended conspiracy of *Salvius Julianus*, his uncle by the mother, and was for some time confined to the city of *Milan*. But *Commodus*, ashamed of having caused so many other senators to be inhumanly massacred, not only discharged *Julianus*, but preferred him to the government of *Bithynia*, and afterwards to the consulship, in which he had *Pertinax* for his colleague, whom he succeeded in the proconsulship of *Africa*. Hence *Pertinax* used to call him his colleague, and his successor; which was afterwards interpreted as a presage of his being succeeded by *Julianus* in the empire<sup>o</sup>.

His character.

ALL authors agree, that *Didius Julianus* was possessed of immense wealth; but disagree as to his character. *Dio Cassius*, who had been named by *Pertinax* to the prætorship, charges him with avarice and gluttony, and paints him as one who was wholly intent upon amassing riches by any means, however shameful and unjust, and, at the same time, sparing no expence to please and satisfy his palate. He spoke without judgment, says that writer, and uttered such things in public as made him be pitied by all men of sense. He was, underhand, a great encourager of disturbances and troubles in the state, and is supposed to have privately stirred up the soldiers against *Pertinax*, though his nephew had married that prince's daughter. *Dio Cassius* adds, that he himself, in pleading, had often reproached him in public with his crying injustices<sup>p</sup>. *Herodian* writes, that he was generally despised on account of his disorderly life, and that he thought of nothing but his pleasures and diversions<sup>q</sup>. *Spartian*, on the other hand, tells us, that, in all his governments and employments under *M. Aurelius*, he acquitted himself with great integrity; from which, however, he was said to have swerved in the reign of *Commodus*. He adds, that he was so covetous, as not to allow himself sometimes any other food but roots and greens; which is point-blank contrary to what we read in *Dio Cassius* and *Herodian*, both which writers lived at that time in *Rome*. *Spartian*, however, owns, that *Julianus* was charged with eating and drinking to excess, with gaming, and using such weapons as were peculiar to the gladiators, though, in his youth, he had never been addicted to any of these vices<sup>r</sup>. He shewed himself, according to that writer, kind, affable, and

<sup>a</sup> SPART. in Jul. p. 60.

<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid. p. 61.

<sup>p</sup> DIO,

l. lxxiii. p. 835.

<sup>q</sup> HEROD. l. ii. p. 498.

<sup>r</sup> Julian. vit.

p. 63.

obliging to all men ; and was so far from being elevated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he seemed rather to debase himself too much.

As soon as he was declared emperor, he appointed, at the request of the prætorian guards, *Flavius Genialis* and *Tullius Crispinus* their commanders. At the same time he accepted the name of *Commodus*, which they begged him to take upon him ; and this name is still to be seen on some of his medals \*. After the usual ceremonies, the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle-array to the senate. The people did not offer to oppose their march ; but no acclamations were heard ; some, who were at a distance, even uttered invectives against him. As for the senators, those among them, who were the most grieved to see him emperor, were the most forward in congratulating him with feigned joy on his accession to the empire. Among these was, as he himself owns, *Dio Cassius* the historian †. *Julianus* made a speech in the senate, says *Dio*, who was present, worthy of himself ; wherein he desired them to confirm what the soldiers had done, as if he would hold the empire of them ; but told them at the same time, that he was the fittest person they could choose. The senate immediately passed a decree, declaring him emperor, and his family patrician, and investing him with the tribunitial and proconsular powers. At the same time his wife *Manlia Scantilla*, and his daughter *Didia Clara*, were honoured with the title of *Augustæ*. From the senate he repaired to the palace, where he found the body of *Pertinax*, which he caused to be honourably interred, and passed the night in great agonies, reflecting on the fate of *Pertinax*, which he apprehended might in the end be his own ‡. Thus *Capitolinus* ; but *Dio Cassius*, who was an eye-witness of what passed at Rome under *Julianus*, tells us, that the new prince, entering the palace, and despising the frugal supper which had been prepared for *Pertinax* (for that prince was murdered, and he declared emperor, on the same day), ordered a magnificent feast to be got ready, and passed the night in mirth and jollity, leaving the body of the deceased prince in the place where he had been murdered §.

THE next morning, the senate and the Roman knights coming to wait upon him, he received them in a most obliging manner, calling them, says *Capitolinus*, according to their age, his father, his brother, or his son. He went afterwards to the senate, and returned them thanks for having admitted him to administer, in conjunction with them, the

\* BIRAC. p. 262.  
p. 61.

† DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 835.  
DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 836.

‡ Vit. Pert.



He is  
bated, and  
openly  
curfed, by  
the people.

sovereign power, and for the honours they had conferred on his wife and daughter. On this occasion he had received, according to *Capitolinus*, the title of *father of his country*, which, however, does not appear on any of his medals. From the senate he went to the capitol to offer there the usual sacrifices, the senators, who attended him, striving to shew great joy in the height of their grief. But the people, strangers to all dissimulation, openly loaded him with curses and reproaches, hoping by that means to oblige him to resign the power, which he had purchased of the soldiery in so shameful a manner. They even discharged showers of stones at him, and wished aloud, as he was sacrificing in the capitol, that he might never obtain any favour of the gods. The emperor endeavoured to appease them with great promises; but they answered boldly, that they scorned to receive any thing from such an usurper and parricide: insomuch that, to disperse them (for they stopped up the way), he was obliged to order the soldiers to fall upon those who stood nearest; which they did accordingly, and killed or wounded great numbers of them. This exasperated the people to such a degree, that they all took arms; and, in the circus, where the emperor assisted at the public games, renewed their curses and imprecations both against him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the assistance of the other armies and generals, namely, of *Pescennius Niger*, who, at that time, commanded a powerful army in *Syria*. All this *Julianus* bore with great patience, says *Spartian*; and, during his short reign, gave many instances of an extraordinary sweet temper\*. He appointed *Repentinus*, his son-in-law, captain of the prætorian guards, in the room of *Sulpitianus*, father-in-law to the deceased emperor; and, to gratify the soldiery, re-established many things, which had been appointed by *Commodus*, and abolished by *Pertinax*.

His go-  
vernment.

Clodius  
Albinus,  
his extra-  
dition and  
prefer-  
ments.

AMONG the many great captains, who commanded at this time the Roman armies in the different provinces of the empire, the most famed were *Pescennius Niger* in *Syria*, *Septimius Severus* in *Illyricum*, and *Clodius Albinus* in *Britain*. *Clodius Albinus* was a native of *Adrumetum* in *Africa*, but descended from the *Posthumian* and *Ceionian* families, two of the most illustrious in *Rome*. His father *Ceionius Posthumus* gave him the name of *Albinus*, because at his birth he appeared whiter than new-born children usually are, the Latin word *albus* importing white. He was brought up in *Africa*, where he studied the Greek and Latin languages, in which he was well versed. The antients extol his knowledge

\* Vit. Pert. p. 61.

and learning, and mention, with great commendations, a treatise, which he composed on agriculture. But his martial genius did not allow him to pursue the peaceable profession of letters. When he was yet very young, he was often heard to repeat, among the children of his age at school, that verse of *Virgil*, — *Arma amens capio, nec sūt rationis in armis* ; especially the first part of it, *Arma amens capio*, that is, *I am for following the profession of arms, right or wrong ; I am for a military life at all events*. He therefore entered into the service very early, and, by the interest of *Lollius Serenus*, *Bæbius Mætianus*, and *Ceionius Posthumianus*, men of rank, and nearly related to him, was first raised to the command of a troop of *Illyrian* horse, and soon after to that of the first and fourth legions. He commanded the army in *Bithynia* in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and restrained them from joining, as they designed, *Avidius Cassius*, for which service he was rewarded with the consulship. In the reign of *Commodus* he was appointed governor of *Gaul*, where he gained great advantages over the *Frisians*, and other neighbouring nations. From *Gaul* he was translated into *Britain*, which government he held at this time. The emperor *Commodus*, suspecting that *Septimius Severus*, governor of *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who commanded an army in some other province, designed to revolt, in order to engage *Albinus* in his cause, wrote a letter to him, if *Capitolinus* is to be credited, giving him leave to assume, if he saw occasion, the title of *Cæsar*, and all the ensigns of that dignity ; which he prudently declined, fearing to be involved in the ruin of that tyrant, which he apprehended to be at hand (R). The same

Vit. Alb. p. 79—84.

(R) This letter was conceived in the following terms : Besides the other letters, which I have written to you concerning your successor, and the affairs of the public, this, you see, is a familiar letter, written with my own hand ; in which I give you leave, whenever you shall see occasion, to take upon you, at the head of the army, the name and quality of *Cæsar*. For I hear, that *Septimius Severus* and *Nonius Murcus* speak ill of me to the army, in order to estrange from me the

minds of the soldiery, and pave themselves a way to the throne. I give you leave, when you think fit, to assume the name of *Cæsar*, and to present the soldiers with a donative of three pieces of gold a man. I send you letters for my receivers, sealed with the head of an *Amazon*, which you will deliver to them, when you have occasion for the money ; otherwise they will not supply you with it out of the treasury. That you may not be without the ensigns of the dignity to which

I raise

writer adds, that, some time after, a false report of the death of *Commodus* being spread in *Britain*, *Albinus*, giving credit to it, encouraged his soldiers to abolish monarchy, and re-establish the ancient republican government; which gained him the affections of the senate, but provoked *Commodus* to such a degree, that he immediately sent *Junius Severus* to succeed him in the government of *Britain*; but he did not arrive there before the death of *Commodus* was publicly known in that province <sup>2</sup>.

His character.

M. AURELIUS had a particular value for him, and thought him, as appears from one of his letters to the captains of the guards quoted by *Capitolinus* <sup>2</sup> (S), well qualified, on account of his severity and gravity, for the command of an army. But his severity seems to have bordered upon cruelty; for he is said never to have pardoned the least fault, but to have crucified even the centurions, when he found them any-way remiss in their duty. "He was unjust to his domestics, insupportable to his wife, and to all surly and morose. He was

<sup>2</sup> Vit. Alb. p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 83.

I raise you, I give you leave to wear a purple robe even in my presence: the purple you shall have the first time I see you, but not enriched with gold, which my great-grandfather *Ælius Verus* never wore, tho' adopted by *Adrian* (8).

(S) M. Aurelius wrote the following letter concerning him to the captains of the guards: I have entrusted *Albinus*, of the family of the *Ceionii*, with the command of two cohorts. He is, it is true, an *African*, but free from the vices of that country. He is the son-in-law of *Plautillus*, and, besides, a man of great experience, of a grave and composed behaviour, and capable of maintaining the necessary discipline in a camp: at least, I am sure we need not apprehend any thing from him. I have doubled his salary, and desire you to en-

courage him, assuring him, that his services shall not remain unrewarded (9). The same prince wrote another letter concerning him soon after the rebellion of *Avidius Cassius*, in which he expresses himself thus: The fidelity of *Albinus* deserves the highest encomiums; for, when the forces in *Bithynia* were ready to revolt, and join *Cassius*, he spared no pains to maintain them in their duty, and defeat their evil designs. I therefore think him worthy of the consulship, and accordingly design to substitute him in the room of *Cassius Papirius*, who is dangerously ill, and, as I am informed, past recovery. But of this take no notice till he is dead, lest it should come to the ears either of *Papirius* himself, or his friends; which would give me great concern (1).

(8) Vit. Albin. p. 47.

(9) Idem ibide

(1) Idem, p. 48.

very temper in his affairs, but quite otherwise in his repasts, ~~enjoying nothing but~~ plenty; for he had an extraordinary appetite, and is said by *Capitolinus* to have often eat at a breakfast two hundred eggs, an hundred peaches, ten melons, twenty bunches of grapes, an hundred *brascasico's*, and four hundred oysters. Sometimes he abstained altogether from wine, and sometimes drank to excess even in the time of war. He was ~~for~~ being chaste, but abhorred and punished with the utmost severity all sorts of unnatural lust. As he was, notwithstanding his many vices, a man of great courage and skill in military affairs, he was commonly called a *Second Catiline*. The harangue he made to his troops in *Brescia* against monarchy, gained him the affections of the senate to such a degree, that no prince, says his historian, was ever loved by them so much as he.

CAIUS PESCENNIVS NIGER JUSTUS, as he is stiled on some medals <sup>d</sup>, was descended of an equestrian family, and born at *Aquinum*. He had but a small estate, and little learning; but nevertheless raised himself from the degree of a centurion to the first military employments in the empire. He had some command in *Gaul*, where he contracted a great friendship with *Septimius Severus*, at that time governor of the country of *Lyons*, who recommended him to the emperor *Commodus* as an excellent soldier, and experienced commander. He was afterwards made consul, at the request of the troops under his command <sup>e</sup>. *Herodian* calls him a gallant soldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illustrious consul, and an unfortunate emperor <sup>f</sup>. He kept the soldiers to their duty, and would not suffer them to exact any thing from the people, nor the officers from the soldiers, upon any account whatsoever. He caused two tribunes to be flogged for having deducted a very inconsiderable sum from the pay of the men under their command, and condemned ten soldiers to be beheaded for stealing a fowl; but the whole army interceding in their behalf, he thought it advisable to spare their lives, and only obliges them to pay to the countryman the price of ten fowls. He would not allow his soldiers, while they were in the field, to drink wine, nor to use plate, or have any gold or silver about them, when they went to battle, that the enemy might not, in case of any misfortune, set themselves off with their spoils. He suffered no bakers to follow the army, obliging the soldiers to content themselves with biscuit. Some troops, that were in garrison

<sup>b</sup> Vit Alb p 83

p 264 <sup>c</sup> SPART in NIGR p 25.

p 501

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<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid

II

<sup>d</sup> BIRAG  
<sup>f</sup> HEROD. l iii.

on the frontiers of *Egypt*, having one day begged leave to drink wine, he returned them no other answer, than that they were but at a small distance from the *Nile*. He required nothing of the soldiers, but what he practised himself. In his garb and dress he little varied from a common soldier, and his diet was the same with that of the meanest in the army. He always led the march on foot, with his head uncovered, in all seasons and climates. He obliged even his own domestics to carry burdens on their backs, that they might not seem to walk at their ease, while the soldiers were loaded with their arms and baggage (T).

Septimius  
Severus,  
his cha-  
racter.

SEVERUS was a person endowed with extraordinary talents, and in every respect infinitely superior both to *Albinus* and *Niger*. He was generally esteemed, and not undeservedly, the most active, vigilant, laborious, and enterprising man in the whole empire; inured to labour, indefatigable in every duty of war, equal to the greatest commanders of antient times, a great master of civil affairs, prompt in foreseeing

(T) He had constantly before his eyes *Marius*, *Hannibal*, and other famed commanders of antiquity; and when, upon his being saluted emperor, the person, who, according to custom, was appointed to pronounce his panegyric, began to commend him, he immediately interrupted the orator, and desired him to say something in praise of *Marius*, of *Hannibal*, or of some other renowned commander, who was dead. Tell us, said he, what they have done worthy of imitation; for to praise the living is an useless task, especially to praise an emperor, who can punish, reward, prescribe, and condemn: as for me, I only desire to please while I live; when I am dead, then praise me, if I deserve it. If he had prevailed, no one doubted but he would have restored the empire to its former lustre, without using that cruelty

for which *Severus* is blamed (2). For, tho' he was naturally severe, says *Herodian* (3), yet he governed with great mildness, and was always ready to contribute to the diversions of the people; which gained him the affections of the *Syrians*, especially of the *Antiochians*, who delighted in nothing but shows and spectacles. *Spartian* commends him on account of his chastity, which the *Gauls*, says that writer, admired in him above all his other virtues (4). On the other hand, *Victor* the younger styles him a man abandoned to all manner of lewdness. *Dio Cassius* speaks of him as a person no way remarkable either for his good or bad qualities (5). However, it is certain, that he was universally esteemed and beloved by the people of *Rome*, who all wished to see him emperor (6).

(2) *Vit. Nigr.* p. 75-

77.

(3) *Herod.* l. ii. p. 508, & l. iii. p. 518.

(4) *Vit. Nigr.* p. 76.

(5) *Dio*, l. lxxiv. p. 842.

(6) *He* *id.* *ib.* *d.*

*Vit. Ail.* p. 74.

events, dextrous at conceiving schemes, a constant friend, a dangerous enemy, and equally violent in his love and hatred. He was a great dissembler, full of deceit, and ever ready to sacrifice his reputation, and every thing else, to his interest and ambition<sup>a</sup>. He was naturally inclined to cruelty and avarice, but more so cruelty; for we find some instances of his generosity, but none of his humanity; nay, he is said never to have pardoned a fault, or performed a good-natured action<sup>b</sup>. He was an enemy to all pomp and shew, frugal in his diet, contenting himself for the most part with roots and greens, but sometimes, tho' seldom, drinking to excess. In the field, his diet was the same with that of the common soldiers; he shared with them all their labours, and encouraged them more by his example, than by words, to bear with patience the toils of war, which, notwithstanding his severity, gained him the affections of the soldiery<sup>c</sup>. *Severus* was born *His ex-* at *Leptis*, a city of *Libya Tripolitana*; but his ancestors had *tradition*, been Roman knights, and afterwards admitted into the senate; for he was nephew by the father to two consuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Septimius Severus*; the latter was twice consul. His father, *M. Septimius Geta*, had another son, named likewise *Geta*, and a daughter; but neither her name, nor that of her son, have been transmitted to us<sup>d</sup>.

*SEVERUS* was born on the eleventh of *April*, in the eighth year of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. He studied first in *Africa*; education, and afterwards at *Rome*, the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues; de- claimed in public, when only eight years old; applied himself to the study of philosophy and eloquence; and excelled, according to *Spartian*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Eutropius*, in each branch of polite literature. *Dio*, on the contrary, writes, that he had more inclination than ability to learn the liberal arts<sup>e</sup>; and *Spartian* owns, that he spoke to the end of his life the *Latin* tongue with the *African* accent<sup>f</sup>. He was instructed in the knowledge of the law, together with *Papirianus*, by *Q. Servidius Scaevola*, who published various books of jurisprudence, whereof some fragments are still preserved in the *pandects*<sup>g</sup>. He seems to have had likewise some knowledge of physic<sup>h</sup>, and is said to have been thoroughly acquainted with judicial astrology, a science to which the

<sup>a</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxiii. p. 837. & l. lxxvi. p. 869. *HEROD.* l. ii. p. 503. *VICT. epit.* *TERTULL.* apol. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> *HEROD.* l. iii. p. 527. <sup>c</sup> *Idem*, l. ii. p. 507. <sup>d</sup> *SPART.* vit. Sev. p. 64. *Dio* in excerpt. *VAL.* p. 742. *GRUT.* p. 268.

<sup>e</sup> *Dio* in excerpt. *VAL.* p. 741. <sup>f</sup> *Vit. Sev.* p. 71. <sup>g</sup> *Vit.* Caracall. cum not. *CASAUB.* p. 132. & *JONS.* l. iii. c. 12. <sup>h</sup> *GAL-*

*LEN.* ther. t. ii. p. 457, 458.

*Africans* were generally addicted<sup>p</sup>. In his youth he was accused of adultery, but acquitted by *Didius Julianus*, at that time proconsul of *Africa*.

AFTERWARDS he came to *Rome*, where, after he had pleaded for some time with little success at the bar, he was, by the interest of his uncle *Septimius Severus*, admitted by the emperor *M. Aurelius* into the senate, and appointed governor of the island of *Sardinia*; whence he was sent to command the troops in *Africa*, in quality of lieutenant to the proconsul. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was created prætor; and, after his prætorship, preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then quartered in *Syria*. On his journey into that province, he visited the city of *Athens*, and received some affront there, for which he deprived the inhabitants, when emperor, of many privileges granted them by his predecessors. Next, he was raised to the government of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, or the country of *Lyons*, where, by his affability, and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections of all. From *Gaul* he was removed to *Pannonia*, which province he governed with proconsular authority, as he did afterwards that of *Sicily*. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was accused of having consulted the astrologers about his attaining the empire; but, as *Commodus* began then to be universally hated, he was acquitted, and his accuser crucified. He was raised soon after to the consulship, and then appointed commander of all the troops employed in *Illyricum* to defend the banks of the *Danube* q (U).

To

<sup>p</sup> Get. vit. p. 90. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 866. <sup>q</sup> Vit. Sev. p. 64, 65. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 840. Herod. l. ii. p. 503.

(U) He married to his first wife one *Martha*; and, upon her death, *Julia*, a native of *Emesa* in *Syria*, for no other reason but because the astrologers had told her, that she was to marry a sovereign. She is stiled, in several inscriptions, *Julia Domna Augusta, the mother of the armies, of the senate, of her country, &c.* (7). By her *Severus* had *Bassianus*, commonly known by the name of *Caracalla*, born the

fourth of *April* 188. *Geta*, born in *Milan*, the twenty-seventh of *May* 189. and two daughters, who were married after their father's accession to the empire. *Julia* dishonoured with her lewdness her husband and family, and had the mortification to hear herself publicly reproached by a *Caledonian* lady with the same vices, which she pretended to condemn in her (8). She was likewise accused of conspiring

(7) *Spon.* p. 270. *Spanh.* l. vi. p. 628. *Dio*, l. lxxvi. p. 869.

(8) *Aur. Viâ. Sev.* vi. p. 71.

To resume now the thread of our history, and return to *Didius Julianus*: while he was striving to gain the affections of the Roman people by the mildness of his government, news were brought him, that *Pescennius Niger* had revolted in *Pescennius Syria*, and was acknowledged emperor by all the Eastern nations, and the troops under his command. Soon after he received the like tidings from *Illyricum*, where *Severus* had been saluted by the army, which he commanded there, with the title of *Augustus*. The armies in *Gaul* likewise swore allegiance to him, as soon as they heard, that he had taken upon him the title of emperor. Their example was followed by all the armies, provinces, and cities in *Europe*, except the city of *Byzantium*; so that *Severus*, having secured the provinces behind him, and left some troops to guard the banks of the *Danube*, began his march to *Rome*. As he was well apprised, that *Albinus*, governor of *Britain*, was in a condition to thwart his designs, he wrote an obliging letter to him; wherein he declared his intention of adopting him, and gave him the title of *Cæsar*, which *Albinus* assumed at the head of his army, with all the ensigns of his new dignity, bestowing on that occasion great encomiums on *Severus*. As for *Niger*, *Severus* did not so much as attempt to gain, or rather deceive him, well knowing, that he would not hearken to any proposals whatsoever.

*JULIANUS*, in the mean time, repairing to the senate, caused *Severus* to be declared an enemy to his country, and likewise his soldiers, if they did not abandon him within a limited time. Deputies were even sent by the senate to persuade the soldiers to quit the party of *Severus*, and join *Julianus*. Among these was *Pespronius Candidus*, a consular of great authority, *Valerius Catulinus*, who was named to take upon him the command of the troops which *Severus* had

• DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 837. HEROD. l. ii. p. 513.

against her husband, and charged with several other crimes by *Plantianus*, who did all that lay in his power to discredit her with the emperor; insomuch that, to retrieve her reputation, she betook herself to the study of philosophy, and kept continually about her a great number of sophists, philologists, mathematicians, geographers, and persons

eminent in the various branches of learning; which has rendered her name famous in history (9). *Julia* had a sister named *Mesa*, who was married to one *Julius*, who had by her two daughters, *Socenia* and *Mamma*, the former the mother of the emperor *Heliogabalus*, and the latter of *Alexander*, who succeeded him.

(9) *Plin. A. vit. Apoll. Tyan.* l. i. c. 3. & *scph.* 56. p. 617.



In his  
march to  
Rome he  
is every-  
where re-  
ceived  
with loud  
acclama-  
tions.

Makes  
himself  
master of  
Ravenna.

Julianus  
causes Se-  
verus to  
be declar-  
ed his  
partner in  
the em-  
pire.

with him, and one *Aquilius*, a centurion, the chief minister of the cruelties of *Commodus*, with orders to dispatch *Severus* as soon as his troops had deserted him. But the deputies, instead of exhorting the troops to abandon *Severus*, joined him themselves, and encouraged the soldiers to pursue their march, and revenge the death of *Pertinax*. Hereupon *Julianus*, having first paid the prætorian guards the largess he had promised them, ordered them to their arms, and at the same time sent for the marines, who were on board the fleet at *Misenum*, and, with the prætorian guards, made up a considerable army. But, as they had been long inured to idleness, they scarce knew how to make use of their arms, and shewed great backwardness to make head against the enemy, who were advancing with long marches, being received every-where with loud acclamations, and supplied with plenty of provisions, upon their giving out, that they were going to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, a prince universally beloved. *Julianus*, finding he could not depend upon his troops, caused the palace to be fortified, as if he could have maintained himself there after losing all the rest. At the same time, he ordered *Marcia* and *Latus*, the chief authors of the death of *Commodus*, to be murdered, not doubting but they favoured *Severus*; dispatched a great number of assassins, to try if he could by any means murder *Severus*, with promises of immense rewards, if they succeeded in the attempt; and caused an incredible number of children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make use of their blood in the abominable mysteries of magic.

WHILE *Julianus* was thus losing his time in useless preparations, *Severus*, arriving at *Ravenna*, made himself master of that city, and the fleet riding there; which so terrified *Julianus*, that, distrusting his troops, he ordered the senate to assemble on the twenty-ninth of *May*, when one of his ministers desired them in his name to send out the *Vestals* to meet the enemy, and intreat them to retire; which proposal being rejected as no less ridiculous than ineffectual, *Julianus*, as some authors write, was so provoked, that he assembled his troops, with a design to put all the senators to the sword, if they did not comply with his request. But he soon changed his mind, and went to the senate in person, with a proposal of a quite different nature, which was, that they would pass a decree, declaring *Severus* his partner in the empire. The decree passed without opposition, and was immediately sent to *Severus*, who not only rejected the offered association, but, at the instigation of *Julius Latus*, ordered *Tullius Crispinus*,

captain of the prætorian guards, who had brought the decree, to be cut in pieces, a report being spread, that *Crispinus* had private orders to dispatch him. Hereupon *Julianus*, being quite at a loss what to do, and the senate declining to assist him with their advice, ordered the gladiators at *Capua* to take arms, under the command of *Lollianus Titianus*, and wrote an obliging letter to *Pompeianus*, the son-in-law of *M. Aurelius*, who then led a retired life at *Terracina*, offering to take him, as he was an excellent commander, for his partner in the empire. But *Pompeianus* wisely declined the offer, pleading his old age, and the weakness of his sight; which, however, would have served him well, says *Dio Cassius*, had he seen any effectual means of relieving his distressed country.

In the mean time the troops sent by *Julianus* into *Umbria*, *Julianus* to guard the passes of the *Apennine* mountains, declared for *abandoned Severus*; and the prætorian guards themselves, abandoning <sup>to all</sup> the emperor whom they had set up, agreed not to oppose *Severus*, upon his promising them impunity, provided they delivered up to him those who had murdered *Pertinax*. *Julianus*, seeing himself thus deserted by his troops, shut himself up in the palace, with *Gehialis*, one of the captains of the guards, and *Repetinus* his son-in-law. The guards in the mean time, having seized such of their comrades as had been any way concerned in the death of *Pertinax*, acquainted therewith *Silius Messala*, who had been substituted either to *Kalco* or *Erucius*, the ordinary consul of this year 193. *Messala* immediately assembled the senate, when a decree *Severus* passed, depriving *Julianus* of the empire, sentencing him to death, declaring *Severus* emperor, and appointing divine honours to *Pertinax*. This decree was carried to *Severus* by some of the chief men in the senate, who intreated him, in the name of the rest, to hasten his march to *Rome*. At the same time the senate sent a band of soldiers to the palace, with orders to put *Julianus* to death; whom they found drowned in tears, and ready to resign the empire, upon condition that they spared his life. Some authors write, that, at the sight of the armed band, he only said, *What crime have I committed? whose life have I taken away?* Others tell us, that he implored the faith of *Cæsar*, giving that title to *Severus*. Be that as it will, his head was struck off by a common soldier, and his body, according to *Aurelius Victor*, exposed to public view. Such was the end of *Didius Julianus*, after he had lived sixty years, four months, and as many

• Dio, in excerpt. VAL. p. 719. VIT. JUL. p. 63.  
p. 838. HEROD. p. 510. • Dio, p. 838.  
p. 63.

• Dio,  
JUL. VIT.

days, and reigned two months and six days. *Severus*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was buried in the tomb of his ancestors on the *Via Lavicana*, about five miles from *Rome* <sup>2</sup>.

An hundred senators sent to meet *Severus*.

*SEVERUS* received the news of his competitor's death; when he was yet some days journey from *Rome*. However, he pursued his march with his troops in battle array, and encamped every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country; which filled the city with terror and dismay. The senate deputed an hundred persons of great distinction, out of their body, to congratulate him upon the death of his rival, and his accession to the empire. *Severus* received them in his armour, at the head of his troops, and caused them to be searched, as if he suspected their fidelity; but afterwards entertained them in a very familiar and friendly manner, presented them with seven hundred pieces of gold, and gave them liberty either to depart immediately, or to stay, and return to *Rome* with him. He appointed *Flavius Juvenalis* captain of the guards, with *Veturius Macrinus*, whom he had named before to that employment. At the same time he dispatched an express to *Plautianus*, injoining him to seize the children of *Pescennius Niger*, and of all the officers who served under him. He had the good luck to intercept several letters and edicts sent by *Niger* to the senate and people of *Rome*, which he would not suffer to be read to them <sup>3</sup>. When he approached *Rome*, he caused all those to be executed, who had any hand in the death of *Pertinax*; and sent orders to the other soldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they wore when they attended the emperor in the great solemnities. His orders were obeyed, the guards imagining, that they were to attend in that dress the emperor's entry. When they arrived in the camp, *Severus* sent them word to wait in a body, till he was at leisure to receive and harangue them; and, in the mean time, gave private orders to his own troops to surround them at a distance, and shut them up on all sides, while they were intent upon hearing his harangue.

He then ascended the tribunal; and, betraying great anger and resentment in his countenance, reproached them in most bitter terms for murdering their prince, and such a prince as *Pertinax*; for selling by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the Roman name, the empire; and even for abandoning, like so many cowards and traitors, *Julianus*, whom they had themselves chosen. He told them, that he could inflict no punishment

<sup>2</sup> Dio, p. 868. Vit. Jul. p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Vit. Sever. p. 66.

& Nig. l. 75. HERCULAN. l. iii p 526.

upon them answerable to the enormity of their crimes; that, nevertheless, he granted them their lives; but commanded them forthwith to quit their horses, and all their military badges, and retire without delay an hundred miles from Rome, solemnly declaring, that whoever among them should be found within that distance of the city, should irremissibly be put to death, and publicly executed. They were thunderstruck with this order; but forced to comply with it, being surrounded on all sides by the armed troops of Severus, who obliged them to quit their horses, and stripped them even of their tunics. Thus stripped and degraded, they retired with that shame and confusion, which were justly owing to the heinousness of their crimes (W).

SEVERUS entered Rome, attended by all his troops under His entry arms, and with the standards of the prætorian guards reversed. into Rome. He came to the gate on horseback, and in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the senators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewise wore, who, on this occasion, were all clad in white. The streets through which he passed were strewed with flowers, the houses adorned, and covered with rich tapestry, and the whole city perfumed with sweet odours. Severus, having visited the capitol, and the usual temples, retired to the palace; but the soldiers, taking up their quarters in the temples, porticoes, and other public buildings, spread themselves all over the city, and committed every-where great disorders, threatening to plunder the citizens houses, if they were not plentifully supplied with provisions, for which they would allow nothing. This alarmed the people, and inspired them with a great aversion from the new emperor. The next morning Severus went to the senate, attended by all his troops under arms; but he had scarce begun to speak, when he was interrupted on a sudden by dreadful cries of the soldiers without, demanding an immense sum of the senate, which had been formerly given to the troops that

<sup>b</sup> HERODIAN. p. 510. DIO, p. 839.  
p. 839.

<sup>c</sup> HERODIAN.

(W) Dio Cassius tells us, that one of their horses followed his old master, throwing down, and treading under-foot, all those who endeavoured to stop him; insomuch that the unhappy soldier, finding his horse would not, by any means, leave him, killed him, and, running himself thro' with the same sword, fell dead by him. The same historian adds, that the faithful horse betrayed a kind of joy in dying by his master's hand (9).

had attended *Augustus* to *Rome*, and was consequently, said they, due to them. The senate, altogether unapprised of the cause of that uproar, was, as we may well imagine, struck with horror and dismay. The emperor himself betrayed some fear; however, starting up, he went out to them; but could not appease the mutinous multitude, without promising them part of what they demanded, that is, two hundred and fifty drachmas a man, instead of two thousand five hundred. Then, returning to the senate, he excused himself for having assumed the title of *emperor* without their consent, pretending, that he had done it purely to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and deliver them from the tyranny of *Julianus*. He promised to govern with great moderation, and tread in the footsteps of *M. Aurelius* and *Pertinax*, adding a solemn oath, by which he bound himself to the observance of all the laws; and particularly swore, that no senator should, for any crime whatever, be put to death in his reign, who had not been first tried and condemned by the senate; nay, he obliged the senate to pass a decree, declaring such emperors as acted otherwise, those who obeyed them therein, and their children, public enemies. This gave great satisfaction to the generality of the senators; but men of discernment, and such as were better acquainted with his dark and reserved temper, with his falsehood and dissimulation, gave no credit to his fair promises; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a second *Tiberius*<sup>d</sup>.

The emperor's speech to the senate.

The title of *Cæsar* confirmed to *Albinus*.

HOWEVER, they unanimously conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, vested him with the tribunitial and proconsular powers, created him high pontif, &c. *Severus* acquainted the senate with his having bestowed on *Albinus* the title of *Cæsar*, begged they would confirm it to him, caused several medals to be struck with his name, statues to be erected to him, &c. He distributed large sums among the soldiery and people, which are taken notice of on several medals of this year<sup>e</sup>; but what chiefly gained him the hearts of the people, was, his consecrating, and inrolling with extraordinary pomp and solemnity, the emperor *Pertinax* in the number of the gods. This apotheosis, perhaps the most magnificent that had ever been seen in *Rome*, is described at large by *Dio Cassius*<sup>f</sup>. Before he left *Rome*, to march against *Niger*, he caused the senate to proscribe all the friends and adherents of *Julianus*; executed without mercy such of them as were discovered and seized; and even attempted, out of

The friends of *Julianus* proscribed.

<sup>d</sup> Vit. Sever. p. 66. HEROD. p. 512. DIO, l. lxxv. p. 64a. BIRAC. p. 268. <sup>e</sup> DIO, p. 840.

hatred to that prince, to abolish the decrees of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, his great-grandfather.

In the next place, he chose new guards in the room of those whom he had cashiered, and four times as many; which filled *Rome* with soldiers, and proved very chargeable to the state; guards for their pay much exceeded that of the other troops. Besides, the natives only of certain countries, to wit, of *Spain*, *Macedon*, *Noricum*, and, above all, of *Italy*, had been hitherto admitted to serve in the guards; but *Severus*, without any regard to their countries, chose the most resolute and brave men in his army; and appointed, that, for the future, they should be always taken from among the other troops; by which means the guards, who of late had served only for shew, became the flower of the *Roman* forces; and the hopes of a less toilsome, and more honourable and advantageous warfare encouraged the rest to discharge their duty with more punctuality and exactness; but, on the other hand, the *Italian* youth (for the guards had hitherto been mostly natives of *Italy*), having no longer that resource, turned either robbers or gladiators: hence this regulation was no-way pleasing, either to the *Romans*, or to the other inhabitants of *Italy*.

THE emperor, having thus settled affairs in *Rome*, and supplied the city with great plenty of corn, set out in the beginning of *July* on his march into the East against *Niger*, whom he had never once named during his stay at *Rome*. His troops mutinied the first day at a place called *Saxa Rubra*, about nine miles from *Rome*; but the mutiny was soon quelled. He pursued his march with all possible expedition, having dispatched an express to the commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, injoining him to hasten into *Thrace*, and wait for him there. He ordered *Heraclius* to attempt the recovery of *Bitthynia*, which province had declared for *Niger*; and wrote to *Albinus* in *Britain*, to hold himself ready to march upon the first notice.

In the mean time *Niger*, hearing that *Severus* had been acknowledged emperor by the senate and people of *Rome*, and was already advancing by long marches against him, wrote to the governors of the provinces, injoining them to guard the narrow passes, especially that of mount *Taurus* between *Capadocia* and *Cilicia*; raised new forces in *Antioch*, and all the other cities of *Syria*; and sent deputies to demand succours of the neighbouring princes. He went in person to view the fortifications of *Byzantium*, in which city he left a numerous garison, looking upon it as a place of the utmost importance.

HEROD. p. 512. DIO, l. lxxiv. p. 840. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 733. <sup>b</sup>. VIT. SEVER. p. 67.

He is de-  
clared a  
public ene-  
my.

From *Byzantium* he advanced to *Perinthus*, called afterwards *Heraclea*, where, in a skirmish between his men and those of *Severus*, whose party the city of *Perinthus* had embraced, a considerable number of the latter were slain, and, among them, several persons of great distinction. Hereupon the se-  
gate, to gain the favour of *Severus*, declared *Niger* a public enemy, and likewise *Emilianus*, then proconsul of *Asia*, a person of extraordinary talents, long experience, and generally esteemed the greatest statesman of his age<sup>i</sup> (X).

Emilia-  
nus, gene-  
ral, de-  
feated, and  
slain.

Year of  
the flood  
2542  
Of Christ  
194  
Of Rome  
942.

Niger  
himself o-  
ver-

thrown.

THE following year *Severus* and *Albinus* were both consuls the second time, and *Niger* in all likelihood took upon him the same dignity; for, on some medals, he is stiled consul<sup>2</sup>. We know nothing of what passed in the war between *Niger* and *Severus*, til the arrival of the latter before the city of *Byzantium*, which he besieged this year; but, meeting with a vigorous resistance from the numerous garison, he left some of his troops before the place, and ordered the rest to cross the sea, and march towards *Cyzicus*, in the neighbourhood of which city they were met by *Emilianus*, at the head of a numerous army. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which much blood was shed on both sides; but *Emilianus* was in the end defeated, and obliged to shelter himself first in *Cyzicus*, and afterwards in another city not named in history, where he was taken, and put to death, by the generals of *Severus*; for the emperor himself was not, it seems, present at the battle of *Cyzicus*<sup>1</sup>.

NOT long after, another battle was fought between *Nicaea* and *Cius*, two cities of *Bithynia*, which proved far more bloody than the former, *Niger* commanding his own troops in person, and *Candidus*, an officer of great experience, those of *Severus*. Both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expressed, as appears from *Dio Cassius's* account of the engagement; but *Niger*, in spite of his utmost efforts, was at last obliged to save himself by flight beyond the streights of mount *Taurus*; which he caused to be fortified and well guarded<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> HEROD. l. ii. p. 512, 513. NIG. vit. p. 76. DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 734. <sup>2</sup> BIRAG. p. 264. <sup>3</sup> HERODIAN. p. 516. DIO, p. 842. VII. SEV. p. 67. <sup>m</sup> DIO, p. 842.

(X) *Spartian* writes, that *Niger*, improving the advantage he had gained at *Perinthus*, made himself master of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Thrace*, and thereupon

offered to take *Severus* for his partner in the empire; which proposal he rejected with contempt and derision (1).

(1) VII. NIG. p. 67.

After this victory, *Severus* wrote to *Niger*, offering to let him live in safety, provided he laid down his arms, and disbanded his troops; which *Niger* seemed inclined to do; but was diverted from it by *Aurelianus*, whose daughters were betrothed to his sons. He therefore retired to *Antioch*, in order to raise there troops and money. In the mean time the cities of *Laudicea* and *Tyre* declaring for *Severus*, *Niger* detached against them a body of *Moors*, who pillaged the rebellious cities, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and set fire to their houses, which were in great part consumed, but afterwards restored by *Severus*. In the mean time *Severus*'s army, advancing to the foot of mount *Taurus*, was stopped there, and quite disheartened, at the sight of the strong works, and the great number of troops that defended them; insomuch that, despairing of being able to open themselves a passage, they had some thoughts of returning; but an incredible quantity of rain, mixed with snow, falling in the night-time, the fortifications were utterly demolished the next day by an impetuous torrent from the mountain; which so terrified *Niger*'s men, now persuaded that the gods favoured the enemy, that they betook themselves to flight, and left *Severus*'s troops to enter *Cilicia*, without offering to make head against them. *Niger* had already raised a new army, consisting chiefly of the *Antiochian* youth, who were very zealous and sanguine in his cause, but utter strangers to military discipline. However, *Niger* placed them so advantageously, that, when they were attacked by the regular and well-disciplined troops of *Severus*, under the command of *Valerianus* and *Abdulus*, they not only repulsed them, but would have gained a complete victory, had it not been snatched out of their hands by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning; which, discharging itself in their faces, prevented them from pursuing the advantage they had gained, and disheartened them to such a degree, that, no longer doubting but the gods were averse from their cause, they began to despair of success, and retire.

HEREUPON *Severus*'s troops, refusing their courage, renewed the charge, and in the end gained a complete victory. *A third battle, 14*  
 This battle, by far the most bloody of the three, was fought *which Ni-*  
 on the very spot where *Alexander the Great* first vanquished *ger is at*  
*Darius*; that is, near the city of *Issus*, at a place called *Pylæ* *early de-*  
*Ciliciae*, or the *Gates of Cilicia*, it being a narrow plain on *feated.*  
 the confines of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, inclosed on one side by the sea, and on the other by steep mountains, on which *Niger*'s forces were posted. *Niger* is said to have lost in this battle twenty thousand men. Of the dead on the side of *Severus*, no mention is made in history. *Niger*, after this overthrow, retired to *Antioch*; but, not thinking himself safe there, con-

tinued



Niger is  
slain.

tinued his flight towards the *Euphrates*, with a design, as was supposed, of taking shelter among the *Parthians*: but those who pursued him, overtaking him at a small distance from *Antioch*, cut off his head, and carried it on the point of a spear to *Severus*, who caused it to be first shewn to the inhabitants of *Byzantium*, and then sent it to *Rome* <sup>n</sup> (Y).

Severus  
punishes  
without  
mercy such  
as had  
sided with  
Niger.

SEVERUS was not present at any of these battles, but, where-ever he was (for, as to that particular, we are left by historians quite in the dark), he soon made all those who had sided with his competitor, feel the effects of his resentment. He put such of the senators to death, as had served under *Niger* in quality of generals or tribunes. He spared the lives of the other senators; but banished them to the islands, and seized their estates. He caused an infinite number of other persons of an inferior rank to be publicly executed, without considering whether they had engaged in the war by choice or constraint. Many who had never seen *Niger*, were involved in this general massacre of his friends and partisans <sup>o</sup> (Z).  
He

<sup>n</sup> HEROD. l. iii. p. 519, 520. DIO, l. lxxiv. p. 843. <sup>o</sup> DIO, l. lxxv. p. 851. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 734.

(Y) Thus *Dio Cassius*, and *Herodian*; but *Spartian* tells us, that *Niger*, being dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner, and in that condition brought to *Severus*, in whose presence he expired (2).

(Z) *Herodian* writes, that *Severus* persuaded *Niger's* generals, by means of their children, whom he had with him, to betray the cause which they had embraced; and, after gaining the victory by their treachery, murdered both them and their children (3). He first banished the wife and children of *Niger*, and afterwards caused them, and all those of his family, to be murdered, and their estates to be confiscated. *Spartian* names six illustrious persons of the *Pescennian* family,

who were put to death by his orders (4). However, he would not suffer a pompous inscription on the basis of a statue of *Niger* at *Rome* to be erased, saying, *Let the world know what an enemy I have conquered* (5). The house of *Niger* was still standing in *Dioclesian's* time, as *Spartian* informs us; and, in one of the rooms, his statue done to the life in the black marble of *Thebes*, with an epigram on the basis to this purpose: *Here stands the great Niger, the terror of Egypt, the ally of Thebes, who had proposed a golden age to all Kings, nations, Rome itself, loved him. He was dear to both the Antoninus's, and to the whole empire. As his name was Niger (that is, black), we have caused a statue*

(2) *Nig. vit.* p. 76.

(5) *Nig. vit.* p. 79.

(3) *Herod.* l. iii. p. 521.

(4) *Sev. vit.* p. 63.

He punished with exemplary severity such cities as had sided with *Niger*, especially *Antioch*, which he deprived of the privileges and title of a city, subjecting it as a mere village to *Laodicea*; which heightened the jealousy between these two neighbouring cities. However, the following year, at the intreaties of his eldest son, then an infant, he reinstated the city of *Antioch* in its former rights and privileges<sup>p</sup>. He obliged such cities, as had assisted *Niger* with money, though not by choice, but constraint, to pay four times as much to him; which drew upon him the public hatred: but, as he loved money, he was glad of any pretence to raise it<sup>q</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Scapula Tertullus* and *Tineius Clemens*; during whose administration, *Severus*, passing the *Euphrates*, reduced the inhabitants of *Osrhoene* and *Adiabene*; <sup>He makes war upon</sup> who, taking advantage of the late disturbances, had murdered the *Roman* soldiers left among them, and shaken off the yoke. <sup>the Adiabeni- ans,</sup> He likewise entered *Arabia*; for the *Arabians* also had either <sup>Arabians, and Parthians.</sup> revolted, or joined *Niger*, but were in the end obliged to submit to *Severus*<sup>r</sup> (A). He likewise made war upon the *Parthians*; but did not bring them under subjection, as *Spartian* pretends<sup>s</sup>. For these wars the senate decreed him the titles of *Arabicus*, *Parthicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, which, with that of *imperator* the fifth time, are given him in the inscriptions of this year 195. the third of his reign<sup>t</sup>. He refused the triumph which was also decreed him, that he might not seem to have triumphed for victories gained in a civil war. The title of *Parthicus* he likewise rejected, lest his assuming it should provoke the *Parthians*<sup>w</sup>. The *Scythians* designed

Year of the flood  
2543.  
Of Christ  
195.  
Of Rome  
943.

<sup>p</sup> HERODIAN. lib. iii. p. 523. DIOG. p. 1921. VIT. CARACAL. p. 85. <sup>q</sup> DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 737. <sup>r</sup> DIO, lib. lxxv. p. 848. <sup>s</sup> Idem, p. 948. <sup>t</sup> SPART. in vit. Sever. p. 67. <sup>u</sup> Idem ibid. GOLTZ. p. 84. <sup>w</sup> VIT. Sever. ibid.

to be erected to him in black marble, that it might answer his name. This statue was, as *Spartian* informs us, a present from the king of *Thebes* to *Statius Posthumus*.

(A) *Herodian* writes, that he over-ran all *Arabia Felix* (6); and *Eutropius* and *Victor* extol his exploits in that country, speaking of them as if he had been the first who reduced *Arabia* to a

*Roman* province. But *Arabia Petraea* had long before been made a province by *Trajan*; and, as for *Arabia Felix*, we do not find it mentioned among the provinces of the empire, either in *Severus's* time, or afterwards. *Eusebius* tells us, that *Severus* subdued the *Adiabeniens* and *Arabians*, who had assisted *Niger* (7).

(6) *Herodot.* lib. iii. p. 528.

(7) *Euseb. chron. ad ann. 199.*

to make war upon him, and had already begun their march; but were stopped, and deterred from putting their designs\* in execution, by a dreadful storm, in which three of their chiefs were struck dead with lightning\*.

*The city of* In the beginning of the following year, when *Gn. Domi-*  
*Byzanti-* *tius Dexter*, governor of *Rome*, was consul the second time,  
*um taken,* with *L. Valerius Messala Thrasea Priscus*, the city of *Byzan-*  
*tium* surrendered, after a three years siege (B). This city *Niger*  
 seized at the first breaking out of the war, placed a numerous  
 garison in it, and supplied the inhabitants with great store of  
 warlike machines, most of them invented and built by *Peri-*  
*scus* a native of *Nicaea*, and the greatest engineer of his age.  
*Severus* laid siege to this place when he first arrived in *Thrace*,  
 left a considerable body of troops to carry it on, and, after  
 the defeat and death of *Niger*, pursued it with the greatest  
 part of his army by land, and by sea with all the ships he could  
 assemble from the different ports of *Asia*. The *Byzantines*  
 defended themselves, before the death of *Niger*, and even  
 after his head had been shewn to them, with such re-  
 solution and intrepidity, as can hardly be expressed. They  
 baffled all the attempts of the assailants, killed great numbers  
 of them, crushed such as approached the walls with huge  
 stones, and, when stones began to fail them, with the statues  
 of their gods and heroes; but in the end they were obliged  
 by famine, after having been reduced to the fatal necessity of  
 devouring one another, to submit, and open their gates to  
 the conqueror, who put all the magistrates and soldiers to the  
 sword; but spared the engineer *Periscus*. The city, with  
 its stately theatres, baths, and public buildings, was laid in  
 ashes; the inhabitants were stripped of all their effects, and  
 publicly sold for slaves, and the walls leveled with the ground;  
 those walls, says *Dio Cassius*, which were the strongest ram-  
 part of the *Roman* empire against the incursions of the barba-  
 rians (C). After the surrender of *Byzantium*, *Severus* sent  
 his

and de-  
 stroyed.

\* *Dio*, l. lxxiv. p. 349.    \* *Idem* *ibid.* p. 347. *HEROD.*  
 l. iii. p. 523.

(B) It was at this time by far the greatest, and the most popu-  
 lous and wealthy city of *Thrace*,  
 fortified with walls of an extraor-  
 dinary height and breadth, and  
 defended by a great number of  
 towers, seven of which were  
 built with such art, that the least  
 noise heard in one of them, was  
 immediately conveyed to all the  
 rest (8)

(C) The chronicle of *Alexan-*

(3) *Dio*, l. lxxiv. p. 347.

his army, divided into three bodies, under the command of *Lætus*, *Anulinus*, and *Probus*, to reduce part of *Mesopotamia*; which they did accordingly: and the country they conquered, perhaps *Acabene*, or *Aretacene*, was by *Severus* made a new province, whereof *Nisibis* was declared the capital. The government of this new province was, like that of *Egypt*, given only to *Roman* knights <sup>2</sup>.

AFTER these successes, *Severus* began to think of destroy- *Severus*  
ing *Albinus*, whom he had lulled asleep with the title of *Cæsar*, *resolves to*  
while he was employed against *Julianus* and *Niger*. *Albinus* *destroys*  
being as much beloved by the senate, as *Severus* was hated on ac- *Albinus.*  
count of his cruelty, and many persons of great distinction having even solicited him to come to *Rome*, and there assume the title of emperor, *Severus* thought he could not use too much dispatch in crushing him. However, not judging it advisable to declare himself an open enemy to one who had not given him the least provocation, he had recourse to treachery, and wrote a pompous letter to the senate in his commendation, and another to *Albinus* himself, filled with the most tender expressions of friendship, calling him his dearest and intirely beloved friend, his brother, his partner in the sovereign power; but *Sends af-*  
those who brought him this letter, had secret orders to draw *seffins to*  
him aside, under colour of communicating to him in private *murder*  
some affairs of the utmost importance, and dispatch him with *him*.  
their daggers. They were likewise provided with poison, in case they could prevail upon any of his domestics to administer it to him. After *Albinus* had read the letter, the assassins, pursuant to their directions, told him, they had something to communicate to him by word of mouth, which required the utmost secrecy. Hereupon *Albinus* desired them to attend him into a gallery; but, observing that they took more than ordinary care to prevent others from entering with them, he began to suspect some treachery, and caused them to be seized, and put to the question, when the violence of the torments extorted from them a full confession of the errand on which they were come.

HEREUPON *Albinus* betook himself to open force, and, *Albinus*  
having assembled a mighty army, caused himself to be pro- *causes him-*  
claimed emperor in *Britain*, and thence passed over into *Gaul*, *self to be*

<sup>2</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxiv. p. 847—850.

*Asia*, and the modern *Greek* writers, tell us, that *Severus* himself rebuilt in great part the city of *Byzantium*, calling it *Antonin-*  
*ia*, from his son *Caracalla*, who assumed the name of *Antoninus* (9).

(9) *Chron. Alex.* p. 620. *Suid.* p. 724.

proclaimed  
emperor.

where he was joined by many persons of great distinction, both Gauls and Spaniards. *Severus*, upon the first news of his revolt, leaving the East, hastened through *Thrace* and *Illyricum* into *Gaul*. Some writers tell us, that, before he set out on his march, he caused a young virgin to be sacrificed, hoping to learn from her entrails what success would attend him in this war <sup>a</sup>. At *Viminacium*, a famous city in *Upper Mœsia* on the *Danube*, he gave the title of *Cæsar* to *Bassianus* his eldest son, and on that occasion distributed large sums among the soldiers. At the same time he obliged his son to quit the name of *Bassianus*, and stile himself thenceforth *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, for whom *Severus* ever had a great esteem and veneration <sup>b</sup>. Before *Severus* reached *Gaul*, several skirmishes happened between the troops that had declared for him there, and those of *Albinus*, in one of which, called by *Herodian* a battle, the generals of *Severus* were utterly defeated, and their troops dispersed <sup>c</sup>. This greatly alarmed him, and obliged him to quicken his march, after he had detached part of his troops to guard the narrow passes of the *Alps*, and prevent his competitor from entering *Italy*. In the mean time

Is declared  
a public  
enemy.

the senate declared *Albinus* a public enemy; after which declaration, one *Numerianus*, who kept a grammar-school at *Rome*, hastening into *Gaul*, passed himself there upon the inhabitants for a senator sent by *Severus* to raise troops; and, having by this means got together a considerable body, he attacked and defeated a detachment of *Albinus's* horse, and gained some other small advantages; which *Severus* no sooner knew, than he wrote to him as a senator, believing him to be one, commended his zeal, and commissioned him to levy what forces he could. Having, therefore, raised a small army, he continually harassed *Albinus's* men, took many prisoners, and intercepted a great sum of money, which he sent to *Severus*. When *Albinus* was defeated, *Numerianus* went to wait upon *Severus*, and told him who he was; but, despising the great riches and honours which the emperor offered him, he accepted only a small pension, and, retiring into the country, spent the rest of his life in quiet and solitude <sup>d</sup>.

*Severus*  
marches  
against  
him.

In the beginning of the following year, when *Lateranus* and *Rufinus* were consuls, *Severus*, having passed the *Alps* in the midst of winter, approached *Lyons*, where *Albinus* then resided, with a design to enter *Italy* early in the spring. He was not a little alarmed at the sudden and unexpected arrival of *Severus*; however, having with incredible expedition drawn

<sup>a</sup> Suid. p. 257.

<sup>b</sup> Vit. Sever. p. 68.

<sup>c</sup> Her-

rod. lib. iii. p. 524. Sev vit. p. 68.

<sup>d</sup> Dio, lib. lxxv.

p. 851.

together his troops quartered in that neighbourhood, he fell upon *Lupus*, one of *Severus's* generals, and defeated him with great slaughter<sup>a</sup>. Hereupon *Severus* advanced in person against his rival; and, *Albinus* not declining the challenge, both armies, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men, were drawn up, on the nineteenth of *February*, in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, probably in the spacious plain between that city and *Trevoux*. As the fate of the two commanders depended upon this battle, and no less a reward was proposed for the conqueror than the *Roman* empire; as the *British* legions were no way inferior either in courage or experience to those of *Illyricum*; and both armies expected to share the fortune, whatever it should be, of their generals; the engagement was one of the most sharp and bloody recorded in history. After they had fought many hours with a fury hardly to be expressed, without any considerable advantage on either side, *Albinus's* left wing was utterly defeated, and obliged to take shelter in their camp, which the enemy entered in that confusion, and plundered; but, on the other hand, his right wing, having drawn *Severus's* men into certain ditches, which they had covered with earth, gained so great an advantage over them, that the emperor himself, who flew to their assistance at the head of the prætorian guards, was put into the utmost confusion, and obliged, if we believe *Herodian*, to save himself by flight, after having quitted all the ensigns of the imperial dignity<sup>f</sup>. *Spartian* writes, that he was wounded, and *Severus* believed dead by the army, who were for creating another emperor in his room<sup>g</sup>; and *Dio Cassius*, that his horse was killed great army under him, and he himself in imminent danger of losing his life<sup>h</sup>. The same author adds, that, seeing his men fly, he threw himself sword in hand upon the fugitives, and forced them to return to the charge: which they did with such fury, that the enemy, not able to withstand them, began to give ground; which *Lætus* perceiving, fell upon them with the whole body of horse under his command, and completed their overthrow. *Lætus* had declined engaging so long as the victory continued doubtful, with a design, as was supposed, of setting up for himself, after the two parties had destroyed each other<sup>i</sup>; and hence it was, that *Severus*, as *Herodian* informs us<sup>k</sup>, instead of rewarding him, as he did his other generals, put him soon after to death.

*ALBINUS's* army, no longer able to keep the field, fled to *Lyons*, whither they were pursued by the conquerors; who, *Albinus* intently at-

<sup>a</sup> *Dio*, lib. lxxv. p. 851.<sup>f</sup> *HERODIAN*. lib. iii. p. 524.*Dio*, ibid.<sup>g</sup> *Vit. Sev.* p. 63.<sup>h</sup> *Dio*, p. 852.<sup>i</sup> *Idem* ibid.<sup>k</sup> *HEROD.* l. iii. p. 524.

*seated, and killed.* entering the city with the fugitives, first plundered it, and then laid it in ashes<sup>1</sup>. *Albinus*, who had concealed himself in an house on the *Rhone*, finding no means of making his escape, *The cruel-ty of Se-verus.* laid violent hands on himself<sup>m</sup> (D). *Severus* beheld with great pleasure the dead body of his competitor; rode over it several times, causing his horse to tread it under-foot; left it lying in its gore before his tent, till it was half putrefied, and torn in pieces by the dogs; and then ordered the poor remains of it to be thrown into the *Rhone*. The head he caused to be cut off, and sent it to *Rome*, ordering it to be set up there on a pole in the forum. He pardoned at first his wife and children; but, soon after changing his mind, he caused them to be inhumanly massacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The whole family of *Albinus*, all his friends, and most distant relations, without distinction of sex or age, were by *Severus's* orders barbarously slaughtered, and their estates confiscated. Most of the great men of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had shewn any attachment to *Albinus*, underwent the same fate. By means of these murders and confiscations, he amassed an immense treasure, enriched his soldiers, and, at his death, left greater wealth to his children, than any prince had done before him<sup>n</sup>.

AFTER this victory, all the cities that had declared for *Albinus*, were soon reduced, and the inhabitants punished, some with death, some with the confiscation of their estates; so that *Severus*, seeing all quiet in *Gaul*, and likewise in *Britain*, which he divided into two provinces, set out for *Rome*, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror and dismay, those who had favoured *Albinus*, expecting no better treatment than the friends of that unfortunate commander had met with in *Gaul* (E). However,

<sup>1</sup> HEROD. l. iii. p. 524.  
Sev. p. 68.

<sup>m</sup> DIO, p. 853.

<sup>n</sup> VIT.

(D) Thus *Dio Cassius*. But other authors write, that, being mortally wounded either by himself, or some of his own men, he was brought in that condition to *Severus*, in whose presence he expired (1).

(E) Their apprehensions were heightened by a letter which *Severus* wrote to the senate, when

he sent the head of *Albinus* to *Rome*; for, in that letter, he complained of their affection to *Albinus*, as if they had all privately favoured and assisted his declared enemy; reproached them with ingratitude; extolled the conduct and government of *Commodus*, whom he had never mentioned before, but as a tyrant and

(1) VIT. Alb. & Sev. p. 68.

ever, as he drew near, the senate went out to meet him, and received him with all possible demonstrations of joy, attended him to the capitol, and thence to the palace, where he ordered great sums to be distributed among the people and soldiery. The next day he went to the senate, and there read a speech filled with bitter invectives against the partisans of *Albinus*; produced the letters that had been written to him; commended the cruelties of *Sylla*, of *Marius*, and of *Augustus*, as necessary precautions; ascribed the ruin of *Pompey*, and the death of *Cæsar*, to their unseasonable clemency; and, mentioning *Commodus*, stiled him a god, and bestowed the highest encomiums upon him; adding, that none but infamous and abandoned wretches could censure or blame the conduct of such an excellent prince.

HAVING ended his speech, he returned to the palace, and filled the city with massacres and bloodshed. In a few days forty-two senators, most of whom had been consuls or prætors, were sacrificed to his fury and revenge, and an incredible number of persons of an inferior rank. *Herodian* tells us, that he cut off all those, who, on account of their birth or riches, bore any sway in the senate, or the provinces. Many were condemned and executed upon bare suspicions, and many for no other crime, but that of being possessed of great wealth under a covetous and inhuman tyrant. While the city was yet floating in blood, he went to the senate, and, out of hatred to the senators, caused them to rank *Commodus* with the usual ceremonies among the gods, to appoint priests, and institute an annual festival, to his honour. He condemned *Narcissus*, the famous wrestler, who had strangled him, to be devoured by the wild beasts; and spared none who were suspected of having been any-way privy to his death. After *Severus* had spent some months at *Rome*, and there cut off not only the partisans of *Albinus*, but such as gave him the least umbrage, he took leave of the senate, and, with his two

*His cruelties in Rome*

\* *Dio*, l. lxxv. p. 526. *Vit. Alb.* p. 60. & *Sever.* p. 68.

† *Dio*, p. 853. *Herod.* p. 527. *Vit. Sev.* p. 69. <sup>9</sup> *Vit. Sev.* p. 69.

monster; and, in speaking of the head of *Albinus*, used this expression; *I send it to you, that you may thereby know you have provoked me, and see with your eyes the effects of my resentment.* Both the senate and people were thunderstruck with this letter;

they expected nothing but a general massacre, the more because they were informed, that *Severus* had seized the papers of *Albinus*, and by that means discovered all his friends and correspondents.



Goes into sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, set out for the East, with a design the East to make war upon the *Parthians*, who, under the conduct of make war their king *Vologeses*, had made themselves masters of great upon the part of *Mesopotamia*. He embarked with his army at *Brun-* Parthians. *dusum*, and, arriving in *Syria*, marched straight to *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*, whence the *Parthians* retired into their own country upon the first news of his approach.

The following year, *Tib. Saturninus* and *C. Gallus* being consuls, *Severus*, having made vast preparations for the war against the *Parthians*, began his march about the end of the summer, judging the autumn the most proper season for that expedition. He followed the course of the *Euphrates*, the greater part of his army being conveyed down in boats, and the rest marching on the banks of the river. To pass from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, he caused the canal *Naarmalcha* to be cleansed; and by that means arrived in a short time at *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, both which places he found abandoned by the enemy, and took without opposition. Thence he advanced to *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* dominions; which he invested, and took after a laborious siege, during which his soldiers, for want of provisions, were obliged to feed upon such roots as they found in the fields; which bred various distempers in the army. However, the place was in the end forced to surrender; but the king, who had shut himself up in it, found means to make his escape, attended by a small body of horse; which was a great disappointment to *Severus*. The emperor gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiers, who put all the men to the sword; but spared the women and children, whom, to the number of one hundred thousand, they sold for slaves. After the reduction of *Ctesiphon*, *Severus* wrote to the senate, giving them a pompous account of his exploits, which he caused to be represented in painting, and exposed to public view. The senate decreed him a triumph, and honoured him with the title of *Parthicus Maximus*; which is to be seen on several medals of the next and following years (F). While *Se-*  
*verus*

He takes  
Seleucia,  
Babylon,  
and Ctesi-  
phon.

Year of  
the flood  
2546.  
Of Chr.  
198.  
Of Rome  
946.

\* HEROD. l. iii. p. 528. DIO, p. 854. AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 278. ONUPH. in fast. GOLTZ. p. 85.

(F) *Spartian* tells us, that the army, in the transports of their joy for the reduction of *Ctesiphon*, proclaimed *Caracalla*, the emperor's eldest son, his partner in the sovereign power, and at the same time gave the title of *Cæsar* to his second son *Geta* (2); which honours were afterwards confirmed to both by the senate. *Car-*

*Severus* was thus employed in the East, some disturbances arose in *Britain*, where the *Caledonians*, taking up arms, invaded the *Roman* dominions, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Lupus*, whom *Severus* had appointed governor of *Britain*, not finding himself in a condition to make head against that warlike nation with the troops he had with him, and well knowing, that *Severus* could not send him timely assistance, was forced to purchase a peace of the enemy, and, with large sums, redeem the *Roman* territories from their daily incursions.

THE following year, when *P. Cornelius Aulinus* and *M. Aufidius Fronto* were consuls, *Severus*, on his march back into *Syria*, attacked the city of *Atra*, *Barsamus*, king of that place, having formerly sent considerable succours to *Niger*; but was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having lost a great many men, and most of his warlike engines. About this time *Severus* caused two officers of great distinction to be put to death; to wit, *Julius Crispus*, tribune of the prætorian guards, and *Latus*, one of his best generals; the former for saying, that *Severus* exposed his troops wantonly to dangers, and obliged them to undergo great hardships, only to satisfy his private ambition and vanity. *Latus's* crime was, according to *Herodian*, his having acted with treachery in the battle of *Lyons*, as we have related above (G). After he had allowed some respite to his harassed troops, and amassed an immense quantity of provisions and warlike engines, he returned before the city of *Atra*; but all his efforts against that place proving unsuccessful, he was forced to raise the siege anew, having lost, during the eighteen days it lasted, most of his machines, and an innumerable

<sup>a</sup> Dio, p. 851. 866.

<sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 844.

*Calla* had entered the eleventh year of his age on the fourth of April, of this year 198. *Severus*, not thinking it advisable either to keep *Ctesiphon*, or pursue *Vologeses*, set out on his return into *Syria* about the beginning of winter, loaded with booty. He is supposed to have concluded a treaty with the *Parthians*; for we read of no wars between them and the *Romans* till eighteen years

after, and *Vologeses* reigned peaceably to his death, which happened after that of *Severus* (3).

(G) *Dio Cassius*, who commends him, both as an excellent citizen and soldier, tells us, that *Severus* put him to death for no other reason, but because he was greatly beloved by the soldiers, which the jealous emperor could not bear (4).

(3) *Dio*, l. lxxv. p. 854. & in excerpt. Val. p. 746.

(4) *Dio*, p. 855.

dible number of men <sup>u</sup>. Thus did one city baffle all the attempts of *Trajan* and *Severus*, the two greatest commanders among the *Roman* emperors, as it did afterwards those of *Artaxerxes*, who, about the year 226. re-established the *Persian* on the ruin of the *Parthian* empire. *Severus* spent most part of the following year, when *Tib. Claudius Severus* was consul the second time, with *C. Aufidius Victorinus*, in searching after such of *Niger's* partisans, as had not yet been discovered, and in gleaning, to use the expression of *Tertullian* <sup>w</sup>, after the viatage. Many persons of distinction, who believed themselves to be safe, were on this occasion seized, and condemned without mercy, such especially as gave the tyrant any umbrage on account of their birth or riches <sup>x</sup>.

THE next year, when *L. Aunius Fabianus* and *M. Nonius Mucianus* were consuls, *Severus* gave the manly robe to his eldest son, tho' he was then but fourteen years old, and named him consul with himself for the year following. They both entered upon their consulship in *Syria*; and, on that occasion, the emperor gave a largess to the soldiers. *Severus* went, during his consulship, into *Arabia*, and from thence into *Palæstine*, where he remitted the taxes with which he had loaded the inhabitants for their steady adherence to *Niger*. While he was in *Palæstine*, he published an edict, forbidding, under the severest penalties, the subjects of the empire to embrace either the *Jewish* or *Christian* religion; which gave rise to the fifth general persecution <sup>y</sup>. From *Palæstine* he passed into *Egypt*, where he visited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*; and then pursued his route to *Alexandria*, to which city he granted a public council or senate; a mark of distinction, which they had often begged in vain of other emperors <sup>z</sup>. During his stay in *Egypt*, he visited all the cities, and viewed, with great attention, the curiosities of that ancient kingdom, especially the pyramids, the labyrinth, the statue of *Memnon*, &c (H).

*Severus*  
visits  
*Arabia*,  
*Palæstine*  
*Egypt*,  
&c.

Year of  
the flood  
2549.

Of Christ  
201.

Of Rome  
949.



<sup>u</sup> DIO, l. lxxv. p. 555.

*Sev.* p. 69.

*Sev.* p. 70.

<sup>w</sup> TERTUL. apol. c. 35.

<sup>y</sup> Idem, p. 70. EUSEB. l. vi. c. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Vit.

<sup>z</sup> Vit.

(H) He examined with great care the books he found in the temples, and caused such of them, as contained any secret knowledge, to be conveyed into the sepulchre of *Alexander the Great*, which he ordered to be shut up, that no one might, for the future, either see the body of that prince, or peruse those books (5).

(5) DIO, in excerptis Val. p. 737. Vit. Sev. p. 70.

THE next consuls were *Septimius Geta*, the emperor's brother, and *Fulvius Plautianus*, his great favourite. Some writers call *Plautianus* the emperor's kinsman; others say, his chief that he was only his countryman, being a native of *Africa*, as was *Severus*. Be that as it will, all agree, that he was of a very mean descent; and some add, that in his youth he had been banished, for stirring up and heading the populace in a sedition. However, the emperor favoured him above all the great men in *Rome*, and was so passionate for him, that not in conversation only, but in public, in his speeches to the senate and people, he extolled him more than *Tiberius* had ever done his favourite *Seignus*. He created him captain of the prætorian guards, and shared with him the power and wealth of the empire; for *Plautianus* was said to be possessed of as great riches as *Severus* himself, and thought to be no less powerful; at least more court was paid to his power, than to that of the emperor. The senators and soldiers swore by the fortune of *Plautianus*; public vows and sacrifices were offered for his safety, as if he had been emperor; and *Rome* was fill'd with his statues, mostly erected by the authority of the senate. His table was better served than the emperor's, and his equipage far more magnificent. As there was no access to honours but through his favour, his house was constantly crouded with senators, knights, and great part of the people, all solicitors for admission to *Plautianus*, who was harder of access than the emperor. *Geta*, the brother of *Severus*, and the empress *Julia*, stood no less in awe of him than the rest, well knowing that his authority was of far greater weight than theirs. This exorbitant power was most notoriously abused by the favourite minister, who condemned, banished, and even put to death, many illustrious persons, whom he hated or suspected, without consulting the emperor, nay, without his knowledge; for, tho' whatever the emperor said or did was immediately carried to *Plautianus*, yet *Severus* was quite unacquainted with the crimes and arbitrary proceedings of his minister; and hence, looking on him as a man without reproach, he continued to heap upon him all sorts of honours. He had already distinguished him with the consular ornaments, and created him senator, without removing him from the command of the prætorian guards; and the year he not only appointed him consul, but, to the great surprize of *Rome*, and the whole empire, declared his intention of marrying his eldest son *Caracalla* to *Fulvia Plautilla*, the daughter of *Plautianus*; which he did accordingly this very year, soon after his return to *Rome*; for, having settled the affairs in the East, he arrived unexpectedly at *Plautianus*.

*His great power.*

*Severus marries his son Caracalla to the daughter of Plautianus.*

Rome about the latter end of *May*, and, according to *Herodian*, entered the city in triumph <sup>a</sup> (I).

His generosity to the people and soldi-

THE emperor, upon his return, distributed immense sums among the soldiers and people, ten pieces of gold a man, more than any other prince had ever been known to give; and added to this extraordinary largess most magnificent shows, which lasted seven days <sup>b</sup>. When the shows were over, the nuptials of *Caracalla* and *Plautilla* were celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence (K). About this time *Severus* gave the manly robe to his second son *Geta*, who had entered the fourteenth year of his age on the twenty-seventh of *May*, of this year 203. the tenth of his father's reign <sup>c</sup>.

The emperor orders some of his statues to be pulled down.

THE following year, *L. Fabius Septimius Cilo* being consul the second time, with *L. Libo*,<sup>d</sup> the emperor, notwithstanding his great kindness for *Plautianus*, being offended at the great number of statues erected to him in all the public places of the city, caused some of them to be taken down. Hereupon a report being spread, that he was disgraced, several governors of provinces, looking upon him already as a public enemy, caused his statues to be pulled down in their governments; but paid dear for their over-hasty zeal, some of them being deprived of their employments, and others tried by the senate, and condemned to banishment. Among the latter was *Racius Constans*, governor of *Sardinia*, who was tried by the emperor in person, in conjunction with *Dio Cassius*, and several other senators. *Severus* on this occasion solemnly declared, that he would never suffer the least affront or injury to be offered with impunity to *Plautianus*; but nevertheless, before a year was over, he changed his sentiments, and suffered him to be put to death in his presence.

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. l. iii. p. 529.  
HEROD. *ibid*.

<sup>b</sup> DIO, l. lxxvi. p. 859, 860.  
<sup>c</sup> VIT. SEV. p. 69.

(I) *Spartian* writes, that he declined the triumph decreed him, because he could not sit in the triumphal chariot, by reason of the gout; but suffered his son *Caracalla* to triumph over the *Jegus*, who had, it seems, revolted, but had been again brought under subjection by *Severus* (6).

(K) *Dio Cassius* writes, that what *Plautianus* gave his daughter on this occasion, would have

been a sufficient dower for fifty queens; and adds, that he appointed an hundred persons of good families to attend her, whom he had for that purpose privately caused to be made eunuchs, tho' some of them were married, and even had children; which, as that writer observes, highly provoked both the senate and people against him (7).

(6) VIT. SEV. p. 63.

(7) DIO, p. 859.

His ruin was chiefly owing to *Caracalla*, who, not able to bear with the haughty and imperious temper of his wife *Plautilla*, hated both her and his father-in-law *Plautianus*, openly declaring, that, if ever he obtained the sovereign power, they should both soon feel the effects of his resentment. Hereupon *Plautianus* resolved to be beforehand with him, not doubting but upon his death he should be able to seize the empire for himself, as *Severus* was now advanced in years, and troubled with the gout. In the mean time *Geta*, the emperor's brother, being taken ill, and, finding there was no hope of his recovery, desired to see *Severus* before he died, and acquainted him with the haughty, imperious, and tyrannical conduct of his favourite minister. Thenceforth the emperor began to look upon him with a jealous eye, and to lessen, by degrees, his overgrown power; which he was no sooner apprised of, than he resolved to exert the authority he still enjoyed, and secure, by the murder both of the emperor and his son, the sovereignty to himself; at least, *Saturninus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, declared to *Severus*, that *Plautianus* had charged him to assassinate them both, and shewed him his orders in writing. *Herodian*<sup>d</sup> and *Ammianus Marcellinus*<sup>e</sup> seem not to question in the least the truth of his deposition; but *Dio Cassius* looks upon the whole as a contrivance of *Caracalla* to destroy *Plautianus*, whose haughty behaviour he could no longer brook<sup>f</sup>.

Be that as it will, they all agree; that *Plautianus* coming to the palace of his own accord, or sent for by the emperor, as *Dio* will have it, and entering the emperor's room, where *Caracalla* then was, in order to clear himself from the crime laid to his charge, the young prince rushed upon him with great fury, snatched his sword from his side, which he wore as captain of the guards, and ordered those who were present to dispatch him, being prevented by the emperor, who began to relent, from doing it himself. His body was cast into the street; but soon after taken, by the emperor's order, and interred. *Severus* immediately assembled the senate; but, without uttering any invectives against *Plautianus*, only bewailed the unhappy lot of mankind, since some loved to excess, and others abused the love that was shewn them (L).

THE

<sup>d</sup> HEROD. l. iii. p. 531. 533.<sup>e</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 368.<sup>f</sup> DIO, l. lxxvi. p. 861.<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. HEROD. p. 534.

(L) He did not seem to believe, says *Dio Cassius*, that *Plautianus* had ordered the tribune to murder him; but nevertheless prosecuted, and condemned either to death or banishment, all his friends

Papinianus made captain of the guards.

\*Severus reforms several abuses, enacts good laws, &c.

THE next consuls were the emperor's two sons, *Caracalla* the second time, and *Geta* the first. During their administration, *Severus* continued either at home, or in the neighbourhood, and applied himself wholly to the administration of justice, which he did with great impartiality, following therein the advice of the celebrated civilian *Papinianus*, whom he appointed captain of the guards; for at this time the chief province of that officer was to decide law-suits with the emperor, or in his name. *Papinianus*, in the discharge of this important office, employed as his counsellors *Paulus* and *Ulpianus*, two men eminently accomplished in the knowledge of the laws. As the empire new enjoyed a profound peace, *Severus* was at leisure to reform many abuses; which he did accordingly: but is blamed by most of the antients, on account of his excessive severity, especially by the emperor *Julian*, who thinks his cruel inflexibility, as he styles it, his greatest fault<sup>b</sup>; for he never pardoned the least transgression. He enacted several laws, which are mightily extolled by the writers of those times, as equally just and necessary. Many of them are still extant in the *code*. He allowed no power to his freedmen; nor would he suffer the senate to distinguish them with any honours. He chose for governor of the provinces men of unblemished characters, and was always ready to hear with great patience the complaints of his people. No prince ever managed the public money more frugally; and, by that means, he left the exchequer exceeding rich at his death, tho' he had found it quite empty, and had been engaged in several expensive wars. When he died, corn was found in the public granaries sufficient to supply the city for seven years, and oil in the storehouses, which he built at a vast charge, for the consumption of five years, reckoning not only the city of *Rome*, but all the places in *Italy* that produced no oil. He even left wherewithal to supply for ever the indigent people of *Rome* with a certain quantity of oil

<sup>a</sup> JUL. Cæs. p. 14. . Vit. Sev. p. 71.

friends and creatures. His daughter *Plautilla*, and his brother *Plautius*, were banished to the island of *Liparis*, where they were murdered by order of *Caracalla*, soon after his accession to the empire (8). *Herodian* writes, that they were banished to *Sicily*, and

there generously supported by *Severus* during his life-time (9). This year, the 957th of *Rome*, the 209th of the Christian era, and the twelfth of the reign of *Severus*, were celebrated with extraordinary pomp the secular games (1).

(8) *Dab.* p. 362.  
*Zef. l. ii. p. 669.*

(9) *Herod. l. iii. p. 535.*

(1) *Cenfr. c. 17.*

every day, which was in part to be sent yearly by the inhabitants of *Libya Tripolitana*, who, of their own accord, submitted to that burden out of regard to *Severus*, who was of the same province, and had obliged them, by utterly extirpating a neighbouring nation, that often invaded their country, and laid waste their fields<sup>1</sup>. But this contribution proving in process of time very burdensome to them, *Constantine* remitted it. *Severus* repaired most of the public edifices of *Rome*, and raised an incredible number of new ones, in *Rome*, in *Antioch*, in *Alexandria*, in *Byzantium*, and in most of the great cities of the empire.

The following year, when *Nummius Albinus* and *Fulvius Severus Aemilianus* were consuls, was remarkable for the death of many senators illustrious senators, inhumanly massacred by the emperor's *put to death* orders. Among these were *Quintillus Plautianus* and *Apro-* *nianus*, both persons of unblemished characters, and of great authority in the senate, but hated by the emperor on account of their illustrious birth, and extraordinary accomplishments. They were both accused of having consulted the astrologers about the death of *Severus*, and their own fate, and condemned, without so much as being heard. *Bæbius Marcellinus*, another senator of great distinction, was condemned by the senate, and that instant hurried to execution, upon the deposition of a single evidence, who charged him with having listened while *Apronianus* was consulting the astrologer. The evidence had been suborned by *Pollenus Sebennus*, who was himself soon after condemned at the suit of the people of *Norium*, whom he had tyrannically oppressed, while he governed that province<sup>2</sup>. The following year, when *Aper* *The Bri* and *Maximus* were consuls, the northern inhabitants of *Britons re* *tain* invaded the *Roman* territories, and, putting to flight the legions that guarded them, committed every-where most dreadful ravages. *Virius Lupus*, then governor, or, as *Ulpian* calls him, president of *Britain*, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand the enemy, retired before them; and, in the mean time, acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs in that province; who, apprehending that the whole island, unless awed by a powerful army, would soon revolt, and shake off the yoke, resolved to go thither in person; and accordingly, having made the necessary preparations for this expedition, he set out for *Britain* the ensuing year, while his two sons were consuls, *Caracalla* the third time, and *Geta* the second. Before he left *Rome*, he vested his son *Geta* *Geta* with the tribunitial power, and conferred upon him the title *vested*

<sup>1</sup> Vit. Sev. p. 67. Dio, p. 869.  
VAL p. 741, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Dio, in excerpt.



with the *tribunitial* power, and declared Augustus. of Augustus, which he had bestowed three years before on his eldest son *Caracalla*; so that there were now three Augusti at a time, which had never happened before. The emperor took both his sons with him, being glad of that opportunity to remove them from *Rome*, where they abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery, and to inure them to the toils and fatigues of war.

THE Britons were no sooner informed of his arrival in their island, than, dreading his power, they sent ambassadors to him, offering to submit upon honourable terms. *Severus* detained the ambassadors till he was ready to take the field; and then dismissed them, without granting them their request. He passed the first winter, it seems, in the southern parts of Britain, whence he marched early in the spring of the ensuing year, when *Pompeianus* and *Avitus* were consuls, against the *Meatae*, who bordered on the *Roman* dominions, and the *Caledonians*, who dwelt more to the north. No battle was fought in this expedition; but nevertheless, partly by the enemy's ambuscades, partly by the hardships the *Roman* soldiers underwent, and the toils they endured in cutting down woods; building bridges, and drying marshy grounds, fifty thousand of them are said to have perished<sup>1</sup>. *Herodian* writes, that the *Caledonians* incessantly harassed the army on their march, attacked them unexpectedly, cut many thousands of them in pieces, and then retired into their fens and woods, whither the *Romans* could not follow them<sup>2</sup>. The emperor, tho' advanced in years, and troubled with the gout, pursued his painful march, surmounting with great cheerfulness all difficulties, till he reached the most distant and northern coasts of the island, laying the country waste far and wide, and putting all to fire and sword; insomuch that the *Caledonians* were in the end obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms (M). Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to the southern parts of *Britain*, where he had left his son *Geta* to administer justice during his absence. For this expedition he was honoured by the senate

Severus's  
expedition  
into Bri-  
tain.

Year of  
the flood  
2556.  
Of Christ  
208.  
Of Rome  
956.

He over-  
runs the  
whole  
island.

<sup>1</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxvi. p. 867.

<sup>2</sup> *Herod.* l. iii. p. 867.

(M) *Dio Cassius* adds, that *Severus*, during his stay in the most northern parts of *Britain*, observed with great exactness the length of the days and nights,

of the summer and winter (N); which he could not do, without continuing there, that is, in the north of *Scotland*, at least six months.

(2) *Dio*, p. 869.

with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two sons with that of *Britannicus* <sup>n</sup>.

SEVERUS spent great part of the following year, when *His wall* *Adm. Acilius Faustinus* and *Triarius Rhifinus* were consuls, in Britain. in building a wall in Britain from sea to sea, to secure his conquests, and part the Roman territories from those of the more northern Britons not subject to Rome (N). The wall being

<sup>n</sup> GOLTZ. p. 88. P. PAGI, p. 207.

(N) No mention of this wall is made, either by *Dio Cassius* or *Herodian*, who lived at that time, and give us a very particular account of the exploits of *Severus* in Britain. However, *Spartian* speaks of it, and calls it the chief ornament of *Severus's* reign; nay, he pretends, that, on account of this wall, he was honoured by the senate with the title of *Britannicus* (3). There is a great disagreement among authors, both as to the nature of this work, and its situation. Some writers take it to have been a wall, and others only a ditch, fortified on the Roman side with a rampart and palisades. *Spartian* styles it a wall or ditch (4). *Orosius* supposes it to have been a ditch defended by a rampart, and a great number of towers at a small distance from each other (5). *Beda* thinks it was a wall, built not with stone, but turf, and supported by a rampart, and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground (6). The same writer is of opinion, that it was raised by *Severus* in the same place, where a new wall was built by the Romans about the middle of the sixth century, when they intirely

abandoned the island; that is, so far as we can judge from the context, on the isthmus, which he described before, between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* (7). *Buchanan* likewise places this wall on the same isthmus (8); and adds, that, in his time, some remains of it were still to be seen. On the other hand, *Camden* maintains *Severus's* wall to have stood a great way more to the south, that is, between the mouth of the *Tyne*, and *Solway frith*. The learned *Usher* is of the same opinion, and alleges very strong reasons to support it (9). However, we cannot persuade ourselves, that *Severus*, after having marched from one end of the island to the other, and obliged the enemies of Rome to yield to him part of their country, should have abandoned to them a considerable portion of the Roman dominions; to wit, the countries lying between *Northumberland* or *Cumberland*, and the friths of the *Forth* and *Clyde*. For, that these countries belonged to the Romans before *Severus's* time, *Usher* himself owns; and maintains (1), that *Antoninus* built his wall on the above-mentioned isth-

(3) *Vit. Sev.* p. 71.  
(6) *Bed. hist. Ang.* l. i. c. 5.  
*Socr. l. 1. p. 16.* l. 11. p. 116

(4) *Idem.* p. 73.

(7) *Idem ibid.* c. 12.  
l. v. p. 135.

(5) *Oros. l. vii. c. 1.*

(8) *Buchan.*

(9) *Usher. Britar. eccl. antiquit.* p. 606.

(1) *Idem ibid.* p. 1024.

Caracalla  
attempts to  
murder his  
father.

being ended, he retired with his army to *Eboracum*, now *York*, where he was seized with a lingering distemper, occasioned, as was believed, by his grief and affliction for the wicked life of his eldest son, who, notwithstanding the extraordinary affection *Severus* had ever shewn him, had, during the late expedition, with a boldness hardly to be matched, attempted to murder him in the sight of the whole army. For, while the emperor, at the head of his troops in battle-array, was concluding a treaty with the *Britons*, and receiving their arms, *Caracalla*, who stood behind him, drawing unexpectedly his sword, in the sight both of the *Roman* and *British* army, advanced to stab him; and would have put his wicked design in execution, had he not been deterred from it by the outcries of those, who stood next the emperor. *Severus*, turning about that instant, saw his son with a naked sword in his hand; but, without betraying the least surprize, or uttering a single word, pursued the business in hand, received the arms of the *Britons*, and signed the treaty. When he returned to his tent, he sent for his son; and, in the presence of *Papinianus*, captain of the guards, and *Castor*, his chief chamberlain, first reproached him with his black and wicked attempt; then offering him a drawn sword, *If your ambition to reign alone prompts you*, said he, *to imbrue your hands in the blood of your father, execute your impious purpose rather in this place, than in the sight of the whole world, and in the presence both of our friends and enemies: if you are not yet abandoned to such a degree, as to murder your father with your own hand, order Papinianus to commit the parricide: you are emperor; he must obey you*. We do not find, that *Car-*

° Dio, p. 868.

mus. We do not find, that the northern *Britons* seized any part of the *Roman* dominions in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, nor in that of *Commodus*; for, tho' they passed the wall in the time of *Commodus*, yet they were driven back by *Ulpus Marcellus*, and restrained within their antient bounds, that is, according to *Usher*, within the two above-mentioned friths. Is it therefore probable, that *Severus* thus curtailed the *Roman* empire, and abandoned to the barbarians, as

they are called by the *Roman* writers, such an extensive country, after having, at immense charge, and with the loss of fifty thousand men, obliged them to yield part of theirs? Besides, *Spartian* tells us, in express words, that *Severus's* wall reached from sea to sea; and *Eutropius*, that it was but thirty-two miles in length (2); which proves, that it stood on the above-mentioned isthmus, and could stand in no other part of the whole island.

(2) *Eutrop.* l. viii. c. 10.

*calla* was touched with remorse, or any-way affected, by this speech.

THE following year, when *Gentianus* and *Bassus* were consuls, the *Mæata* and *Caledonians*, understanding that the emperor was indisposed, and not in a condition to take the *Caledon*-field, without any regard to the late treaty, flew to arms; and, assembling their forces, attempted to pass the new wall, and invade the *Roman* dominions; which so provoked *Severus*, that he ordered *Caracalla* to lead the whole army against the enemy, and, entering their country anew, to put all he met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. The young prince, seeing himself, contrary to his expectation, intrusted with so great a command, made it his whole study to corrupt the officers and soldiers, with a design to depose his father. Many tribunes and centurions, hearkening to him, publicly declared, before the army set out from *York*, that they would no longer obey an old man, worn out with infirmities, lame, and disabled by the gout from marching at their head, and discharging the duties of an emperor. These speeches were soon carried to *Severus*, who, immediately summoning the army to assemble, caused himself to be taken up, and placed upon his tribunal; whence, in most bitter terms, he reproached with folly, ingratitude, and treachery, such of the officers as had seconded the wicked attempts of his son; ordered them all to be beheaded that instant in his presence; and then, addressing himself to the army, struck with terror and dismay at the sight of so many executions, asked them with an imperious and majestic air, whether they were yet satisfied, that the head ruled, and not the feet? (O).

*Caracalla attempts to depose his father.*

AFTER this, his distemper being greatly increased by the uneasiness of his mind, he was soon reduced to the last extremity; when he sent for his two sons, caused the speech of *Micipsa* to his children, in *Sallust*, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them this tyrannical maxim, to enrich the soldiers, and gain their

*His distemper increased with the uneasiness of his mind*

P Vit. Sev. p. 71. AUR. VICT.

(O) Some writers tell us, that he would at the same time have put his son to death, had he not been diverted from it by the captains of the guards (3); others, on the contrary, say, that the captains of the guards advised

him to deliver himself, by the death of his unnatural son, from the dangers that threatened him; but that he could not by any means prevail upon himself to follow their advice (4).

(3) Vit. Caracal. p. 29.

(4) Dis, l. lxxvi. p. 368.

Severus  
dies.

Year of  
the flood

2559.

Of Christ

211.

Of Rome

959.

His cha-  
racter.

affections, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the rest of their subjects <sup>q</sup>. When he found his end approaching, he cried out, *I have been every thing, and every thing is nothing* <sup>r</sup>. Then ordering the urn to be brought to him, in which his ashes were to be inclosed, on seeing it, *Little urn*, said he, *thou shalt contain one, for whom the whole world was too little* <sup>s</sup>. Before he expired, he ordered the golden statue of *Fortune*, which always stood in the emperor's apartment, to be carried into the rooms, first of his eldest, and then of his youngest son <sup>t</sup>. As his pains increased, especially in his feet, he called for poison; but, no one daring to administer it to him, he is said to have glutted himself with coarse meats, which soon put an end to his life <sup>u</sup>. He died at *York* on the fourth of *February* of the year 211. after having lived, according to *Dio Cassius* <sup>w</sup>, sixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned seventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at *York* with great solemnity, and his ashes conveyed by his two sons to *Rome*, in a golden urn, or, as others will have it, in one of porphyry. It was received in all the provinces with extraordinary pomp, and deposited at *Rome* in the stately mausoleum of the emperor *Adrian*. He was soon after ranked among the gods, with the usual ceremonies, described at length by *Herodian* <sup>x</sup>. *Severus* was, without all doubt, a person of most extraordinary parts; but all his good qualities were quite eclipsed by his excessive cruelty, and insatiable avarice. Some writers endeavour to excuse his cruelty, which they soften with the name of severity; and pretend, that, without violent remedies, the many evils that had long prevailed in the state could never have been rooted out. It was said of him, if *Spartian* is to be credited, as it had been formerly said of *Augustus*, *That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died*. He was, according to the same writer, greatly esteemed, nay, and generally loved, after his death, when no one dreaded his cruelty, and all felt the effects of his excellent regulations <sup>y</sup> (P). But, after all, the most we can say in his commendation

<sup>q</sup> Dio, p. 868.  
<sup>p</sup> 869.

<sup>r</sup> Vit. Sev. p. 73.

<sup>s</sup> Dio,

<sup>t</sup> Vit. Sever. p. 74.

<sup>u</sup> Vitr. epit.

<sup>w</sup> Dio, *ibid*.

<sup>x</sup> HEROD. lib. iv. p. 540.

<sup>y</sup> Vit.

Sev. p. 71.

(P) *Galen* tells us, that his greatest pleasure was, to do good to all; and adds, that he kept constantly by him a great store of treacle, and other expensive remedies, to relieve such as wanted them; by which means he saved the lives of many persons;

tion is, that *Severus* deserves to be ranked among the great, but not among the good princes. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, we shall give an account in our note (Q).

SEVERUS

sons; namely, of *Antipater*, his Greek secretary; of the son of *Piso*, to whom *Galen* inscribed his treatise on treacle; and of a lady of distinction, named *Arria*, for whom *Severus* had a particular value, because she applied herself to the study of philosophy, and the reading of *Plato* (5).

(Q) Among the writers who flourished at this time, we may reckon the emperor himself; for he wrote the history of his own life, which was a kind of apology for his great severity. *Spartian* commends it as a sincere and impartial account of the transactions of his reign (6); and *Vistor* speaks of it as an elegant and judicious performance. It has been long since lost. The sophist *Antipater*, a native of *Hierapolis* in *Asia*, wrote likewise the history of *Severus's* reign; and was for that work first appointed the emperor's Greek secretary. afterwards charged with the care of educating his two sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*; then honoured with the consulship; and, lastly, preferred to the government of *Bithynia*; from which employment he was soon removed, on account of his excessive cruelty (7). His history has not reached our times. *Galen*, the prince of physicians, was still alive in *Severus's* time; for he lived, according to *Suidas*, seventy years (8). He was a na-

tive of *Pergamus*, and the son of one *Nico*, a celebrated architect and geometrician. He was likewise well versed in the other branches of mathematics, and pretended to understand and teach the Greek tongue in its greatest purity. His son *Claudius Galenus* was born in the year 131. the fifteenth of *Adrian's* reign, as appears from *F. L'Abbé*, who collected out of *Galen's* works, and published in 1660. all the passages in which that writer makes any mention of himself (9). He came to *Rome*, while *L. Verus* was making war upon the *Parthians* in the East, being at that time thirty-two or thirty-three years old (1). He staid in *Rome* about three years, and then returned to his own country; whence, three or four years after, he was invited into *Italy* by *M. Aurelius*, that is, about the end of the year 169. He refused to attend that prince into *Germany*, and continued at *Rome*, where he is supposed to have spent the remaining part of his life. He left behind him a great many works on different subjects, to wit, on physic, rhetoric, philosophy, and some grammatical pieces (2). *Jonssius* takes the treatise on treacle not to be his, because he does not mention it among his other works (3). The same writer maintains the history of the philosophers, ascribed to

(5) *Gal. de ther. l. ii. p. 457, 458.*

(6) *Vit. Sev. p. 65.*

(7) *Herod.*

*l. ii. p. 514. Philost. soph. 50. Galen. ther. t. ii. p. 458.*

(8) *Suid. p. 59.*

(9) *Gal. vit. Jonf. l. iii. c. 11.*

(1) *Gal. prog. c. 3.*

(2) *Suid.*

*ibid.* (3) *Jonf. l. iii. c. 12.*

Is succeeded- SEVERUS was succeeded by his two sons *Bassianus* and  
ed by his *Geta*, whom he had invested with the sovereign power, du-  
ring

*Galen*, to be nothing else but the five books of *Plutarch* upon the opinions of philosophers (4). Some find fault with *Galen* for decrying all those of his profession, who in his time were in any repute at *Rome* (5). *Diogenes Laertius*, the author of the lives of the philosophers, comprised in ten books, flourished, according to *Vossius*, under *Antoninus Pius*; but, according to *Jonsius*, whose conjectures seem to us better grounded, under *Severus* (6). He was a native, as *Jonsius* conjectures, of *Cilicia*, and thence took the surname of *Laertius*. After he had taken great pains to inform himself of the different tenets of the various sects of philosophers, he embraced the worst of all, that is, the *Epicurean*. His work is greatly esteemed by the learned, but in many places strangely corrupted. *Casaubon* ascribes many of the faults, which are to be found in the work, to the author himself, who, according to him, wanted either memory, judgment, or time, to digest the materials which he had collected (7). Before he wrote the lives of the philosophers, he published a great number of epigrams in all kinds of verses, which he stiled *pammetra*, that is, all sorts of measures (8). *Nestor*, a native of *Laranda* in *Lycabnia*, flourished, according to *Suidas* (9), under *Severus*, and

wrote several *Greek* poems. *Pisander*, who, in the reign of the emperor *Alexander*, wrote some histories, or rather fables, in *Greek* verse, was his son. *Hermocrates* the sophist would have proved the most eloquent orator of his age, had he had time to improve his extraordinary talents; but he died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. *Severus* often heard him, and with great pleasure. The emperor obliged him, while he was in the East, to marry the daughter of the sophist *Antipater*; but he divorced her soon after (1). *Julius Tittianus*, the father of the orator of the same name, who was preceptor to the son of *Maximinus*, about the year 235. published many pieces mightily extolled by the antients; and, among the rest, a description of all the provinces of the empire; and a book of letters, in which he imitated the stile of *Cicero*; for he had an extraordinary talent in imitating the different styles of authors, and was thence called the ape of his time (2). *C. Julius Solinus*, whose description of the earth, under the title of *Polihistor*, has reached us, flourished, according to some writers, under *Severus*; but others, with *Vossius*, are quite at a loss about the time in which that author wrote. All we know for certain is, that he lived after *Pliny* the elder, and before *St. Jerom*;

(4) *Jonsf. lib. iii. c. 12.*

(6) *Jonsf. ibid.*

*Græc. l. ii. c. 13.*

(2) *Voss. Lyst. Lat. l. ii. c. 1.*

(7) *Diog. Laert.*

(9) *Suid. p. 211.*

(5) *Vide Salmaf. not. in Spart. p. 732.*

*not. Casaubon. p. 18.*

(8) *Hist.*

(1) *Philostrot. soph. 51.*

ing his life-time, and by his last will appointed to reign *sons* Caracalla jointly after his death. The former, commonly known by calla and the nickname of *Caracalla*, a *Gaulish* word for a kind of Geta. cassock used in *Gaul*, and by him first introduced among the *Romans*, gave, in his infancy, many instances of an extra-*Their dis-* ordinary sweet and mild temper; but, as he grew up, abandoned himself to all manner of cruelty, and proved in the end *ferent tem-* pers. a most inhuman and bloody tyrant; whereas the latter, who in his tender years seemed no less void of humanity than his father, changed, we may say, by degrees, his temper, and became, in regard of his affability, moderation, and complaisance towards all, the darling both of the people and soldiery. They shewed, from their childhood, an utter aversion from each other, and were continually quarreling, even in their common sports and diversions. This natural antipathy increased as they grew in years, notwithstanding all the intreaties, rebukes, and exhortations, both of their father, and

that is, after the first century, and before the end of the fourth (3). *Dodwell* observes, that no author quotes him before the fourth century; and concludes, from some conjectures, that he flourished after *Censorinus*, who wrote in the year 238 (4). His work is, for the most part, copied, and not very judiciously, from other writers, especially from *Pliny* the elder. Under *Severus* flourished *Philostrophus*, author of the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*; which work he undertook at the request of the empress *Julia*, the wife of *Severus*. *Photius* commends the elegance and softness of his style; but thinks his construction not always agreeable to the rules of grammar (5). We have shewn, in the preceding part of this volume, how little credit his life of *Apollonius* deserves (6). In that history he promises to clear his hero, in another work, from the aspersions

of the philosopher *Euphrates* (7). But, if he was as good as his word, that performance has not reached us. He was, according to *Eusebius*, a native of *Athens*, and the son of *Philosiratus Verus*, who published a great many works, and, among the rest, one against the sophist *Antipater* (8). Besides the life of *Apollonius*, *Philostrophus* wrote four books of *pictures*, or descriptions, a treatise on heroes, letters on friendship, and the lives of the sophists in four books. All these works have reached our times. Under *Severus* lived two other writers of the same name, to wit, *Philostrophus* the son of *Nervianus*, to whom some writers ascribe the lives of the sophists; and *Philostrophus*, a native of *Lemnos*, who wrote some descriptions: of these, the former was great-nephew, and the latter grandson by the mother, to the author of the life of *Apollonius* (9).

(3) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. iii. p. 720, 721*  
*Cyprian. c. 15.* (5) *Phot. c. 44.*  
 (7) *Philos. vit. Apoll. l. i. c. 10.*  
*Jaub. in Spart. p. 30.*

(4) *Dod. append. ad differr.*  
 (6) *See before, p. 100, (A), & seqq.*  
 (8) *Euseb. in Hier. p. 435.* (9) *Ca-*



their preceptor *Antipater*, who were continually laying before them the many evils that must necessarily attend the division and disagreement of brothers. But all to no purpose; for *Severus* no sooner expired, than *Caracalla* strove to have his brother excluded, by the officers of the army, from any share in the sovereignty; but, the soldiers protesting, that they would equally obey both the sons of *Severus*, since he had appointed both to succeed him, he was forced to acknowledge his brother partner in the empire, and suffer the soldiers to take the usual oath of allegiance to each.

AFTER this *Caracalla* led his army towards the borders of the *Mætae* and *Caledonians*, who had begun hostilities anew; but, instead of attacking those warlike nations, he concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and restored to them the lands which *Severus* had obliged them to yield to him<sup>2</sup>. Before he left *Britain*, he discharged *Papinian*, captain of the guards; caused *Castor*, his father's chamberlain, and chief favourite, to be put to death, together with *Evodius*, another of the deceased emperor's freedmen, and formerly his own preceptor; and dispatched assassins into *Italy*, to murder *Plautilla*, who had been his wife, *Plautius* her brother, and a celebrated charioteer, of the faction in the circus opposite to that which he favoured<sup>3</sup> (R). Such was the beginning of the reign of *Caracalla*. The two brothers left *Britain* about the middle of the summer, and set out for *Rome* with their mother *Julia*, and the ashes of their deceased father. *Caracalla* attempted on the road to murder his brother *Geta*; which attempt increased their mutual animosities and jealousies to such a degree, that thenceforth they both marched with their separate guards, and with no less wariness than if they had been in an enemy's country, lodging constantly in different houses, and carefully watching the motions of each other.

THEY were received with great solemnity at *Rome*, where they performed with extraordinary pomp the obsequies of their father, and then withdrew to the palace, which they di-

<sup>2</sup> D10, l. lxxviii. p. 882, & seq. Carac. & Get. vit. p. 87, & 91. <sup>3</sup> Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 870. & l. lxxvi. p. 867.

(R) *Herodian* tells us, that, before he left *Britain*, he dispatched, under various pretences, the physicians who had refused to poison his father, and all the deceased emperor's friends, especially such as endeavoured to promote a good understanding between him and his brother (1).

(1) *Herod. l. iii. p. 538.*

vided into two; for it was larger, if *Herodian* is to be cre-<sup>with great</sup> dited, than any city in the whole empire, except *Rome*. This <sup>solemnity.</sup> division between the two princes rent the whole city, nay, and the empire, into factions; insomuch that, to avoid the many inconveniences and disorders thence arising, a division of the empire was proposed. To this expedient they both hearkened; *Geta*, who loved a quiet life, declaring, that, if *Caracalla* would but yield to him *Asia* and *Egypt*, he would retire to *Antioch* or *Alexandria*, and leave him in quiet possession of the rest of the empire. But this scheme was defeated by their mother *Julia* throwing herself at their feet, and begging, with many tears, that they would divide her, too, between them<sup>b</sup>. Towards the close of this year, *Caracalla* attempted anew to murder his brother, during the feast of *Saturn*; which occasioned almost an open war between the two princes, and a great deal of bloodshed<sup>c</sup>.

THE following year, when the two brothers *Julius* and *Gaius Asper* were consuls, *Caracalla*, unalterably fixed in his wicked purpose of destroying his brother, and ruling alone, but finding him guarded both against poison, and open force, pretended a desire of being reconciled with him, and, by means of their common mother *Julia*, invited him to an interview in her chamber. *Geta* readily accepted the invitation, and repaired, without guards, to the appointed place, not suspecting the least treachery in a proposal which came from his mother, who loved him with great tenderness. But he had no sooner entered her chamber, than some centurions, whom *Caracalla* had found means to convey privately into an adjoining room, rushing in, sword in hand, fell upon *Geta*, and dispatched him, with many wounds, in his mother's arms, who, in endeavouring to save him, was wounded in the hand<sup>d</sup> (S). Such was the end of this unhappy prince, after he had lived twenty-two years, and nine months, and reigned, from the death of his father, one year, and twenty-three days: for his father died on the fourth of *February* of the year 211. and he was killed the year following, on the twenty-seventh of the same month<sup>e</sup>. He no sooner expired, than *Caracalla*, leav-

*Geta murdered in the arms of his mother.*  
Year of the flood 2560.  
Bef. Chr. 212.  
Of Rome 960.

<sup>b</sup> HERODIAN. lib. iii. p. 539—543. DIO, lib. lxxvii. p. 871.  
<sup>c</sup> DIO, *ibid*. <sup>d</sup> HEROD. lib. iii. p. 543. <sup>e</sup> VIT. GET. p. 91.

(S) *Caracalla* himself seems to wards consecrated, in the temple have imbrued his hands in the of *Serapis*, the sword with which blood of his brother; for *Dio* he had murdered him (2). *Cassius* tells us, that he after-

ing the palace with great haste and precipitation, flew thro' the city to the camp of the prætorian guards, pretending great fear and dismay, and crying out aloud, that his life was in danger; that a bloody conspiracy had been formed against him; that he must have fallen a victim to the rage of his enemies; had not his innocence protected him. Upon his arrival in the camp, he went strait to the place where the ensigns and banners were kept, which was a kind of temple and asylum; and there throwing himself upon the ground, returned thanks to the gods for delivering him from so great and imminent a danger.

Caracalla  
gains the  
soldiery  
with an  
immense  
largess.

To the soldiers who crowded about him, he expressed himself with the same ambiguity; but by degrees let them know, that he was sole sovereign, and in a condition to bestow upon them what wealth and honours he pleased; and that they might immediately feel the effects of his generosity, which, he said, was no longer checked or restrained, he doubled their pay, already very high, and added a largess of two thousand five hundred drachmas a man, which he gave them leave to take that instant out of the public treasury. Thus was the exchequer, which his father had, by innumerable murders, and unjust confiscations, been filling for the space of eighteen years, emptied in one day. *Caracalla*, having, by this extravagant largess, secured the affections of the soldiery, told them in the end, that his brother *Geta* had attempted to murder him, but had lost his life in the attempt. Hereupon *Caracalla* was saluted sole emperor by the whole army, and the unhappy *Geta* declared a traitor, and a public enemy<sup>f</sup>. There was at this time another camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, now *Albano*, where the murder of *Geta* was highly resented; but *Caracalla*, hastening thither, soon appeased them, by exaggerating to them, the pretended treachery of his brother, and promising them an immense donative. *Caracalla* passed that night in the camp of the prætorian guards, and the next day went to the senate, with a cuirass under his robes, guarded by all his troops, some of whom he even placed among the senators, to be ready in case any of them should attempt to revenge the death of *Geta*. His speech turned upon the wicked designs of *Geta*, whom, he said, he had slain unwillingly in his own defence, lessening the heinousness of his crime by the example of *Romulus*, and others, who had revenged with death injuries offered them by their brothers. In withdrawing from the senate, he pronounced aloud the following words: "I give leave to all those who are in banishment, to return home; I except none,

His speech  
in the senate.

<sup>f</sup> DIO, p. 872. HEROD. lib. iv. p. 544. Vit. Get. p. 91. & Carac. p. 86.

" by what crimes soever they may have deserved that punishment <sup>h</sup>."

FROM the senate he returned to the palace, leaning upon *Papinian* and *Chilo*; whence he caused the body of his de- *Performs*  
ceased brother to be with great pomp conveyed to the tomb of *the obse-*  
the *Septimian* family on the *Appian* way; and, when the fu- *quies of his*  
neral ceremonies were over, prevailed upon the senate to rank *brother,*  
him, with the usual solemnity, among the gods <sup>h</sup>. Finding, *and causes*  
upon his return to the palace, his mother *Julia*, bewailing *him to be*  
with other women the death of her son, transported with rage, *ranked a-*  
he was at first for putting them all to death; but in the end *mong the*  
got the better of his passion, and even shewed great kindness *gods.*  
to *Julia*, ordering the same honours to be paid to her as to  
himself (T). Among many illustrious persons, whom the in- *Several*  
human tyrant sacrificed to his rage and jealousy, as the friends *illustrious*  
of *Geta*, no one was more universally, or more deservedly, *persons*  
regretted, than the celebrated *Papinian*, the greatest civilian, *put to*  
in the opinion of *Zosimus* <sup>i</sup> and *Cujas* <sup>k</sup>, that ever was, or ever *death.*  
will be. As *Severus* had recommended chiefly to him his two  
sons, he spared no pains to reconcile them, and often defeated  
the wicked attempts of *Caracalla*; on which account he was  
by him reckoned among the friends of *Geta*. Besides, the ty-  
rant desiring him, after the murder of his brother, to compose  
a speech for him, excusing the crime, which he designed to  
pronounce in the senate, *Papinian*, whose love for justice, to

<sup>g</sup> Vit. Car. p. 86.

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. & Get. vit. p. 91, 92.

<sup>i</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 637.

<sup>k</sup> Cuj. in cod. Theod.

(T) *Spartian*, and some other writers, pretend, that he gained his favour by sacrificing to him what ought to have been dearer to her than her life. But neither *Herodian* nor *Dio Cassius* charge *Julia* or *Caracalla* with any such crime; and those who do, suppose *Julia* to have been only stepmother to *Caracalla*, which is now by all writers agreed to be a gross mistake. We are told, that *Caracalla*, on hearing the name, or beholding the images or statues, of *Geta*, used to burst into tears; but this affected grief did not prevent his

massacring, without distinction of sex, age, or quality, all the friends of *Geta* (3). *Dio Cassius* writes, that he began this general massacre by ordering all his domestics, to the number of twenty thousand persons, to be inhumanly butchered. It was death to utter his name; inso-  
much that no one durst use it thenceforth, even on the stage, where it was commonly given to slaves. He likewise ordered all the money with his name to be melted down, and the inscriptions erased.

(3) Get. vit. p. 92. Herod. l. iii. p. 546.

The death  
of Papi-  
nian,

use the expression of *Zosimus*, was equal to his knowledge of it, answered with great firmness, *It is not so easy a thing to justify a parricide, as to commit it; and it is a second parricide to defame an innocent person, after having taken away his life.* The emperor, provoked at this answer, ordered his head to be immediately struck off, and likewise his son's, who was then quaestor, and had but three days before exhibited most magnificent sports<sup>1</sup>. *L. Fabius Chilo*, another of *Severus's* great favourites, for whom *Caracalla* himself had a particular esteem (for he used to stile him his true friend, his benefactor, his father), was in the next place doomed to destruction, for having, together with *Papinian*, endeavoured by all means to promote union and concord between the two brothers. A tribune was sent with a band of soldiers to seize him in his house, drag him to the palace, and there butcher him in the presence of the emperor. But the people, and the city-guards, whom *Chilo* had commanded while governor of *Rome*, moved with compassion at seeing a person of his rank thus ignominiously treated by the insulting soldiery, like a common malefactor, rescued him out of their hands, uttering dreadful menaces against the authors of such outrages; which so frightened *Caracalla*, that he declared he had given no such orders; and, to appease the multitude, caused both the tribune and soldiers to be immediately put to death<sup>m</sup>.

and of se-  
veral  
others.

He spared *Chilo*, but vented his rage without controul upon many other illustrious persons, both of the senatorial and equestrian order, not pardoning any for whom either his father or brother had ever shewn the least kindness or esteem. Among these unhappy victims were, a daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, whom the other emperors had treated with the utmost respect, but *Caracalla* ordered to be strangled, for shedding a few tears, when news were brought her of the death of *Geta*; *Septimius Severus Afer*, the son of *Geta*, brother to the late emperor *Severus*, to whom *Caracalla* had sent, the day before, a dish from his own table, as a token of his friendship; *Pompeianus*, who had been twice consul, had commanded armies in several wars, and was grandson to the emperor *M. Aurelius*, by the empress *Lucilla*; *Helvius Pertinax*, son to the emperor of that name, and therefore greatly beloved by the people, and no less hated by the jealous tyrant, whom he had likewise provoked with a satirical jest; for, when the titles of *Parthicus* and *Sarmaticus* were decreed to him by the senate, *Pertinax* moved, that the surname of *Geticus* might be added to the other two, alluding not so much to the victory which *Ca-*

<sup>1</sup> Vit. Car. p. 88. Dio in excerpt. VAL. p. 742.  
Car. p. 86. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 872.

Vit.

*racalla* pretended to have gained over the *Geta*, as to the murder of his brother *Geta*<sup>n</sup>. Some of *Geta*'s enemies fared to better than his friends; but the death of no man occasioned greater surprize in the city, than that of *Lætus*, one of *Caracalla*'s most intimate friends, and the first who had advised him to dispatch his brother. He did not even spare the *Vestal* virgins, some of whom he ordered to be strangled for having bewailed the death of *Geta*. In short, no sex, rank, or age, escaped his cruelty.

THE people he loaded with taxes in all the provinces of the empire, and at *Rome* caused great numbers of them to be put to death, sometimes out of revenge, and sometimes only for his diversion; for he delighted in nothing so much as in feats of cruelty, and in bloodshed (U). No prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raising money than *Caracalla*, or squandered it away with more prodigality. He often used to say, that money ought not to be lodged in private hands, but only in the prince's. Pursuant to his maxim, he impoverished his subjects in all the provinces of the empire, loading them with excessive imposts and taxes; for which, as well as for his extravagant expences, when his mother took the liberty to blame him, he, like a true tyrant, shewed her his naked sword, saying, *As long as I have this, I shall never want* (W). *Caracalla*

<sup>n</sup> Vit. Car. p. 87.

(U) The people having one day rallied, at the *Circensian* games, a charioteer whom he favoured, he commanded his guards to rush in among the multitude, and put all the delinquents to the sword; but, as the soldiers could not in so great a croud distinguish them from the rest, they fell indifferently upon all, sword in hand, and made a dreadful havoc of the disarmed multitude, sparing only such as had money enough about them to redeem their lives (4).

(W) However, he gave away such immense sums, mostly to persons who least of all deserved them, to wit, to his guards, buf-

foons, players, gladiators, charioteers, freedmen, &c. that he was in the end obliged to coin false money, which he spent at home, while he employed what true gold and silver he could extort from his subjects, in keeping the barbarians quiet, who were constantly threatening him with war (5). He shewed on all occasions the utmost contempt for the senate, intirely neglected the administration of justice, took no care of the provinces, and raised to the highest employments the meanest, and in every respect the most infamous and unworthy persons of the empire. Thus he gave the government of *Rome* to

(4) *Herod. l. iv. p. 546, p. 875.*

(5) *Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 758. § l. lxxvii.*

*Declares* *racalla* was author of the famous law declaring all the free subjects of the empire *Roman* citizens. This constitution is commonly ascribed to *M. Aurelius*; but that it was published not by that prince, but by *Caracalla*, we are told in express terms by *Dio Cassius* °, whose authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of *Aurelius Victor*, who was, as we conjecture, led into that mistake by the words of *Ulpian*, ascribing the above-mentioned law to *Antoninus* °; though from the context it is manifest, that *Ulpian* speaks in that place of *Antoninus Caracalla*, and not of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. *St. Chrysostom*, whom some writers have followed, supposes *Adrian* to have been the author of this law ¶. Though the name and privileges of *Roman* citizens were by this constitution made common to all the subjects of the empire, yet the antient distinction of *colonies*, of *Latin*, *municipal*, and *free* cities, subsisted long after, as appears from the *Theodosian code* † and *digests* ‡. But to clear up this difficulty, which has puzzled the best civilians, is not the province of an historian.

*CARACALLA*, finding himself generally hated at *Rome*, on account of his cruelties, resolved to leave the city, and visit, after the example of *Adrian*, all the provinces of the empire. Pursuant to this resolution, having in the third year of his reign taken upon him his fourth consulship, and named *Decius Caelius Balbinus*, afterwards emperor, for his colleague, he set out for *Gaul*, where he caused the proconsul of the province of *Narbonne* to be put to death, and made such havock of the people, that he was more hated and abhorred there, than he had ever been at *Rome*. He did not even spare the physicians, who had taken care of him during a dangerous malady, with which he was seized; but, upon his recovery,

His cruelties in Gaul.

° *Dio* in excerpt. *VAL.* p. 755.

¶ *Digest.* 1. t. 5.

1. xvii. ° *CHRY.* in act. apost. hom. xlviii.

† *Cod.*

th. 2. t. 21. p. 189, 190. 1. iv. t. 9. 1. iii. p. 370.

‡ *Digest.*

50. t. 15. 1. i. p. 1921. & 1. viii. p. 1923.

an eunuch named *Sempronius*, who was by birth an *Iberian*, by profession a poisoner and magician, who had been banished by his father *Sewerus*, and confined to a desert island. He appointed one *Theocritus* captain of the guards, who had been first a slave, and afterwards a dancing-master and stage-player. One

*Epagathus*, another manumitted slave, bore likewise great sway at court, and, with the other two, ruled and controuled both the empire and emperor, setting all things to sale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public justice, and the lives of men, both innocent and guilty (6).

caused them to be put to death<sup>t</sup>. In the beginning of the following year, when *Messala* and *Sabinus* were consuls, he returned to *Rome*, bringing with him an incredible quantity of habits made after the *Gaulish* fashion, which he wore himself, distributed among the people, and would suffer none to wait upon him but in that dress (X). His stay at *Rome* was very short; for this very year the *Catti*, the *Alemanni*, whom we find now mentioned for the first time in history, and several other *German* nations, taking up arms, began to make inroads into the *Roman* dominions (Y). *Caracalla* therefore marched against them, but in that expedition approved himself a better foldier than commander.

For, though he behaved with great courage, and even challenged the bravest of the enemy to a single combat; yet, for want of conduct, he was obliged to purchase a peace with vast sums, and the liberty of retiring with safety into the *Roman* dominions<sup>u</sup> (Z). It was no sooner known in *Germany*, that he had bought a peace of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, than all the nations inhabiting that extensive country flew to arms, threatening him with a destructive war, unless with them too he shared his treasures; which he did accordingly, paying them yearly pensions, and by that means reducing himself to such straits, that he was obliged, as we have hinted above, to coin false money. When he received the deputies of the barbarians, he suffered no one to be present except the interpreters,

His expedition against the Catti and Alemanni.

Buy a peace. Year of the flood 2561. Of Christ 213. Of Rome 961.

<sup>t</sup> Vit. Carac. p. 87.

<sup>u</sup> Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 876.

(X) From this habit, the emperor was nicknamed *Caracalla* or *Caracallus*; for such was its *Gaulish* name (7). Hence *Scalliger* derives, how rightly we leave the reader to judge, the word *cassock*, the *caracalla* being a kind of cassock. At *Rome* it was called *Antoniniana*, from *Antoninus*, which was one of the emperor's names.

(Y) The *Alemanni* inhabited at this time the present duchy of *Virttemberg*, and were, as appears from their name, a mixed multitude of all the neighbouring nations (8). They had entered

into an alliance with the *Catti*, whom we have frequently mentioned in the foregoing reigns, and made daily incursions into the *Roman* territories.

(Z) Having asked some women, whom he had taken in the countries of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, which they chose, to be sold for slaves, or put to death, they all preferred death to slavery. The emperor nevertheless ordered them to be sold; but they all laid violent hands on themselves, and some of them after having put to death their children (9).

(7) Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 890. Spart. p. 72. Euseb. chron. p. 230. (8) *Vorburg. hist. Rom. Ger.* p. 473. Buch. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. (9) Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 749, 750.



whom he caused to be immediately put to death, lest they should divulge what had passed. However, the barbarians themselves, when he was murdered, owned, that he had encouraged them to invade *Italy*, in case any misfortune should befall him, and to march strait to *Rome*, which, he said, they might take with great ease <sup>w</sup>. During his stay in *Germany*, he caused *Gaiobamarus* king of the *Quadi* to be treacherously murdered; and, having ordered all the youth of *Noricum* to take arms, and join him, he commanded his troops, on what provocation we know not, to put them all to the sword <sup>x</sup>. For his pretended victories over the *Alemanni*, he took the title of *Germanicus* and *Alemannicus* <sup>y</sup>.

He passes  
over into  
Asia.

Year of  
the flood  
2563.  
Of Christ  
215.  
Of Rome  
963.

In the fifth year of his reign, when *Lætus* was consul the second time with *Cerealis*, *Caracalla*, leaving *Germany*, led his army into *Dacia*; where he gained some small advantages over the *Getæ*, and then pursued his march through *Thrace* to the *Hellepont*, which he crossed, not without danger of being shipwrecked; and, arriving in *Asia*, hastened to *Pergamus*, hoping to be delivered by the god *Æsculapius*, worshiped in that city, from all the maladies, says *Herodian*, both of his body and mind: but the god, continues that historian, was deaf to his prayers; so that he left *Pergamus*, after having enriched it with many privileges, as if he designed to bribe the deity; and pursued his journey to *Ilium*, where he viewed the remains of antient *Troy*, and visited the tomb of *Achilles*, paying extraordinary honours to the memory of that hero, though an implacable enemy to the *Trojans*, from whom the *Romans* pretended to derive their origin. From *Ilium* he went to *Nicomedia*, where he spent the winter. In that city he invited *Dio Cassius* to sup with him, during the feast of *Saturn*; for he obliged most of the senators to attend him in all his journeys, to defray his traveling charges, and to build in the cities, where he passed the winter, theatres, circus's, and amphitheatres, for public sports <sup>z</sup> (A).

THE

<sup>w</sup> DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 891.  
& 754. <sup>y</sup> Car. vit. p. 89.  
<sup>z</sup> DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884.

<sup>x</sup> Idem in excerpt. VAL. p. 749,  
GOLTZ. p. 93. EIRAG. p. 293.

(A) Historians observe, that, to gain the affections of the foreign nations, he dressed after the manner of the countries through which he passed: thus in *Germany* he assumed the *German* habit, and chose such of the *German* soldiers as were most

strong and active, for his guard. When he entered *Macedon*, from a *German* he became a *Macedonian* in habit and behaviour. For, pretending to be a great admirer of *Alexander*, he adopted, not only the habit in which that conqueror was represented, but

THE following year, when C. Atius Sabinus was consul the second time, with Cornelius Anullinus, Caracalla, leaving Nicomedia after the fourth of April (for he celebrated his birth-day there), crossed Bithynia, Asia; and the other provinces, on his journey to Antioch, in which city he was received with extraordinary pomp. During his stay there, he wrote to the senate, that he was well apprised they did not approve of his conduct; but so long as he had an army at his command, he neither valued their reproaches, nor feared their hatred<sup>a</sup>. He was very desirous of picking a quarrel with the Parthians, who were involved in a civil war, occasioned by the ambition of the two sons of the late king Vologeses; but they complying with all his demands, he postponed his intended expedition against them, and bent his mind on the reduction of Osrhoene and Armenia, though the kings of these two countries lived in perfect amity with the Romans. However, Caracalla, having invited them to Antioch, as friends and allies of the Roman people, caused them to be arrested there, and imprisoned, without the least colour or pretence for so doing. Hereupon Osrhoene immediately submitted, and was, according to some writers, reduced to a Roman province; though others maintain, that it was long after governed by its own princes<sup>b</sup>. All we know for certain is, that Caracalla established a Roman colony at Edeffa, the capital of Osrhoene<sup>c</sup>; and that, in the fourth century, the whole country was subject to the Romans. The Armenians, notwithstanding the captivity of their king, made a vigorous resistance; gave a total overthrow to Theocritus the comedian, who was sent against them at the head of a numerous army; baffled all the efforts of Caracalla; and maintained themselves in possession of their antient liberties<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 879. HEROD. l. iv. p. 519. <sup>b</sup> Vide SPANH. l. ii. p. 86. & SYNCLL. p. 359. <sup>c</sup> SPANH. l. ix. p. 775. <sup>d</sup> DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 875

but his air and mien, affecting an awful and threatening countenance, and bending his head somewhat to one side. He ordered several statues to be set up in Rome, to the honour of that hero; and, among the rest, some with two faces, one resembling Alexander, and the other himself. He ordered himself to be stiled Alexander, and Antoninus the Great, called a squadron of

his army a phalanx, and gave to his officers the names of the commanders of Alexander. He had no sooner entered Asia, than he forgot Alexander, and studied in all things to resemble Achilles, whose tomb he had visited. Thus he traveled, more like a player than an emperor, being the laughing-stock of other nations, and the shame and disgrace of his own.

Orders a  
general  
massacre  
at Alexan-  
dria.

FROM *Antioch* the emperor proceeded to *Alexandria*, where he made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, being highly provoked against them for the many lampoons, which, agreeable to their satirical humour, they had published on occasion of the death of *Geta*. He gave private orders to his numerous troops, who were dispersed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to enter and pillage their houses, and put all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. His cruel orders were executed with such barbarity, as can hardly be expressed; the whole city floated in blood; every house was filled with carcases; and the return of day discovered in every street the sad monuments of the mighty butchery: but the tyrant, not yet satiated with blood, commanded the slaughter to be continued all the day following, that he might have the pleasure of beholding it from the temple of *Serapis*, where he had passed the preceding night, imploring, during the general massacre, the protection of that deity. When the soldiers were tired with slaughter, *Caracalla* wrote to the senate, acquainting them, that he had revenged the affronts offered him by the *Alexandrians*; but that it was not necessary to specify the number of the dead, nor their condition, since none had perished but such as were guilty. Before he left the city, he stripped it of all its privileges; suppressed the celebrated assembly of learned men; ordered all strangers, who lived there, to abandon the place; and that such as had escaped the general massacre, who were very few, might not have the satisfaction of seeing one another, he cut off all communication of one street with another, by walls built for that purpose, and guarded by the troops he left there<sup>c</sup>. However, as the tyrant died soon after, *Alexandria* speedily recovered its former splendor, and continued to be the first city of the empire after *Rome*.

His treachery towards the Parthians.

FROM *Alexandria* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, with a design to make war upon the *Parthians*, and, by some memorable exploit, deserve the surname of *Parthicus*, which he seems to have preferred to all others. In order to have some pretence for declaring war, he sent an embassy to *Artabanus* with rich presents, to desire his daughter in marriage, not doubting but the *Parthian* would deny him his request; which happened accordingly, *Artabanus* alleging, that his daughter, brought up after the *Parthian* manner, could never be reconciled to the customs of the *Romans*<sup>f</sup>. *Herodian* writes that, *Caracalla* persisting in his demand, *Artabanus* at

<sup>c</sup> HEROD. l. iv. p. 549. DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 879, 880. VIT. CAR. p. 87. <sup>f</sup> DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 896.

length, encamped with his army near to the city, and then  
disappeared, leaving the king in a state of great anxiety.  
He, however, was not long in recovering from his alarm,  
and soon set out on his journey, and arrived at the town  
of *Caracalla*, where the soldiers were so much  
astonished by the change of name, that they  
and a numerous body of guards, all armed, and in their  
gayest attire. The emperor, seeing the confidence they  
reposed in him, with a treacherous hand, to be matched, gave  
the signal to his soldiers to fall upon them sword in hand,  
which they did accordingly, and made a terrible slaughter of  
the unarmed multitude, expecting nothing less than such a  
reception. However, the king had the good fortune to escape  
unhurt. After this exploit, worthy of such an emperor as  
*Caracalla*, the cruel and perfidious monster, enraged that  
*Arrianus* had escaped him, wreaked his fury on all the countries  
through which he passed on his return to *Syria*, leaving every-  
where dismal monuments of his barbarous cruelty, and insatiable  
avarice (B). The emperor returned from this memo-  
rable expedition to *Edessa*; whence he wrote boasting let-  
ters to the senate, as if he had subdued the *Parthians*, and  
reduced all the East. The senate, though informed of what  
had passed, yet decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Par-*

Honoured  
by the se-  
nate with

THE following year, when *G. Bruttius Præfens* and *V. the title of*  
*Messius Satrianus* were consuls, a bloody doom at length *Parthicus*.  
overtook this man of blood. He had often rallied as a coward,  
and threatened with death, *Macrinus* captain of the guards;  
beside, about this time a soothsayer declared publicly in  
*Africa*, that *Macrinus*, and his son *Diadumenus*, were de-  
stined to the empire. Hereupon the soothsayer was imme-  
diately put to death.

A predi-  
ction in  
favour of  
Macrinus,

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. l. iv. p. 551—553.  
HEROD. p. 553.

<sup>b</sup> DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 881.

(B) Thus *Herodian*. But *Dio Cassius* writes, that *Caracalla*, upon the *Parthian* king's refusing him his daughter, entered his dominions, without any farther declaration of war; ravaged great part of *Media*; destroyed several cities; took *Arbela*; and there demolished the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs, insulting their remains in a most outrageous

manner. The same writer adds, that as the irruption was sudden and unexpected, he no-where met with the least opposition, or even saw the face of an enemy (1). *Spartian*, indeed, speaks of a tumultuary engagement between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, in which *Caracalla* let loose wild beasts against the enemy (2).

(1) *Dio*, l. lxxviii. p. 881.

(2) *Vit. Car.* p. 87.

diately sent to *Rome*, while he repeated and maintained the same thing before *Maternianus*, captain of the city-guards, whom the emperor, as he reposed in him an intire confidence, had enjoined to employ all possible means, even the detestable mysteries of magic, in order to discover, whether any one privately aspired at the empire. *Maternianus*, therefore, did not fail to write immediately to the emperor what he had learned of the soothsayer; but the letter being delivered to *Julia*, whom *Caracalla* had left at *Antioch*, with full power to open and read all his dispatches (for he himself was still at *Edessa*, where he had passed the winter), *Macrinus*, who attended the emperor, was acquainted with the contents of it, before *Julia* could transmit it from *Antioch* to *Edessa*. This intelligence was conveyed to him by *Ulpian* *Julianus* his intimate friend, who delivered the letter to a courier dispatched from *Rome* straight to the court at *Edessa* <sup>i</sup> (C). *Macrinus* being thus informed before the emperor of what *Maternianus* had written, and therefore sensible, that he could not use too much dispatch <sup>k</sup>, he immediately gained, with great promises, two brothers, *Aurelius Nemesianus* and *Aurelius Apollinaris*, both tribunes of the guards; *Julius Martialis*, an exempt, whom the emperor had provoked, by refusing him the post of a centurion; *Martius Agrippa* the admiral; *Rhetianus*, tribune of the second legion; and several others; who put their design in execution on the eighth of *April* of this year 217. while the emperor was going on horseback with a small retinue from *Edessa* to visit a temple of the *Moon* at *Carrhae*; for, being obliged to stop by the way to ease nature, and all withdrawing, except one of the prince's domestics, as he was ready to mount again, *Martialis*, loth to let slip that opportunity, ran hastily to him, gave him with his dagger such a stab in the throat, that he expired immediately, and, returning to the rest, mixed with the croud, before they were apprised of what had passed; but, when the emperor's death was publicly known, a *Scythian*, who belonged to the guards, observing *Martialis* with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in that confusion, he had not the precaution to conceal, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, shot him through with an arrow. *Caracalla* was killed after he had

who con-  
spires a-  
gainst Ca-  
racalla.

Caracalla  
murdered.

Year of  
the flood  
2565.

Of Christ

Of Rome

965.

<sup>i</sup> Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 882.

<sup>k</sup> Herod. l. iv. p. 554.

(C) *Herodian* writes, that a packet being brought to the emperor, while he was buied in driving a chariot at the public shews, he ordered *Macrinus* to

read the letters, and acquaint him with the contents of them afterwards; and that *Macrinus* found, among the rest, the letter of *Maternianus*.

lived

lived twenty-nine years and four months, and reigned six years, two months, and four days, from the death of his father (D).

THE

‡ Dio. p. 891. Hæad. p. 556.

(D) The authors who lived under *Caracalla*, were, *Q. Sæverus Sæmpronius*, who wrote a great number of books, which were much admired by *Geta*; and hence *Sæmpronius* was, by *Caracalla's* order, murdered, while he was at supper, as a friend to *Geta* (3). None of his works have reached our times, except some books in *Latin* verse on physics, and a few passages quoted by *Macrobius* out of a book in prose, which he inscribed to the emperor *Severus* (4). *Vossius* is of opinion, that he published some historical pieces (5). His library consisted of sixty-two thousand volumes, which his son, who bore the same name, bequeathed to young *Gordian*, whose preceptor he had been (6). The emperor *Alexander* is said to have taken great delight in reading the works of *Horace* and *Sæverus Sæmpronius*, with whom he had been acquainted (7); but this must have been the son. *Aulus Maurus*, whom *Spartian* quotes in relating the death of *Severus* (8), wrote in the reign of *Caracalla*, being then very old; for he had been a slave to *Phlegon*, the celebrated freedman of the emperor *Adrian* (9). *Vossius* ranks him among the *Latin* historians; because *Spartian* does not say, that he wrote in *Greek* (1). *Oppian*, the celebrated *Greek*

poet, lived under *Antoninus*, the son of *Domna*; that is, under *Caracalla*, the son of *Julia Domna*, as he himself informs us (2), and not under *Antoninus the Philosopher*, as we read in the chronicle of *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* (3). He was a native of *Anazarbus*, a town of *Cilicia*, as appears from the short account of his life, which is prefixed to his works (4). His father being banished by *Severus* to the island of *Malta*, or to that of *Melela* near *Ragusa*, *Oppian* accompanied him to the place of his exile, and there composed his poems, which he afterwards rehearsed at *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary applause, and pleased the emperor *Severus* to such a degree, that he recalled his father from banishment, and rewarded the poet with as many pieces of gold as there were verses in his poem on the art of fishing; whence he used to call those verses, *golden verses* (5). He inscribed that poem to *Antoninus*, that is, to *Caracalla*, about the year 204 according to *Scaliger*, and the other on the chase to the same prince, after the death of his father *Severus* (6). The latter poem ought to consist of five books as well as the former, tho' there are but four in the *Paris* edition of 1555. and in that of *Plantin* in 1597. both which edi-

(3) *Cor. vit.* p. 86. & *Get. vit.* p. 92.  
*croq. Saturn.* l. 12. c. 12.

*vit.* p. 159.

*biog. Lat.* *ibid.*

(2) *Euseb. chron.* p. 221, 222.

(6) *Oppian, de pisc.* l. 1. p. 54. & *de venat.* l. 1. p. 222.

(4) *Voss. poet. Lat.* p. 52. & *Mu-*

(5) *Voss. biog. Lat.* l. 11 c. 2.

(8) *Vit. Sev.* p. 71.

(2) *Oppian de venat.* l. 1. p. 129

(5) *Sæmpron. l. 1. p. 394.*

(5) *Euseb. chron.* p. 222.

Opelius  
Macrinus  
declared  
emperor  
by the sol-  
diery.

THE soldiers immediately gathered about the body of the deceased prince, conveyed it to *Edeffa*, and there proceeded, even before they had performed the funeral obsequies, to the election of a new emperor. They were in suspense that and the two following days; but, on the fourth, the eleventh of April, and the birth-day of *Severus*, the prætorian guards, who were at *Edeffa*, at the instigation of the tribunes, who had been privy to the conspiracy of *Macrinus*, declared him emperor; for no one, except his accomplices, imagined him to have been any-way accessory to the death of *Caracalla*, which they ascribed to *Martialis* alone, as if he had committed the murder out of private passion and revenge. *Macrinus* pretended at first to decline such an heavy burden; but was easily prevailed upon to submit to it; distributed, on that occasion, large sums amongst the soldiery; made them ample promises; and granted a general pardon to all persons accused of, or condemned for, crimes of majesty or high-treason<sup>m</sup> (E).

<sup>1</sup> DIO, p. 891. HEROD. p. 556.  
p. 893—895.

<sup>m</sup> DIO, l. lxxviii.

tions are evidently imperfect. St. *Jerom* extols the poem on the art of fishing as a wonderful performance (7). *Scaliger* styles it a divine work; but *Sozomenus*, not so lavish of his praises, calls it only an indifferent poem (8). We learn from his life, that, besides the two above-mentioned works, he composed several other admirable poems, as the anonymous author styles them (9). He tells us himself, that he described in verse the *Parthian* war, and the taking of *Ctesiphon*, no doubt by *Severus*. He is said to have retired with his father to *Anazarbus*, their native city, and to have died there of the plague in the flower of his age, being but thirty years old (1). The inhabitants of *Anazarbus*, his countrymen, erected a statue to him, with a pompous inscription.

(E) *Herodian* writes, that the army first chose *Adventus*, *Macrinus*'s colleague in the command of the prætorian guards, who excused himself on account of his great age (2). But, according to *Dio Cassius*, *Adventus* only bragged, that, in regard to his seniority, he had a better right to the empire than *Macrinus*, declaring, at the same time, that he willingly yielded it to him (3). *Adventus* was an excellent commander; but altogether unqualified for a statesman, exceeding old, no less meanly born than *Macrinus*, and illiterate to such a degree, that he could not even read (4). However; *Macrinus* created him senator, appointed him governor of *Rome*, and the following year chose him for his colleague in the consulpip.

(7) Hier. chron. (8) Sozom. l. i. p. 394. (9) Oppian. vit. (1) Ibid.  
(2) Herod. l. iv. p. 535. (3) Dio, p. 894. \* (4) Idem ibid.

As for the new emperor *Opilius*, or rather *Opelius Macrinus*. His birth was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Mauritania*, now *Algier*, and of a very mean descent. We are told, that many things concerning his birth, his education, and first employments, were invented by his successor *Heliogabalus*, and, by his orders, inserted, as true, in his life. Hence, without taking notice of what we read in *Julius Capitolinus*, who was strangely prejudiced against him, we shall chiefly follow *Dio Cassius*, who flourished under him, and seems quite free from all personal hatred, and personal affection. According to that writer, he was a person of a most mild and humane temper, which gained him the affections both of the people and soldiery, and covered the meanness of his birth, and first employments. He was pretty well versed in the laws, which induced *Plautianus* to commit to him the care of his estate; that is, to appoint him his steward. Afterwards *Severus* charged him with the care of the posts in *Italy*; but soon after banished him, for what transgression we know not, into *Africa*, where he supported himself with pleading causes of small consequence. He returned to *Rome* after the death of *Severus*, when *Caracalla* gave him an employment in the exchequer, in which he acquitted himself so well, that the same prince named him to succeed the celebrated *Papinian* in the command of the prætorian guards. His chief province in that office was to decide causes with the emperor, or in his name; which he did with great equity, when *Caracalla* himself was not present. He married one *Nonia Celsa*, a woman of a very indifferent character, and had by her a son, born on the nineteenth of *September* of the year 208. and commonly called by the *Latin* historians *Diadumenus*; but by *Dio Cassius*, by *Herodian*, and in most inscriptions, *Diadumenianus*. With the empire he took the names of *Severus* and *Aurelius*, which are still to be seen on several of his medals: but on none appears that of *Antoninus*; whence we conclude *Capitolinus* to have been mistaken in giving him it. Before he left *Edessa*, he caused the body of *Caracalla* to be burnt with the usual solemnity, and sent his ashes, inclosed in an urn, to his mother *Julia* at *Antioch*, who, not caring to outlive him, especially after *Macrinus* had ordered her to leave that city, on account of her bitter invectives against him, and her private intrigues, in order to seize the empire for herself, abstained from all food, and died starved. Her body was sent to *Rome*, and deposited in the tomb of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*, the of *Julia*.

<sup>a</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxviii. p. 892, 893.

<sup>o</sup> *Idem*, p. 888. *HEROD.*

<sup>b</sup> *GOLTZ*. p. 100.

<sup>p</sup> *GOLTZ*. p. 95.



grandsons of *Augustus*, and from thence conveyed afterwards by her sister *Mæsa* to the mausoleum of *Adrian* <sup>1</sup>.

*MACRINUS* was no sooner declared emperor, than he sent for his son *Diadumenus*, who was then at *Antioch*. The soldiers who attended him, and were intirely addicted to *Macrinus*, gave him, pursuant to their private instructions, as it were of their own motion, the title of *Cæsar*; which, upon his arrival at *Edeffa*, was confirmed to him by the whole army, his father giving, on that occasion, another bounty to the soldiery. The new prince did not fail to acquaint the senate immediately with the death of *Caracalla*, and his accession to the empire, by a letter, in which he spoke with great reserve of the deceased emperor, neither commending nor discommending him: he only said, that since the doom which he seemed to have deserved had at length overtaken him, and the army had chosen him to command in his room, he would acknowledge himself indebted to the senate alone for the empire, if they thought fit to confirm that choice. Though the senate had heard before the news of the death of *Caracalla*;

*Diadumenus declared Cæsar.*

*The hatred of the senate to Caracalla.*

*Macrinus acknowledged emperor by the senate.*

yet, apprehending it to be only a false report, they had carefully concealed their sentiments; but, being now assured of the truth by *Macrinus's* letters, they loaded him with dreadful curses; ordered all his gold and silver statues to be melted down, his name to be erased out of all inscriptions; annulled his acts; and declared his memory infamous, styling him no longer *Antoninus*, but *Bassianus*, *Caracalla*, and *Tarandator* <sup>2</sup>. They were so transported with joy in seeing themselves delivered from the tyranny of *Caracalla*, that, overlooking the meanness of *Macrinus's* birth, they declared him emperor without the least hesitation, heaping upon him all the honours, which they had ever conferred upon any prince. His family was ranked among the patrician families, his son proclaimed *Cæsar*, and his wife, *Nonia Celsa*, honoured with the title of *Augusta*. In their answer to his letter, they earnestly intreated him to punish, according to their deserts, the ministers of the late tyrant, and utterly to extirpate the whole tribe of informers. *Macrinus* complied, in some degree, with their request; for he suffered them to condemn, not to death, but to banishment, three senators, and many others of an inferior rank; and ordered all the slaves and freedmen, who had informed against their masters or patrons, to be crucified.

THE new emperor in the mean time, leaving *Edeffa*, led his army to *Antioch*; and there, in the presence of all his

<sup>1</sup> DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 899.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 892.

troops,

troops, gave his son the name of *Antoninus*; a name highly revered, and, in a manner, adored by the soldiery<sup>a</sup>. On this occasion the whole army demanded, with loud cries, the deification of *Caracalla*; a demand which greatly surprised *Macrinus*, who, nevertheless, was, in the end, forced to comply with it, and command the senate to rank among the gods one, whom he himself had caused to be murdered, and who was deservedly looked upon by all, except the soldiery, as a professed foe to human race, a monster gorged with blood, a parricide, and the most inhuman tyrant that could ever wear and disgrace a diadem. The senate, pursuant to the emperor's orders, immediately decreed him divine honours, a temple, altars, priests, sacrifices; and all the apparatus of divinity. The new emperor was even obliged to cause one *Aurelianus* to be condemned and executed, for having privately removed some of the deceased emperor's statues<sup>b</sup>; so great was the authority which the army had, by degrees, usurped both over the senate and prince.

WHILE these things passed at *Antioch* and *Rome*, *Artabanes*, king of the *Parthians*, having assembled a powerful army, advanced at the head of it, with a design to invade the *Roman* territories, and retaliate the injuries he had received. *Macrinus*, prompted partly by his natural timidity (for he was not a man of courage), and partly by motives of justice and equity, endeavoured to appease him, by sending back all the prisoners taken by *Caracalla*, and with them ambassadors to propose a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations; but *Artabanes* declaring, that he would hearken to no proposals, unless the *Romans* engaged, by way of preliminary, to rebuild all the cities they had destroyed, to give up *Mesopotamia*, and to pay an immense sum, to be employed in repairing the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs overturned by *Caracalla*, and making good the losses his subjects had sustained by the late unjust invasion, *Macrinus*, ashamed to comply with such high demands, took the field, and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Nisibis*<sup>c</sup>. But the *Romans*, inured under *Caracalla* to an idle and effeminate life, were overcome in two engagements; insomuch that *Macrinus*, not daring to venture a third, sent ambassadors with rich presents for *Artabanes*, and all the grandees of his court; and by that means obtained a peace, which cost him, according to our historian, fifty millions of drachmas<sup>d</sup>. However, the senate decreed him the surname of *Parthicus*, which he

<sup>a</sup> Dio, p. 896. <sup>b</sup> HEROD. l. iv. p. 561.  
p. 892. Vit. Macr. p. 95.  
ibid. p. 890. <sup>c</sup> Dio, ibid. p. 896.

<sup>d</sup> Dio, l. lxxviii.  
<sup>e</sup> Vit. M. cr. p. 96. Dio,

and Armenians.  
Restores  
Tiridates  
to the  
throne of  
Armenia.

Macri-  
nus's se-  
verity  
against  
criminals.

accepted, as appears from some of his medals <sup>x</sup>; but declined the triumph, which was decreed him at the same time <sup>y</sup>.

As for the *Armenians*, whom *Caracalla* had likewise provoked, *Macrinus* appeased them, by restoring their king *Tiridates* to the throne, and to him those lands, which they had formerly possessed in *Cappadocia* <sup>z</sup>. *Capitolinus* speaks of a war with the people of *Arabia*, in which *Macrinus* signalized his courage, and was attended with great success <sup>a</sup>; but of this war no mention is made by any other historian. *Macrinus*, having thus concluded a peace both with the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, returned to *Antioch*; and there, by means of many excellent laws, endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuses, which had prevailed in the reign of his predecessor. He declared all the rescripts and decisions of the emperors void and null, unless they were found agreeable to the antient and known laws of *Rome*, saying, It was a shameful thing, that the caprices of a *Commodus*, or a *Caracalla*, should be held for laws. He punished crimes with great severity. When any persons, of what rank soever, were convicted of adultery, he caused the delinquents to be tied together; and, thus tied, to be burnt alive. He obliged fugitive slaves to fight like gladiators: sometimes he ordered criminals to be shut up, and starved to death. He punished with death such informers, as could not make good their accusations; when they did, they had the usual reward, that is, the fourth part of the criminal's estate; whence they were called *quadruplatores*; but at the same time *Macrinus* declared them infamous (F). He took from the inhabitants of *Pergamus* all the privileges, which had been lately granted them by *Caracalla*, and appointed *Dio Cassius* the historian

<sup>x</sup> NORIS. de Dio. p. 19.

<sup>y</sup> DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 900.

<sup>z</sup> Idem, p. 887.

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Macr. p. 95.

(F) He revived, according to *Capitolinus*, who betrays a strange prejudice against him, the punishment of *Mezentius*, who is said to have tied the living to the dead, that they might both putrefy together. Hence the peo-

ple, commending once in the circus the mild temper of his son *Diadumenus*, publicly repeated the verse of *Virgil* in commendation of *Lausus* the son of *Mezentius*;

———— *Dignus* ——— *cui pater haud Mezentius esset* :

A son, whose virtues justly might require  
A worthier than *Mezentius* for his fire (5).

(5) Vit. Macr. p. 96. Virg. *Æn.* vii. ver. 654.

Governor of that city, and of *Smyrna* <sup>b</sup>. A conspiracy being discovered against him, he punished some of the authors of *stence* of it; but pardoned *Arbrianus*, *Thuscus*, and *Gellius*, of whom *his* *cl-* the former is stiled duke of *Armenia*, and the two latter lieutenants of *Asia* and *Arabia*; nay, he continued them in their employments, hoping to gain them by that means. We are told by *Capitolinus*, that *Diadumenus* wrote on this occasion to his father, and likewise to the empress his mother, complaining of the indulgence which the emperor had shewn them, and begging that they might be executed without mercy <sup>c</sup> (G). But we can hardly persuade ourselves, that *Diadumenus*, then only nine, or ten years old, was capable of writing such letters.

<sup>b</sup> Dio, p. 897.

<sup>c</sup> Diad. vit. p. 100.

(G) The letter, which he is said to have written to his father, was conceived in the following terms: "I cannot be silent on the present occasion, without being wanting to my duty. You were surely quite unmindful of your own safety, when you spared the authors of the late rebellion. Men, whose

minds are once exulcerated, will never be reclaimed by mercy; and friends, when they once begin to hate, are of all enemies the most cruel, the most implacable; besides, they are still in a condition to do mischief, they have still troops under their command:

*Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,  
Ascanium surgentem, & spes hæredis Iuli  
Respice; cui regnum Italia, Romanaque tellus  
Debitur* (6).

If glory with its charms too weak appears,  
Regard *Ascanius*, and his blooming years;  
Whom *Italy* shall as thy heir obey,  
And *Rome's* dominions own his sov'reign sway.

"You must put them to death, if you desire to live in safety. Your sparing them will encourage others (such is the perverseness of mankind!) to follow their example." In his letter to his mother, he expressed himself thus: "The emperor my father, by sparing his ene-

mies, shews, that he neither loves you nor himself: therefore exert yourself on this occasion, and take care they be executed; for, tho' my father spares them, they will not, when occasion offers, spare us" (7).

(6) *Virg. Æn.* iv. ver. 272, 274, 275.

(7) *Vit. Diad.* p. 100.

We have hitherto seen nothing in *Macrinus* blame-worthy: however, he was not without his faults; for, in the first place, as he himself was of a mean descent, he deprived of their employments those who were nobly born, and raised to the highest posts persons of his own condition, tho', generally speaking, void of all merit. Thus he appointed *Adventus*, of whom we have spoken before, governor of *Rome*, and prince of the senate, even before he was a senator, tho' altogether unequal to that high post, being incapable of speaking in public, and so illiterate, that he could not so much as read. He recalled from the government of *Pannonia*, and *Dacia*, *Sabinus* and *Castinus*, men of merit and distinction; and sent *Marcus Agrippa*, a manumitted slave, formerly banished by *Severus* for treasonable practices, to succeed the former; and substituted *Decius Tricciannus*, a man of no rank, in the room of the latter. In the soldiers he punished the least transgression or neglect of duty with such severity, that, instead of *Macrinus*, he was called by them *Macellinus*, from the word *macellum*, signifying *shambles*. In the reign of *Caracalla*, they had been quartered in the cities, where they indulged themselves with impunity in all manner of licentiousness; but *Macrinus* obliged them to live under tents in the fields, and would not suffer them to approach or enter any city, in order to inure them to a regular and military life. This they could not endure, the more because the emperor himself wallowed in pleasures at *Antioch*, while they in the field often wanted necessaries. They therefore began to regret the loss of *Caracalla*, to hate the very name of *Macrinus*, and publicly to reproach him with the meanness of his birth, and former life. At the same time they were informed, that he had been the chief author of the murder of *Caracalla*; which incensed them against him to such a degree, that they only wanted a favourable opportunity to revolt from *Macrinus*, and appoint another emperor in his room; which they did accordingly the following year, when *Macrinus* and *Adventus* were consuls.

THIS revolution was brought about by the contrivance and artifices of *Mæsa*, sister to the late empress *Julia*, a woman of great craft, dexterity, experience, and even courage. She had lived at court with her sister during the reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, and had acquired there great knowledge of affairs, and likewise immense wealth; which *Macrinus* suffered her to enjoy after the murder of *Caracalla*, but ordered her to quit the court, and retire to *Emesa* in *Phœnicia*, her native city. She had two daughters; to wit, *Julia Sœmis*, or *Sœmias*, and *Julia Mamaea*. Of these the latter had a son named *Alexianus*, and the former one called *Varius Avitus*.

He disoblige the soldiers by his excessive severity.

A conspiracy formed against him.

*Avitus Bassianus*. When *Mæsa* retired by *Macrinus*'s orders to *Emesa*, she took her two grandsons with her, *Avitus* being then thirteen years old, and *Alexianus* only nine; and caused them both to be consecrated to the *Sun*, the chief deity of the inhabitants of *Emesa*, who had erected a stately temple to him, under the name of *Eleagabalus*. *Bassianus*, the eldest of the two, was appointed pontif of that deity, and thence called *Eleagabalus*, or, as he is commonly stiled by historians, *Helio-gabalus* <sup>a</sup>; for his name has occasioned great disputes among the learned. As the temple of the *Sun* was but at a small distance from *Macrinus*'s camp, the *Roman* soldiers, coming frequently to visit the deity of the place, were very much taken with the comeliness of the young pontif, who, in his person, was tall and genteel, well-shaped, and had something in his air and looks extremely gracious and pleasing. *Mæsa*, observing her grandson thus admired by the soldiery, resolved to improve the opportunity, giving out, that *Helio-gabalus* was the son of *Caracalla*; that she possessed immense treasures, and would willingly enrich with them such as should espouse the cause of the deceased emperor's son. The soldiers, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Emesa*, believing *Helio-gabalus* to be truly the son of *Caracalla*, and allured by the mighty promises of *Mæsa*, invited her with her grandson to their camp; and, upon their arrival, proclaimed *Helio-gabalus* emperor, by the name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and invested him with all the ensigns of sovereignty <sup>c</sup>.

*Helio-gabalus is by some proclaimed emperor.*

*MACRINUS*, who was then at *Antioch*, when informed of this revolt, instead of marching in person to quash it at once, as he might have easily done, contented himself with sending *Julianus*, *Ulpianus*, one of the captains of the guards, with some troops, against them. *Julianus* attacked their camp with great resolution, and might have made himself master of it the very first day, the soldiers under his command being mostly *Moors*, and consequently greatly attached to *Macrinus* their countryman; but *Julianus* checking their ardour, and putting off the assault to the next day, in hopes they would, in the mean time, submit of their own accord, the besieged raised new works during the night; sustained the assault the next morning with great resolution; and, by shewing *Helio-gabalus* on the ramparts, and with him the treasures they had received from *Mæsa*, induced the *Romans*, who were with *Julianus*, and highly dissatisfied with *Macrinus*, to murder

*him, is betrayed by his own men, and murdered.*

<sup>a</sup> HEROD. l. v. p. 562. DIO, in excerpt. VAL. p. 111. MACR. vit. p. 96. <sup>c</sup> DIO, p. 902. HEROD. p. 564. VIT. MACR. p. 96.

their own officers, and join them. *Julianus* betook himself to flight, and lay for some time concealed; but, being at length discovered, one of the soldiers struck off his head, and carried it to the emperor, wrapped up in a lincn cloth, and sealed with *Julianus's* own seal, pretending it to be the head of *Heliogabalus*; and made his escape while the emperor was unfolding it. *Macrinus*, perceiving whose head it was, and thence concluding, that he had been betrayed and defeated, hastened to the camp of the *Albanians*; that is, of the soldiers who had their fixed quarters at *Alba*, and were then encamped in the neighbourhood of *Apamea*; acquainted them in a very injudicious speech with the revolt of the troops near *Emesa*; declared *Heliogabalus*, his cousin *Alexianus*, both their mothers, and their grandmother *Mæsa*, public enemies; and proclaimed his son *Diadumenus Augustus*, and his partner in the empire, promising, on that occasion, to each soldier five thousand drachmas, and paying them of that sum one thousand on the spot. At the same time he wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the revolt of the troops, and the promotion of his son, and injoining them to promise to the people, in his name, one hundred and fifty drachmas a man. The senate, by whom *Macrinus* was greatly beloved, confirmed the title of *Augustus* to his son, and declared *Heliogabalus* a public enemy.

*Macrinus  
proclaims  
his son  
Diadume-  
nus empe-  
ror.*

*Most of  
the troops  
revolt.*

FROM *Apamea* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, instead of marching without loss of time against the rebels at *Emesa*; which city was but at a small distance. He was scarce gone, when the *Albanians*, and the other troops encamped in that neighbourhood, declared for *Heliogabalus*, who thereupon marched straight to *Antioch*, to attack *Macrinus*, before he had time to assemble his other forces. The emperor, upon the news of his approach, marched out of *Antioch* at the head of the prætorian bands; and the two armies meeting on the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, a bloody engagement ensued, in which the troops of *Heliogabalus*, after a long and vigorous resistance, began in the end to give ground; but were brought back to the charge by *Mæsa*, *Sorænis* the mother of *Heliogabalus*, and by *Heliogabalus* himself, who signalized his valour on that occasion in a very eminent manner. The fight being thus renewed with more fury than ever, *Macrinus's* men would have gained the day, according to *Dio Cassius*, had they not been abandoned by their leader, who, as he was naturally timorous, betook himself to flight, when he saw the troops of *Heliogabalus* return to the charge. The prætorian guards kept their ground, even after his flight, till *Heliogabalus* assured them upon his oath, that they should not be discharged, but should enjoy, under him, all the privileges

*Macrinus  
abandons  
his men in  
an engage-  
ment, who  
join Heli-  
ogabalus*

vileges and exemptions, which had been granted them by other emperors : then they declared for him, as the other troops had already done <sup>f</sup>. *Macrinus* retired to *Antioch*, and there giving out that he had gained a complete victory, ordered his son to shelter himself in the country of the *Parthians* ; and, before the news of his defeat were publicly known, fled himself in disguise, taking with him letters for those who had care of the posts, as if he had been sent by the emperor upon some important affair that required dispatch. Thus he crossed undiscovered the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*. To avoid *Nicomedia*, he embarked at a port in the neighbourhood of that city, called *Eriobolus*, with a design to go by sea to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to cross over to *Byzantium* ; but, being driven back by a contrary wind to *Chalcedon*, when he was upon the point of landing at *Byzantium*, he was there unfortunately taken ill, and discovered by those whom *Heliogabalus* had sent to pursue him.

THE soldiers, to whose custody he was committed, put him into a chariot, in order to carry him to *Heliogabalus* ; but he having thrown himself out of it, when he was informed that his son too had been taken, and by the fall broken his shoulder-bone, the soldiers put an end to his pain and life, by cutting off his head ; which they carried to *Heliogabalus*, who ordered it to be exposed on the point of a spear to public view <sup>g</sup>. Such was the end of *Macrinus*, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned four months wanting three days ; for we reckon his reign ended on the day of his defeat, which was the seventh of *June*, of the year 218. His son *Diadumenus* was publicly executed by the new emperor's order, as a common malefactor, and his head carried about, with that of his father, on the point of a spear (H). *Basilianus*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Marius Secundus*, governor of *Phœnicia* (for that province had at this time its peculiar governor), refused to acknowledge *Heliogabalus*, even after the death of *Macrinus* ; which occasioned several seditions in those countries, in one of which great numbers of the people and soldiery were killed, and among the rest *Secundus* himself. *Basilianus* fled to *Italy*, and lay some time concealed

Both <sup>1</sup> and his son *Diadumenus* put to death. Year of the flood 2566. Of Christ 218. Of Rome 966.

<sup>f</sup> DIO, p. 889. HEROD. l. v. p. 565. <sup>g</sup> DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 889. HEROD. *ibid.* p. 566. MACR. *vit.* p. 96.

(H) We are told, that some of the soldiers, considering his youth (for he was but ten years old), were for saving him ; but the letters, which he was supposed to have written against *Arbrianus* and his accomplices, being produced, they consented to his death.



in the neighbourhood of *Brundisium*; but was in the end betrayed by one of his old friends, to whom he had written for some relief, and by *Heliogabalus*'s order executed at *Nicomediæ*, where that prince passed the first winter after his accession to the empire <sup>h</sup>.

*Heliogabalus acknowledged emperor by the senate.*

*HELIOGABALUS*, immediately after the defeat and flight of *Macrinus*, entered *Antioch*, and from thence wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the defeat of *Macrinus*, and his accession to the empire, and promising to conform in every thing to the excellent institutions of *Augustus* and *M. Aurelius*, and to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the senate, whose authority should be ever sacred to him. However, as he styled himself *Augustus* the son of *Antoninus*, that is, of *Caracalla*, and the grandson of *Severus*, and likewise assumed the proconsular and tritunial power, and the titles of *Happy* and *Pious*, before they had been conferred upon him by the senate, his letter occasioned a general consternation in the city: nevertheless they confirmed to him all the titles he had assumed; declared *Macrinus*, tho' by them greatly beloved, a public enemy; and honoured both *Mæsa* and *Sœmis* with the title of *Augustæ*. Thus was *Varius Avitus Bassianus*, commonly known in history by the name of *Heliogabalus*, raised to the empire. He was the most profligate, impious, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal tyrant that ever disgraced a diadem. His grandmother *Mæsa*, who was a woman of great parts and experience, quite ashamed of his scandalous and unaccountable conduct, strove to the utmost of her power to keep him within some bounds; but he, utterly despising her, only hearkened to the wicked counsels of his mother *Sœmis*, and of such as flattered him in his crimes. Hence he may be truly said to have exceeded *Nero* himself in cruelty, *Caligula* in prodigality, and the most abandoned princes, who reigned either before or after him, in all manner of lewdness and debauchery. He did not reign full four years, and in that short time married six wives (I).

*His character.*

BUT

<sup>h</sup> DIO, p. 905. *Heliog. vit* p. 102.

(I) His first wife was *Julia Cornelia Paula*, a lady of an unblameable character, and sprung from two of the most illustrious families in *Rome*; but he soon after divorced her, and stripped her of the title of *Augusta*, and all the other honours he had conferred

upon her. He then married *Julia Aquilia Severa*, a *Vestal* virgin, which was accounted by the *Romans* an enormous crime; but soon put her away to marry *Annia Faustina*, the grand-daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, tho' already married to *Pomponius Bassus*,

BUT his frequent marriages and divorces did not give so much offence, as his scandalous lewdness, and unheard-of debaucheries. He turned the imperial palace into a brothel, filling it with such numbers of prostitutes, for the convenience, he said, of his friends and favourites, that it seemed a city; says *Herodian*, inhabited only by lewd women. With them, and his debauched companions, he passed the greatest part of his time, abandoning himself to the most scandalous and unnatural practices. He often assembled them in one of the halls of the palace; appeared among them in the apparel, and with the air, of a prostitute; encouraged them in formal harangues to lay aside all modesty, shake off all restraints, and make it their whole study to find out new methods of satisfying their lustful appetites. In his speeches he addressed them with the title of *commilitones*, fellow-soldiers; and truly they were the only soldiers worthy of such a general. After some time he drove many of the debauched women out of the palace, and took catamites in their room; for he was himself of that infamous tribe, having been publicly married first to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his officers, and afterwards to *Hierocles*, a slave. He was not ashamed to satisfy his most infamous and unnatural lusts in public, in the face of the sun, and the whole *Roman* people, putting thereby out of countenance even the most profligate amongst his debauched companions. But to dwell on such abominable scenes of impurity is beneath the dignity of an historian, and only worthy of such a biographer as *Ælius Lampridius*, who seems to take particular delight in describing the unheard-of pollutions and abominations of this lewd monster.

His prodigality was as boundless as his lust; for, in the short time of his reign, he is said to have reduced almost to beggary all the subjects of the empire, and to have left at his death the exchequer quite empty. He suffered nothing to appear at his table, but what was brought from the most distant countries at an immense charge. His palace, his chambers, and his beds, were all furnished with cloth of gold. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber, and the place where his chariot waited for him, was strewed with gold-dust; for he thought it beneath him to tread upon the

grass, whom he caused to be murdered. *Fausina*, and three others, whose names are unknown, were in a short time obliged to give room to *Aquila Severa* the *Ves-*

*pal*, whom he admitted anew to his bed, saying, That he hoped, as she was a priestess, and he a priest, to have by her an offspring worthy of the immortal gods (8).

(8) *Dio*, l. lxxix. p. 911. *Herod.* p. 568.

ground like other men. All his tables, chests, chairs, and such vessels as were destined for the meanest uses, were of pure gold. Tho' his cloaths were exceeding costly, and beset with jewels and precious stones, yet he is said never to have worn one suit twice, nor ever to have put on again a ring which he had once used. He was constantly served in gold-plate; but every night, after supper, presented to his guests and attendants what had been made use of that day. He often distributed among the people and soldiery, not only corn and money, as other emperors had done, but gold and silver-plate, jewels, precious stones, and tickets, intitling them to immense sums, which were immediately paid. He caused his fish-ponds to be filled with water distilled from roses, and the *naumachia*, where sea fights were exhibited, with wine. His rooms, tables, couches, and galleries, where he walked, were daily strewn with roses, lilies, and all sorts of flowers. His banquets and entertainments were expensive almost beyond belief, his favourite dishes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheasants. He fed his dogs with the livers of geese, his horses with raisins, and his lions, and other wild beasts, with partridges and pheasants. In short, the whole wealth of the Roman empire was scarce sufficient, says *Herodian*, to supply the extravagance of one man<sup>1</sup>. As for his unheard-of follies, we refer our readers to *Lampridius*, who relates them at length, not thinking them worthy of a place in our history.

Causes several persons of distinction to be murdered

To give some account of this reign, according to the order of time; *Heliogabalus*, before he left Syria, commanded several persons, both in the East, and at Rome, to be put to death; and, among the rest, *Julianus Nestor*, captain of the guards under *Macrinus*; *Fabius Agrippinus*, governor of Syria; *Reanus*, governor of Arabia; *Claudius Attalus*, who had governed Thrace in the year 194. and was then governor of Cyprus; and *Decius Tricciannus*, who commanded in Pannonia<sup>2</sup>. From Syria, the new emperor marched to Nicomedia in Bithynia, where he passed the winter, and gave many fresh instances of his cruel and inhuman temper, causing, besides many others, one *Gannys* to be murdered for advising him in a friendly manner to abandon his former vices, and behave like a Roman emperor. *Gannys* was one of *Mæsa's* domestics, but favoured to such a degree by *Heliogabalus*, on account of his fidelity, and the zeal he had shewn in his cause, that he designed to marry his mother to him, and declare him *Cæsar*. However, his finding fault with his vices

<sup>1</sup> HEROD. p. 569. Vit. Heliog. p. 102.  
p. 594.

<sup>2</sup> DIO, l. lxxix.

rook him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death upon the spot, and gave him with his own hand the first blow <sup>l</sup>.

In the beginning of the following year, *Heliogabalus* entered upon his first consulship, having for his colleague one *Sacerdos*, of whom we find no farther mention in history. Early in the spring the new emperor set out for *Rome*, where he was received both by the people and senate with great demonstrations of joy, tho' no one doubted but he would prove a second *Nero* or *Caligula*. The next day, he went to the senate; <sup>He ranks his grandmother among the senators, and institutes a senate of women.</sup> and, taking with him his grandmother, placed her next to the consuls, ordered her name to be set down among those of the other senators, and appointed, that she should vote as the rest, and be consulted in all matters of importance. For his mother *Soæmis* he instituted a senate, consisting only of women, and declared her their head or president. The subject of their consultations, debates, and decrees, were the dress and apparel of the *Roman* matrons, their ranks and dignities, their visits, ceremonies, and other important matters of the like nature <sup>m</sup>. The emperor himself was not employed in affairs of greater moment, being wholly taken up in establishing at *Rome* the worship of his god *Heliogabalus*, or, as he is stiled on the medals of this prince, *Eleagabalus*. <sup>Establishes the worship of the god Eleagabalus.</sup> He erected a magnificent temple to him, worshiped him with ceremonies never before practised at *Rome*, preferred him to *Jupiter* himself, and to all the other gods of the *Romans*, who, he said, were but the servants of his god; and declared, that he would suffer no other god to be adored at *Rome*, or elsewhere, but *Eleagabalus*. <sup>Year of the flood 2567. Of Christ 210. Of Rome 967.</sup> In order to this, he profaned all other temples, stripped them of their ornaments, and attempted to convey into the temple of his own god the perpetual fire of *Vesta*, the statue of *Cybele*, the bucklers of *Adars*, the palladium brought from *Troy*, as was supposed, by *Aeneas*, and whatever else was looked upon by the *Romans* as most sacred. From *Carthage* he ordered the goddess *Cælestis* to be brought to *Rome*, and with her all the rich ornaments belonging to her temple; married her to *Eleagabalus*, and caused the nuptials of the two deities to be celebrated with great pomp and solemnity <sup>n</sup> (K).

THE

<sup>l</sup> Dio, in excerpt. VAL. p. 761, 762. <sup>m</sup> Heliog. vit. p. 102, 103, 106. <sup>n</sup> Heliog. vit. p. 102, 103. HEROD. l. 7. p. 368. Dio, l. lxxix. p. 912.

(K) *Dio Cassius* tells us, that, tainted from hogs-flesh, and caused in honour of his god, he abstained himself to be circumcised (g) :

(g) *Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 762.*

Alexianus  
adopted,  
and crea-  
ted Cæsar.

Heliogabalus re-  
pents his  
adopting  
him, and  
attempts to  
destroy  
him.

THE following year, *Heliogabalus* entered upon his second consulship, having for his colleague *Eutychianus*, an imperial freedman, and a celebrated buffoon; whence he was surnamed *Comazon*, which, in the Greek tongue, signifies *waggish*, or *gay*. He had greatly contributed to the rise of *Heliogabalus*; for, at his instigation, the troops near *Emesa* had declared for him; on which account the new emperor immediately declared him captain of the guards, and conferred upon him the consular ornaments. This year he honoured him with the consular dignity; and, when his consulship expired, appointed him governor of *Rome*. The next year, when *Gratus Sabinianus* and *Seleucus* were consuls, *Mæsa*, foreseeing that the *Romans* could not long bear with such a prince as *Heliogabalus*, prevailed upon him to adopt his cousin *Alexianus*, and declare him *Cæsar*, though at that time only twelve, or, at most, thirteen years old. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and the young prince, on that occasion, took the names of *Alexander* and *Severus*; the former from the king of *Macedon*, and the latter from the emperor, his supposed grandfather. *Heliogabalus* treated him at first in a very friendly and obliging manner, hoping to draw him over to his lewd courses; but, finding that the excellent youth could not by any means be induced to follow his example, and that he was more beloved both by the people and soldiery than himself, he began to repent his having adopted him, and gave private orders to those who were trusted with the care of his education, to dispatch him. But all their attempts being rendered abortive, by the care and circumspection of *Mamæa*, mother to the young prince, and of his grandmother *Mæsa*, who betrayed all the emperor's secrets, *Heliogabalus*, transported with rage, ordered the se-

° DIO, p. 888.

° HEROD. l. v. p. 570. DIO, l. lxxix. p. 914.

and *Herodian*, that he erected another magnificent temple for him in the country, whither he conveyed him every year in the beginning of the summer. The same author adds, that, besides many other victims, he sacrificed children to him, mostly sprung from illustrious families, and privately snatched up by the ministers of his cruelty, dispersed all

over *Italy* for that purpose (1). *Dio Cassius* observes, that he caused several illustrious persons to be inhumanly murdered this year; and, among the rest, *Seius Cerus*, *Valerianus Patruus*, *Silius Messala*, and *Pomponius Bassus*, all senators of great distinction, for no other crime, but because he believed they disliked his conduct (2).

(1) Herod. l. v. p. 568. Helioq. vit. p. 103.

(2) Dio, p. 908, 909.

nâte to degrade *Alexianus* from the dignity of *Cæsar*; and annul the late adoption. At the same time he dispatched assassins to murder him; and, retiring to an old palace on mount *Esquilin*, waited there till news were brought him of his death. But, in the mean time, the prætorian guards, apprised of the danger that threatened the young prince, flew to the palace, and would have put the emperor himself to death, had he not softened them with mighty promises, abandoned to them all his debauched companions, and such as were deemed enemies to *Alexander*; and solemnly declared, that he designed for the future to lead a quite different life, and to redress all the grievances, of which, he said, they had but too much reason to complain.

THE next year he took upon him his third consulship; and, pretending to be reconciled to *Alexander*, chose him for his colleague; but, being determined at all events, notwithstanding his late protestations, to rid himself of so troublesome a rival, in the first place, he ordered all the senators to quit the city, lest they should thwart his designs; and then causing *Alexander* to be shut up in the palace, gave out, that he was all on a sudden taken ill, and almost past recovery. This report he spread abroad, on purpose to discover the disposition of the soldiery; who no sooner heard it, than they *The soldi-  
ers mutiny.* flew to arms, and demanded to see *Alexander*. The young prince was accordingly brought forth to them, and by the emperor himself conducted to the camp, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, while no one took the least notice of *Heliogabalus*; which provoked the tyrant to such a degree, that he ordered those, who had applauded *Alexander*, to be punished as traitors. But the rest, rescuing them out of the hands of the executioners, began to croud about the emperor, uttering dreadful menaces; which so terrified him, that he attempted to save himself by flight, those who had attended him to the camp endeavouring to disperse the multitude. Hereupon a quarrel ensued between the partisans of the two princes, in which those, who favoured *Heliogabalus*, were soon defeated, and cut in pieces, with *Hierocles*, that prince's chief favourite, the captains of the guards, and all the ministers who attended him. The emperor himself withdrew, during the contest, into the most filthy place of the camp, and consequently the most worthy of *Heliogabalus*; where he was soon discovered, and murdered by the enraged soldiery, together with his mother *Sœmis*, who had retired thither with him, and held him the whole time in her arms.  
*Sœmis murdered.*

<sup>1</sup> DIO, p. 915. HEROD. l. v. p. 570. Heliogab. vit. p. 106.

Year of arms. Both their heads were struck off; and, after their the flood bodies were ignominiously dragged through the city, and most 2570. outrageously insulted by the populace, that of *Heliogabalus* was, with a great weight fastened to it, thrown from the 222. *Æmilian* bridge into the *Tiber*. Such was the deserved end Of Rome of *Heliogabalus*, the most wicked and most debauched of all 970. the *Roman* emperors, in the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from the seventh of *June*, of the year 218. on which day he defeated *Macrinus*, to the eleventh of *March*, of the year 222. when he met with his deserved doom. The senate caused the name of *Antoninus*, which he had assumed and disgraced with his lewd life, to be erased out of the public registers, and all inscriptions; and passed a decree, excluding for ever women from the senate, and loading with curses such as should for the future attempt to transgress it\*.

Alexander UPON the death of *Heliogabalus*, his cousin *Alexander*, declared then in the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperor by the soldiery, and conducted from the camp to the senate, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of *Augustus*, of *father of his country*, and all the other marks of distinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. At the same time they offered him the name of *Antoninus*, and the surname of *Great*; but he

His birth modestly declined them both. He was the son of *Julia Mamea*, or *Mammæa*, of whom we have spoken above, and and educa- tion. of *Genesius Marcianus*, a *Syrian*. He was a native of the city of *Acre* in *Phœnicia*, and born there, according to *Lampridius*<sup>†</sup>, in a temple consecrated to *Alexander the Great*; whence, upon his being adopted by *Heliogabalus*, he took the name of *Alexander*. His former name was *Bassianus*, according to *Dio Cassius*; but, according to *Herodian*, *Alexianus*, his grandfather's name. His father dying when he was

His mother very young, his mother brought him up with great care (L), *Julia Mamea*. employ-

<sup>†</sup> HEROD. p. 573. *Heliog. vit.* p. 106.  
p. 107. <sup>†</sup> *Vit. Alex.* p. 114.

<sup>\*</sup> *Heliog. vit.*

(L) *Julia Mamea* is thought her a very pious and religious woman (4); epithets which we hy many writers of great note to have been instructed in the truths of the gospel, and to have embraced the Christian religion (3): at least, *Eusebius* styles she was at *Antioch*, in the year

(3) *Vide Oros. l. vii. c. 18. Cedren. t. i. p. 256. Abulfar. p. 80. Vinc. Lirin. c. 23.*

(4) *Euseb. l. vi. c. 21.*

employing only such persons to instruct him as were equally renowned for their probity and learning, and allowing no one to come near him, whom he suspected capable of corrupting his morals. He applied himself, from his infancy, to the study of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and was as well versed in the former as any man of his age; but his improvement in the latter was not so great, as appeared from his speeches to the senate, to the soldiery, and to the people<sup>u</sup>; neither did he admire the *Latin* eloquence so much as the *Greek*. He was well skilled in all the other branches of polite learning, and, besides, in the arts of painting, singing, playing upon instruments, &c. From his infancy, he gave innumerable instances of a most mild, humane, and generous temper; shewed an utter aversion from bloodshed, and all manner of cruelty, and made it his chief study to please and oblige, not only his parents and relations, but even his domestics.

As he paid an intire deference to his mother *Mamæa*, and his grandmother *Mæsa*, both women of great experience, and extraordinary parts, at their motion, he chose, as soon as he was raised to the empire, sixteen senators for his council, all men of known probity, and long versed in public affairs, transacting nothing without their advice, and constantly conforming to it (M). The deference he paid to his mother was so great, that *Herodian* reckons it among his faults; for, though he was himself a man of extraordinary talents, of such discernment and penetration, says *Lampridius*, that no one ever deceived him, yet he constantly preferred her opinion to his own<sup>w</sup>. He gave her name to several buildings, which they still retained in the fourth century<sup>x</sup>; and caused her to be ho-

<sup>u</sup> Vit. Alex. p. 115.  
MIAN. l. xxviii. p. 372.

<sup>w</sup> HEROD. l. vi. p. 575.

<sup>x</sup> AM-

218. hearing *Origen* greatly commended on account of his knowledge in religious matters, she shewed a great desire to see him, sent for him from *Alexandria*, received him with great joy, and kept him some time with her (5). It is not improbable, that she was by him convinced of the truth, and embraced it.

(M) Among these were, *Fabius Sabinus*, generally stiled the

*Cato* of his time; *Domitius Ulpianus*, and *Julius Paulus*, two celebrated civilians; *Antoninus Gordianus*, afterwards emperor; *Catilius Severus*, *Alexander's* kinsman, and one of the most learned persons of his age; *Ælius Servianus*, a man of extraordinary integrity; and *Quintillus Marcellus*, a great admirer of the customs and manners of the antient Romans (6).

(5) Euseb. l. vi. c. 28.

(6) Alex. v. l. p. 241.



Alexander  
favourites  
the Chri-  
stians.

noured with the titles of *Augusta*, of mother of her country, of the armies, and of the senate, which had been formerly conferred on *Julia* the wife of *Severus* 1. As *Mamea* professed, in all likelihood, the Christian religion, no wonder that Alexander shewed great favour to the Christians, and would not suffer them to be any-way molested on account of their religion (N). He seems to have been well acquainted with the morals of the Christian religion; for he had constantly in his mouth that golden rule, *Do as you would be done by*; caused it to be set up over the gates of his palace, and on several public edifices; and observed it himself, if the writers of his life may be credited, with the greatest exactness 2. For he made it his chief study to oblige all men, and is said never to have wronged any. During the first year of his reign, he was wholly taken up in reforming the many enormous abuses which had prevailed in the court under his predecessor. With this view he banished all the freedmen, slaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any sway in the late reign; and chose in their rooms persons of blameless characters, and known integrity.

Discharges  
the mi-  
nisters of  
the late  
emperor.

HAVING by this means reformed the court, he made a strict inquiry into the manners and conduct of the public officers, especially of the governors of provinces; and discharged most of those who had been employed by *Heliogabalus*. Such of them as had oppressed the people committed to their care, were banished; and the rest reduced to their former condition, as persons altogether unfit for any public office 3. The next year, when *L. Marius Maximus* and *L. Roscius Elianus* were consuls, the emperor's nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He married *Sulpitia Memmia* the daughter of *Sulpitius* a consular, and granddaughter of *Catulus*. As the whole empire enjoyed at this time a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened either

1 Spon. p. 194.  
ibid.

2 Alex. vit. p. 132.

3 Idem

(N) *Eusebius* tells us, that his court was filled with Christians (7); and *Lampridius*, that in his private oratory he worshiped Christ and *Abraham*, and would have caused temples to be erected to the founder of the Christian religion, had he not been di-

verted from it by the answers of the oracles, assuring him, that, if he ever suffered Christ to be ranked among the gods, all the other temples would be soon abandoned, and the gods neglected (8).

(7) *Euseb.* 4 vi. c. 28.

(8) *Alex. vit.* p. 124. †39.

at *Rome*, or in the provinces, in the two following years; in the first of which *Julianus* and *Crispinus* were consuls, and, in the second, *Fuscus* and *Dexter*. But the fourth year of *Alexander's* reign, and during his second consulship, in which he had *Quintilius Marcellus* for his colleague, *Artaxerxes* having utterly ruined the *Parthian*, and re-established the *Persian* empire, of which great revolution we have spoken elsewhere, advanced at the head of a mighty army against the *Romans*, with a design to recover *Mesopotamia*, and the other provinces, which had formerly belonged to the *Persian* empire. His approach occasioned great consternation in *Syria*; and many of the *Romans* quartered in *Mesopotamia*, abandoning the castles which they garrisoned, listed in his army; so that he might with great ease have overrun not only *Mesopotamia*, but likewise *Syria*, had he not attacked on his march the city of *Atra*, before which place he lost such numbers of his men, without being able to reduce it, that, dropping for the present his expedition against the *Romans*, he thought it adviseable to march back into his own country, after having ravaged great part of *Media*, and made some unsuccessful attempts upon *Armenia*.

The Persian empire  
re-established.  
Year of the flood  
2574.  
Of Christ  
226.  
Of Rome  
974.

THE next consuls were *Albinus* and *Maximus*; during whose administration nothing happened which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity: but the following consulship of *Modestus* and *Probus* was remarkable for the death of the celebrated civilian *Domitius Ulpianus*, who, being appointed by *Alexander* captain of the prætorian guards, and endeavouring to establish among them the ancient discipline, provoked their hatred to such a degree, that, after having in vain solicited *Alexander* to remove him, they at length murdered him in the emperor's presence. The chief authors of his death were punished with the utmost severity, and the most factious among the guards ignominiously discharged. In the room of *Ulpian*, the emperor chose one *Decimus*, and *Julius Paulus* a native of *Padua*, who had been banished by *Helio-gabalus*, on account of his great probity, and was perhaps as well skilled in the laws as *Ulpian*.

The death  
of Ulpian.

THIS year several tumults happened at *Rome*, and in the provinces. The troops quartered in *Mesopotamia* revolted, murdered their general *Flavius Heracleo*, and went in great numbers over to the *Persians*. The troops in *Syria* claimed one *Taurinus* emperor, who, as they had conferred that honour upon him against his will, made his escape; and,

The soldiers  
mutiny in several  
provinces.

<sup>b</sup> DIO, l. lxxx. p. 918. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 769. HEROD. l. vi. p. 176. <sup>c</sup> VIT. ALEX. p. 122. <sup>d</sup> DIO, l. lxxx. p. 917, 918.

Ovinus  
Camillus,  
from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, studying to  
aspiring to  
the empire,  
how treat-  
ed by Ale-  
xander.

being pursued by the mutinous soldiery, threw himself into the *Euphrates*, and was drowned<sup>e</sup>. *Zosimus* and *SynceLLus* speak of one *Uranus*, who, having usurped the empire at *Edeffa* in *Osroene*, was defeated by the troops that remained faithful to *Alexander*. At *Rome*, the prætorian guards attempted to raise one *Antoninus* to the empire; but he, declining that burden, withdrew into the country, and never afterwards appeared in the city<sup>f</sup>. But *Ovinus Camillus*, a senator, sprang from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*, studying to gain the affections of the soldiery, in order to raise himself, by their means, to the empire, *Alexander* was no sooner informed of his private practices, than he sent for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him so great a burden, stiled him his colleague, took him with him to the senate, allotted him an apartment in the palace, caused him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every respect as his partner in the empire. As a war broke out at this time, which required the emperor's presence, *Alexander* offered the command of the army to *Camillus*; but, he declining it, the emperor desired he would at least share with him the fatigues and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly they both set out from *Rome* on foot; but *Camillus*, who was not inured to a military life, being tired after five miles march, *Alexander* begged he would pursue his journey on horseback; which he did for two days, when the emperor, perceiving he could no longer bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; which proved so great a mortification to *Camillus*, that he begged leave to resign the empire, and return home; which *Alexander* readily granted, assuring him, before they parted, that he might live in safety where he pleased. *Camillus* retired to his country-seat, and there lived unmolested during the reign of *Alexander*; but was put to death by some of his successors, for what crime we are no-where told<sup>g</sup>. The expedition which *Alexander* is said to have undertaken this year, was probably against the *Germans*; for it appears from some antient inscriptions, that great advantages were gained over them this year, the seventh of the emperor's reign<sup>h</sup>; and *Lampridius* tells us, that the *Germans* were overcome by *Varius Macrinus* governor of *Illyricum*<sup>i</sup>. The same year *Furius Celsus* signalized himself in *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Junius Palmatus* in *Armenia*, and were both rewarded with the consular ornaments<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Dio, lib. lxxx. p. 917, 918.

<sup>f</sup> SYNCELL. p. 357.

<sup>g</sup> Zos. p. 639.

<sup>h</sup> Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. Not. CASAB.

p. 172. & SALMAS. p. 230.

<sup>i</sup> BIRAC. p. 323.

<sup>j</sup> Vit.

Alex. p. 134.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.

THE following year *Alexander* entered upon his third consulship, having *Dio Cassius*, the second time consul, for his colleague. *Dio* was, in the beginning of this reign, in *Asia*; whence he passed into *Bithynia*, his native country, with a design to stay some time there with his friends and relations; but he was soon sent into *Africa*, to govern that province, with the character of proconsul. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was appointed governor of *Illyricum*, and from thence removed into *Upper Pannonia*, where he revived the antient military discipline among the troops, punishing the least neglect of duty with the utmost severity; insomuch that the prætorian guards, who dreaded his rigour, upon a report, that he was recalled to command them, no sooner saw him appear in *Rome*, than they began to mutiny, and press the emperor to put him to death. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to their unjust demand, heaped many honours upon him, often appeared with him in public, and took him this year for his colleague in the consulship: however, fearing the soldiers might offer him some insult, if he appeared in *Rome* with the ensigns of the consular dignity, he advised him to retire from the city, and pass the time of his consulship in the country, which he did accordingly. Soon after, he obtained leave to withdraw into his own country, where he spent the remaining part of his life in quiet and retirement<sup>1</sup> (O). This year *Alexander*, who did not

*Dio Cassius hated by the soldiery on account of his severity.*

<sup>1</sup> *Dio*, l. lxxx. p. 918.

(O) It will not be foreign to our purpose to insert here the account which that writer gives us of the state of the *Roman* legions at this time, and of the provinces where they were quartered. There were in the time of *Augustus* twenty-five legions, of which only nineteen were now remaining, the other six having been either disbanded, or incorporated into some of those that still remained. On the other hand, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Vespasian*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Severus*, raised thirteen new ones; so that the legions at this time were, in all, thirty-two.

Of these, three were quartered in *Britain*, one in *Upper* and two in *Lower Germany*, one in *Italy*, one in *Spain*, one in *Numidia*, one in *Arabia*, two in *Palestine*, one in *Phœnicia*, two in *Syria*, two in *Mesopotamia*, two in *Capadocia*, two in *Lower* and one in *Upper Mæsia*, one in *Noricum*; and one in *Rætia* (9). Our author does not inform us where the two remaining legions were quartered, nor how many men each of them contained; but *Lampridius* seems to insinuate, that each legion consisted of five thousand men (1). From this distribution of the legions, it ap-

(9) *Dio*, l. lxx. p. 564.

(1) *Alex. vii.* p. 131.

not spare his greatest friends, when manifestly convicted of abusing the confidence he reposed in them, caused *Vetranus Turinus*, one of his chief favourites, to be put to death for a crime of that nature (P). The following year, *L. Virius Agricola*

appears, that the *Romans* at this time looked upon the *Caledonians*, the *Parthians*, or rather *Persians*, and the nations beyond the *Danube*, as their most formidable enemies, and were not so apprehensive of any invasion on the side of *Germany*, as they had been in former times: for now there were but three legions in that country; whereas, in the reigns of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, the banks of the *Rhine* had been guarded by no fewer than eight legions, which were deemed the main strength of the empire (2).

(P) The emperor had a particular esteem and kindness for *Turinus*, and often consulted him in private, as he was a man of extraordinary abilities, about affairs of the greatest importance. This honour and deference, which the emperor seemed to pay to him, the crafty courtier resolved to turn to his own advantage: and accordingly gave out, that *Alexander* transacted nothing without his advice; that he had gained an absolute sway over him; and that it was in his power to raise whom he pleased to the first employments in the empire. By this means he accumulated immense wealth in a short time; all who wanted any favour or preferment, recurring to *Turinus*, whose interest was not to be gained without rich presents. He often did not so much as mention to the emperor the

persons whom he pretended to recommend; but nevertheless, when they happened to obtain, by means of others, what they demanded, he assumed the whole merit of it to himself, and exacted a proportionable acknowledgement, which in those days was called *selling smoke*. The emperor, who was a man of great penetration, began to suspect his favourite of such practices; and therefore a person, in whom he could confide, soliciting him one day for a favour, he told him he would grant him his request, provided he privately addressed *Turinus*, as if he wanted his recommendation. *Turinus*, glad of this opportunity, promised to employ all his interest in his behalf; and soon after told him, that he had already recommended him to the emperor, who, he was sure, would grant him the desired favour the very first time he had an opportunity of recommending him anew, which he hoped would be very soon. He added, that he deserved to be rewarded for his trouble; and, the petitioner referring that to his discretion, he not only exacted a large sum for what he pretended to have done, but obliged him to promise, in the presence of witnesses, a far more considerable one, to be paid as soon as he obtained his request. The emperor, who was informed of the whole, immediately granted the

(2) *Tacit. annal. l. iv. c. 5.*

*Agriola* and *Sax. Catius Clementinus* being consuls, the emperor retired into *Campania*, and there spent this and the following year, when *Pomptianus* and *Pelignianus* were consuls <sup>m</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Lupus* and *Maximus*; during whose administration, *Artaxerxes*, the restorer of the *Persian* monarchy, having reduced all the neighbouring countries, unexpectedly invaded the *Roman* dominions at the head of a mighty army, ravaged *Mesopotamia*, and advanced to the very confines of *Syria*. Hereupon *Alexander*, following the advice of his council, dispatched ambassadors with a letter to that conqueror, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a long and dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the victories gained over the eastern nations by *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *L. Verus*, and *Severus*. But *Artaxerxes*, puffed up with his late successes, despised the remonstrances of *Alexander*, and pursued his ravages in *Mesopotamia*, laid siege to *Nisibis*, and, entering *Cappadocia*, destroyed all with fire and sword. Hereupon the emperor resolved to march against him in person; and accordingly, to the great grief both of the senate and people, left *Rome* in the spring of this year 232. the eleventh of his reign; and, bending his march through *Illyricum*, where he was joined by the troops quartered in that province, arrived at *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn; whence he sent a second embassy to *Artaxerxes*, hoping that his presence would add some weight to the reasons he had formerly alleged. But the haughty *Persian*, deriding the peaceable temper of the *Roman* emperor, chose four hundred of the tallest men in his army, and sent them, well mounted,

*Artaxerxes invades the Roman dominions.*  
Year of the flood 2580.  
Of Christ 232.  
Of Rome 980.

*Alexander hastens to Antioch.*

<sup>m</sup> NORIS, *epist. consul.* p. 146. BIRAG. p. 313.

favour; which *Turinus* no sooner knew, than he obliged his client, though he had never once mentioned his name to the emperor, to make good his word, and pay the promised sum, pretending, that, by his means alone, he had obtained what he desired. Hereupon *Alexander* caused a diligent inquiry to be made into his former conduct, when it appeared, that he had received large sums, not only from those who had obtained any preferment, but from such too as had had law-suits, and

often from both parties; which so provoked the emperor, that he accused him to the senate, who sentenced him to death; and the sentence was put in execution in the following manner: The criminal was, by the emperor's orders, tied to a gibbet, and suffocated with the smoke of green wood, and wet stubble, kindled round him, the public crier in the mean time proclaiming, *He who sold smoke, dies with smoke* (3).

*Hughty embassy of the Persian monarch.* and richly appareled and armed, in quality of ambassadors, to acquaint the *Romans*, and their emperor, that the great monarch *Artaxerxes* ordered them to retire forthwith from *Syria* and *Asia*, and all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Agæan* sea, which had formerly belonged to the *Persians*. *Alexander* heard their message with great temper, and then caused the ambassadors to be stripped of their rich armour and apparel, and sent under a guard into *Phrygia*, where he allotted them houses, and lands to cultivate <sup>a</sup>.

*Alexander prepares for war.*

AFTER this, he began to prepare for war in good earnest, ordered the legions quartered in the different provinces of the East to join him with all possible expedition, caused a great number of warlike engines to be got ready, and dispatched officers into all parts, to raise new levies. In imitation of *Alexander the Great*, whose name he bore, and for whom he had a particular veneration, he armed some companies of foot with shields covered with gold and silver, and formed six legions into a body of thirty thousand men, which he called his *phalanx*. These distinguished themselves, during the war, in a very eminent manner; and were, when it was ended, rewarded for their services with double pay <sup>o</sup> (Q).

AT

<sup>a</sup> HERODIAN. lib. vi. p. 579.

<sup>o</sup> Alex. vit. p. 131.

(Q) *Lampridius* tells us, that the emperor being informed soon after his arrival at *Antioch*, that some of his soldiers were gone to *Daphne*, and there bathed with the lewd women of that dissolute place, he immediately ordered them to be arrested, and laid in irons. Hereupon the whole legion, to which they belonged, beginning to mutiny, *Alexander* went out to them, and, without betraying the least fear, told them, that, as the antient discipline was the main and only support of the empire, he was resolved to maintain it at all events, and punish with the utmost severity, nay, with death, those disorders and debaucheries which had been allowed in the late reign. At these words the whole legion began to utter their rage in horrible

cries; but *Alexander* with an air of authority, *Silence*, said he, *I command silence; keep these clamours to terrify the Persians, the Sarmatians, and the Germans: you have learnt of those who taught you the art of war, that you are to frighten the enemy with that savage noise, and not your emperor, who, at the expences of his people, maintains, cloathes, and pays you. Forbear, therefore, these unseasonable clamours, which are only fit for battle, lest I disband you all, or inflict upon you a more severe punishment.* Hereupon the uproar increasing, and some of the boldest even menacing him with their swords; *Reserve your menaces*, said he, *for the enemy; them you may frighten, but not me, who despise your impatient rage: should you murder*

At length *Alexander* took the field at the head of a numerous army, observing in all his marches and motions such order and discipline, that his camp seemed a well-governed city, his soldiers citizens, and his officers so many senators \*. He punished with great severity such as offered the least injury to any of the inhabitants of the countries through which he marched (R). But, notwithstanding his great severity, no emperor was ever more beloved both by the officers and soldiers, as no one ever rewarded them with more generosity, when they complied with their duty ; took more care of them when sick or wounded ; or supplied them on all occasions more plentifully with provisions. He kept constantly in his cabinet certain registers, in which were marked the names of all the officers and soldiers, the provinces where they were quartered, the time of their service, the dates of their commissions, the names of the persons at whose recommendation they had been preferred, their exploits, if they had performed any, their good and evil qualities, &c. These registers he frequently perused, and by that means became acquainted with most of the officers and soldiers of his different armies, often mentioned their

*Marches against the Persians. His care of the military discipline, and of the soldiery.*

P Vit Alex. p. 130.

*murder me, the republic will not be at a loss to find me a successor, who will punish you according to your deserts.* As the mutiny still continued, he cried out with a loud voice, *I disband you all ; citizens, lay down your arms, and be gone.* With these words the whole legion was thunderstruck ; they obeyed ; quitted their arms, laid down even their military garments ; and retired in silence, while the emperor's guards took up their standards, and carried them, together with the arms of the disbanded legion, to the camp. However, before the emperor set out against the *Persians*, he restored them, upon the intercession of several persons of distinction, to their former rank, after having punished with death their tribunes, for having suffered

the soldiers under their command to transgress with impunity the military laws, and for neglecting to suppress the tumult (4). This legion signalized themselves above the rest in the *Persian* war, and shewed more concern for the death of *Alexander* than any other (5).

(R) One of his soldiers having injured an old woman, he not only disbanded him, but obliged him to maintain her, as her slave, with his labour, so long as she lived. Others he punished for very small offences with death, causing the public crier to repeat during the execution, *Do as you would be done by.* It was death for any officer, of what rank soever, to detain the least part of his soldiers pay or allowances.

(4.) Vit. Alex. p.

Idem, p. 126.



names, and preferred only persons of merit <sup>a</sup>. When they were sick, he visited them in their tents, even the common soldiers, supplied them with chariots, and suffered them to want nothing that could any-way relieve or comfort them in their sickness. If they were not in a condition to pursue their march, he recommended them to the care of persons of known integrity and good-nature, whom he rewarded with great generosity for their trouble, whether the soldiers died or recovered <sup>c</sup>. He was always ready to hearken to the complaints of the meanest in the army against their tribunes, and other officers, punishing them, when guilty, according to the quality of their crime, without any favour or distinction <sup>d</sup>. He frequently distributed large sums among them, ascribing chiefly to their poverty the disorders they committed. They were all so well clad and armed, says *Lampridius*, and the cavalry so well mounted, that nothing gave a more true idea of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire, than the army of *Alexander Severus* <sup>e</sup>. In his marches he caused provisions to be got ready beforehand at the several places where the army was to encamp; whereas, before his time, each soldier used to carry with him subsistence for seventeen days. In the enemy's country, where he could not use that precaution, he caused the necessary provisions to be carried on horses, mules, and camels; which gained him the affections of the soldiery, and at the same time rendered his marches so quick and expeditious, that he is said in most of his wars to have surprised the enemy <sup>f</sup>. In his garb and dress he little varied from the common soldiers, and his diet was the same with theirs. He constantly dined and supped in public, with his tent open, and in the sight of the whole army; and visited, before he withdrew to repose, each quarter in the camp. Thus, partly with a seasonable severity, partly with his affable and obliging behaviour, he re-established the antient discipline among the troops, which had been intirely neglected in the reign of *Heliogabalus*; and gained, by his firmness and intrepidity, such an authority over them, as to disband whole legions; which no emperor had offered to do since the time of *Julius Cæsar* <sup>g</sup>.

He is both  
feared and  
beloved by  
the soldi-  
ery.

WITH an army thus disciplined, the emperor marched early in the spring of this year 233. against *Artaxerxes*, who, flushed with his former successes, would hearken to no terms, however reasonable; but advanced towards the frontiers of the *Roman* dominions at the head of an army consisting of an innumerable multitude of foot, and one hundred and thirty

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Alex. p. 120, 121. <sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 130. <sup>d</sup> Idem, p. 119. 121. <sup>e</sup> Idem, p. 132. <sup>f</sup> Idem, p. 134. <sup>g</sup> Idem, p. 117.

thousand horse, with eighteen hundred chariots armed with fitches, and seven hundred elephants bearing towers on their backs, filled with archers, after the *Persian* manner\*. Of this war *Herodian* gives us the following account: *Alexander*, having divided his army into three bodies, ordered one to enter *Media*, another to march into the country of the *Parthians*, and led himself the third, which consisted of the flower of the army, at an equal distance from the other two. They were all to meet at an appointed place; but *Alexander*, either thro' want of courage, or yielding to the intreaties and tears of his mother, instead of pursuing his march, and entering the enemy's country, halted in *Mesopotamia*; so that the body which had marched through the country of the *Parthians* were entirely cut off, while they waited the arrival of the emperor at the appointed place, and the other obliged to retire, and repass in the depth of winter the mountains of *Armenia*, in which painful march great numbers of them died either with cold or hunger. The body which *Alexander* commanded was greatly diminished by sickness, and the emperor himself was seized with a dangerous malady, which almost brought him to the point of death†. Others write, that *Alexander* was betrayed by some of his own people, and obliged to save himself and his army by flight. But most historians assure us, that he gained a complete victory over the *Persians*; and *Lampridius* quotes the very words of *Alexander* to the senate on that occasion (S).

## AFTER

\* *Alex. vit.* p. 133. *HERODIAN.* l. vi. p. 580. † *HEROD.* *ibid.*

(S) According to him, the emperor entered the enemy's country, without so much as acquainting beforehand his officers with the route he intended to take. He was soon met by *Artaxerxes*, at the head of the most numerous army that had ever been seen in those parts; whereupon a battle ensuing, the emperor distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, encouraging the soldiers more by his example than by words; exposed himself to the enemy's darts and arrows

like a common soldier; visited, during the engagement, both the wings of his army; flew through the ranks; and, in short, discharged every duty of a valiant soldier, and experienced commander (6). The numerous army of *Artaxerxes* was utterly routed, and that conqueror obliged, notwithstanding his former victories and conquests, to save himself by a shameful flight. The particulars of this engagement we may learn from *Alexander* himself, who, on his return

(6) *Vit. Alex.* p. 130, 131,

AFTER this victory, *Alexander* returned to *Antioch*, with a design to pursue the war with fresh vigour the following year ;

to *Rome*, gave the senate an account of this memorable expedition in the following speech :  
 “ Conscript fathers, we have overcome the *Persians*, and there is no need of great eloquence to acquaint you with the particulars of the victory. The enemy came with seven hundred elephants, the greatest number ever seen together in the field. These carried towers upon their backs, filled with archers and arrows. Three hundred of the elephants we took, two hundred we killed upon the spot, and eighteen we have brought hither with us. They had eighteen hundred chariots armed with sithes, of which we took two hundred. We have cut in pieces an army of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, and ten thousand men armed cap-à-pé, with whose spoils we have enriched our troops. We took a great number of prisoners, whom we have sold. The country of *Mesopotamia*, lying between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, which my predecessor *Heliogabalus* had neglected, we have reconquered, and brought again under subjection. We have put the most potent king *Artaxerxes*, as he is stiled, to flight ; the country of *Persia* beheld him flying for the first time. In the place where the *Romans* formerly lost their  
 “ ensigns and standards, the *Persians* have now lost theirs. You see, conscript fathers, what we have achieved ; the subject needs no eloquence to adorn or set it off ; the army is returned rich, and loaded with booty. It is incumbent upon you to appoint public thanksgivings for so signal a victory, that we may not seem ungrateful to the gods, who have blessed our arms with such success (7).” This speech, *Lampridius* assures us, he copied out of the journals of the senate, and found it, word for word, in the works of many historians ; and therefore he cannot conceive how *Herodian* could write, that *Alexander* lost his army by famine, cold, and sickness ; which, he says, is contradicting all the records, memoirs, and histories, of those times. *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, that *Herodian* hated *Alexander*, and therefore gave an unfaithful and detracting account of his *Persian* expedition (8). However, he is followed by *Zonaras* (9), and *Cedrenus* (1). But *Aurelius Victor*, *Festus*, *Extropius*, *St. Jerom*, and *Syucellus*, abandon him in this particular, and follow *Lampridius*. All the *Oriental* historians write, that *Alexander* was utterly defeated, and obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the *Persian* all the countries lying between the *Euphrates* and the frontiers of *Palestine* (2). But, after all, *Lam-*

(7) *Vit. Alex.* p. 130, 131.

*not.* p. 225.

p. 438.

(8) *Vit. Maxim.* p. 143.

(1) *Cedren.* p. 256.

(9) *Zo-*

(2) *Rein. epist.* 48.

year; but, in the mean while, being informed, that the *German*s had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and at the same time that *Artaxerxes* had disbanded great part of his army for want of provisions, he resolved to quit the East, and return to *Rome*, apprehending greater evils from the *German*s than from the *Persians*. Accordingly, having erected several forts in *Mesopotamia*, and left numerous garisons to defend them, he set out from *Antioch* in the spring of the following year, when *Maximus* and *Urbanus* were consuls; and, arriving safe at *Rome*, Alexander was there received by persons of all ranks with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. He entered the city in triumph, his chariot being drawn, not by four white horses, as was usual, but by four of the elephants which he had taken<sup>2</sup>. When the ceremony was over, he went to the senate, where he made the speech we have related above. From the senate he repaired to the capitol, and there consecrated some of the *Persian* spoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Then turning to the people, *I have overcome the Persians*, said he, *and the army is returned loaded with booty. I promise you a largess, and propose to exhibit to-morrow the Circensian sports*. From the capitol he marched to the palace on foot, followed by his triumphal chariot, and attended by the senate, the equestrian order, and such crowds of people, all crying, *Rome is safe, while Alexander is safe*, that with much difficulty he reached the palace in four hours. The next day he exhibited the *Circensian* sports, gave the promised largess, and, in honour of his mother, established a fund for the maintenance of the children of the poor citizens, who were thence called the children of *Mamæa*<sup>3</sup>.

Alexander returns to Rome, and triumphs. Year of the flood 2582. Of Christ 234. Of Rome 932.

In the mean time news being brought to *Rome*, that the *German*s, and other northern nations, had passed the *Rhine* and *Rome*, to the *Danube* in great numbers, the emperor, to the inexpressible grief of the senate and people, left the city, and hastened with his victorious army into *Gaul*, to stem this furious torrent (T). In the beginning of the following year, when *Severus*

He leaves Rome, to march against the German's;

<sup>2</sup> Alex. vit. p. 135. FEST. p. 553.

<sup>3</sup> Vit. Alex. p. 133.

134.

*Juvidius* relates so many particulars of this victory, and appeals with such confidence to the journals of the senate, and the historians of these times, that we cannot help preferring his authority to that of the *Oriental* historians, and of *Herodian* himself.

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(T) We are told, that a woman, by profession a *Druid*, meeting him on his march, cried out to him in her language, "You may go; but hope not for victory, nor trust your own soldiers." The historian does not inform us, whether

B b

Alex-

who re-  
tire at  
his ap-  
proach.

VERUS and QUINTILIANUS were consuls, *Alexander* advanced with his army to the banks of the *Rhine*; but finding the enemy had repassed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be built over it, with a design to attack them in their own country, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field<sup>b</sup>. *Herodian*, who always paints *Alexander* as a weak and timorous prince, tells us, that he sent ambassadors to the *Germans* with proposals of peace, which he even offered to purchase at any rate; and adds, that, during the time of this shameful negotiation, he diverted himself with driving chariots, and such-like unprincely exercises; which provoked the soldiers, and occasioned his ruin<sup>c</sup>. But *Lampridius* clears the emperor from these ill-natured aspersions; and ascribes the discontent of the soldiery, that is, of the legions quartered in *Gaul*, to their licentiousness, and to the severity of *Alexander*, which they could not endure, after having been, under *Helio-gabalus*, long inured to idleness, and all manner of debauchery.

The Gaul-  
ish legions  
complain of  
the severe-  
ity of  
*Alexan-*  
*der*.

They are  
encongraged  
by Maxi-  
minus.

AMONG these troops was one *Maximinus*, by nation a *Goth*, whom *Alexander*, in regard of his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of *Pannonians*; but he, unmindful of his duty, and of the obligations he owed to the emperor, instead of attempting to appease the licentious and discontented soldiery, fomented underhand the tumult, and, by his seditious speeches, inspired the multitude with contempt for *Alexander*, as one who was governed by a woman, meaning *Mamea*, and consequently unfit for carrying on the war with vigour<sup>d</sup>. The emperor was then either at *Mentz* or *Sicilia*, which most geographers take to be the present village of *Sickingen* in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, or that of *Ober-Wesel* on the *Rhine*, in the territory of *Treves*, between *Boppard* and *Bingen*. As *Alexander* had but a small body of troops with him, *Maximinus* resolved to lay hold of that opportunity,

<sup>b</sup> Vit. Alex. p. 137. <sup>c</sup> HEROD. l. vi. p. 585, 589. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

*Alexander* heard and understood her; but he assures us, that *Alexander* feared neither death, nor the omens which were thought to preface it; whereof he gives us the following instance: A celebrated astrologer, by name *Thra-sibulus*, the emperor's particular friend, having one day told him, that his fate was to fall by the hand of a barbarian, he was

transported with joy, not doubting but he should die in the field, which, he said, was a death worthy of an emperor, observing to the astrologer, that many great men had ended their days by a violent death, and naming, among the rest, *Alexander the Great*, *Pompey*, *Julius Caesar*, *Demo-sthenes*, and *Cicero* (3).

(3) Vit. Alex. p. 135, 136.

and

and to dispatch him, not doubting but the troops under his command, whom he had gained with mighty promises, would, upon the death of that prince, proclaim him emperor. He imparted his design to some of the most bold and resolute among his men, who, animated with the hopes of great preferments, readily engaged to put it in execution, and immediately set out for the place where the emperor then was, which they contrived to reach about an hour after mid-day, when those who attended the emperor were withdrawn, to refresh themselves, according to the *Roman* custom, with a short sleep after dinner. They no sooner appeared, than the few soldiers who were upon guard, betook themselves to flight, having probably been gained over beforehand by *Maximinus*. *Mamaea*, alarmed at the unexpected noise and tumult, ran out, attended by the captains of the guards, to appease it; but the assassins, having first murdered both her and them, entered with their drawn swords the emperor's tent, who, as he was unarmed, and left quite alone, threw his imperial mantle over his face, and received, without uttering a single word, the many blows with which they dispatched him, deriding him *Alexander* the whole time as a child unfit to be at the head of an army, *is assassi-* and inveighing against his mother, as one whose only care was *nated* to amass riches<sup>c</sup>. Such was the unfortunate and undeserved end of *Alexander Severus*, after he had lived, according to the most probable opinion, twenty-six years, five months, and nineteen days, and reigned thirteen years and nine days. The loss of no prince was ever more regretted by the senate, the people, and the soldiery, than that of *Alexander*, who, by his wife administration, had gained the affections of all ranks of men. The senate immediately decreed, both to him, and to his mother *Mamaea*, divine honours; appointed them altars, priests, and sacrifices; and instituted, in honour of the deceased emperor, an annual feast, which was still kept in the time of *Constantine the Great*, on the first of *October*, *Alexander's* birth-day<sup>d</sup>. The soldiers were no sooner apprised of his death, than they put to the sword all those who had been any-way accessory to it, except the chief author of it, *Maximinus*, who, by persuading the soldiery, that he had no hand in the murder, escaped, for the present, the deserved punishment.

ALEXANDER was, according to the testimony of all the *its cha-* antients, *Herodian* alone excepted, one of the best and wisest *raiser* princes that ever swayed a sceptre; and, had he lived longer, would have intirely reformed those abuses, which, after his

<sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 135. VICT. epit. Zos. l. i. p. 639. HEROD. l. vi. p. 587. <sup>d</sup> Alex. vit. p. 136.

*His hatred  
to those  
who rob-  
bed the  
public.*

death, involved the empire in endless calamities. He was sparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and generous to all good men; but an irreconcilable enemy to the wicked, especially to such as were convicted of having plundered the provinces, and oppressed the people committed to their care. These he never spared, though his friends, favourites, and kinsmen; but sentenced them to death, and caused them to be executed, notwithstanding their quality, or former services, like common malefactors (U). He used to say, that it was not a sufficient punishment to deprive corrupt magistrates and governors of their places; but that, as the trust reposed in them was great, they ought to pay for the breach of it with their lives. He banished one of his secretaries for giving to his council, in writing, a false account of an affair; and caused the sinews of his fingers to be cut, that he might never write after. One of his slaves, convicted of having received a bribe, he caused to be crucified on the road which led from the city to the villa, where he frequently resided, that, by the sight of the body, which was left on the cross, his other slaves might be deterred from the like practices &c. He never pardoned any crime committed against the public; but suffered no one to be condemned, till his cause was thoroughly heard, and his offence evidently proved. He retrenched all the pensions which *Heliogabalus* had settled on his freedmen, and on buffoons, stage-players, charioteers, gladiators, &c. saying, that the emperor was but the steward of the people, and therefore could not, without the utmost injustice; thus wantonly squander away their revenues upon persons no-way useful to them.

\* Alex. vit. p. 124.

(U) *Eucolpius* the historian, one of *Alexander's* chief favourites, tells us, as quoted by *Lampridius* (4), that he could not even bear the sight of such public robbers; insomuch that one *Septimius Arabinus*, who had been tried for that crime, but acquitted by favour of *Heliogabalus*, coming one day with other senators to wait upon the emperor, *Alexander*, on seeing him, cried out in a violent passion, "O ye immortal gods!

is *Arabinus* still alive, and a senator! Does he even presume to appear in my presence! Surely he takes me to be as wicked as himself!" After this, he caused it to be proclaimed by the public crier, that if any one guilty of the same crime ever presumed to appear in his presence, he should immediately receive his deserved punishment, notwithstanding the pardon granted him by his predecessor (5).

(4) Alex. vit. p. 119.

(5) Idem ibid.

No prince ever paid greater deference to the senate than *His de- Alexander*. He was the first emperor who allowed the se-*ference to* nators to sit when they came to wait upon him. He appointed no governors or magistrates, without advising with them; and never failed to prefer such as they recommended to him. He admitted none into the senate without the concurrence and approbation of all the members of that body, asking the opinion of each in particular, and examining, with great strictness, into the manners and former conduct of the person who was to be admitted. If, upon this inquiry, he was found unworthy of a place in the senate, such of the senators as had recommended him, were themselves degraded; and such as had given testimony of his probity, condemned, as in cases of perjury, to lose their estates, and banished for ever. He never admitted either freedmen, or their children, to the equestrian order, which he used to call *the nursery of the senate*. He appointed, that the captains of the guards should no longer be chosen out of the equestrian, but only out of the *He bestows* senatorial order; that no one should have the power of judging a senator, but who was himself a senator; for the captains of the guards had been long the ordinary judges of the senators *the office of captain of the* in cases of treason<sup>b</sup>. Thus, by degrees, the captains became *guardians only* the most powerful officers in the state, and their office more *on senators* considerable than even that of the consuls; which, in the end, ruined the authority of the senate.

In the administration of justice *Alexander* never took upon *Impartial* him to decide any law-suit, without consulting his council, *in the ad-* which consisted of the most learned civilians in *Rome*, whom *ministra-* he obliged to give their opinions in writings, after having al-*tion of* lowed them time to examine and weigh matters at their lei-*justice* sure, that they might not pronounce sentence without due premeditation. Thus were all matters of justice determined by persons of known integrity, and well skilled in the laws. In military affairs he consulted only such persons as had acquired experience by their long service, and were well acquainted with the situation of places, or men versed in history, inquiring of them what had at any time been done on the like occasions by his predecessors, or other great captains. He is said never to have given any public office out *Prefer* of favour or friendship; but to have employed such only as *only persons of merit* were both by himself, and the senate, judged the best qualified for the discharge of the trust reposed in them. He preferred one to the command of the guards, who had retired into the country on purpose to avoid that office, saying, that with him the declining such honourable employments

<sup>b</sup> Alex. vit. p. 120.



was the best recommendation to them. He would not suffer any honourable employments to be sold, saying, *He who buys, must sell in his turn; and it would be unjust to punish one for selling, after he has been suffered to buy.* In appointing governors of provinces he observed a commendable custom, which was to publish their names, and encourage all persons to declare, either in public or private, whether they had any thing to lay to their charge: Since Jews and Christians, said he on this occasion, *use such commendable methods in the choice of their priests, it is reasonable we should proceed with the like care in the choice of rectors of provinces, who are entrusted with the lives and fortunes of so many persons.* As he punished, with the utmost severity, those who betrayed their trust, so he rewarded, with great generosity, such as had answered the good opinion he entertained of them, and either raised them to employments of greater profit, or, if they chose to retire, presented them with houses and lands, saying, that, since corrupt governors enriched themselves at the expence of the people, good governors ought to be enriched at the expence of the prince<sup>1</sup>.

*Alexander an enemy to all pomp and shew.* HE was an utter enemy to all pomp and shew, and extremely modest in his apparel, telling those who found fault with him on that account, that a prince ought to be distinguished from the rest, not by his apparel, but by his gallantry, and virtuous actions. The rich presents sent him by foreign princes he bestowed on the temples; but sold all the jewels, employing the money accruing from them to the relief of the poor citizens. The ambassadors of an eastern prince having presented the empress with two pearls of an extraordinary size, *Alexander* ordered them to be sold; but no one being found rich enough to purchase them, he consecrated them to serve as pendants to a statue of *Venus*, that the empress might not seem, by wearing them, to encourage luxury in others. He kept such a small number of slaves and freedmen (whom he caused to wear a particular habit, in order to put them in mind of their condition), that, when he gave any public entertainment, he was obliged to use those of his friends, nay, and to borrow their plate; for he sold all the gold, and most of the silver plate belonging to the palace, to defray the necessary charges of the government without burdening the people. He reduced the imposts with which *Helioabalus* had loaded both *Rome*, and the provinces, to the thirtieth part; and suffered several cities to apply even that towards the repairing of their public buildings. He lent money without interest to the poor, wherewithal to purchase houses and lands, allowing them time to pay the

<sup>1</sup> Alex. vit. p. 119, &c.

capital with the product of their lands. He was so far from filling the exchequer at the expence of the people, that he could not abide the sight of those, whose province it was to levy the taxes; he used to call them *necessary evils*, and never suffered any of them to continue in his office a full year. He filled, at a vast charge, the public granaries, which, upon his accession to the empire, he found almost empty; distributed weekly great quantities of oil and corn among the poor citizens; and allotted funds for the maintenance and education of their children<sup>k</sup>. He would not suffer the money levied upon the public prostitutes and catamites to be returned into his private coffers, as other emperors had done; but allotted it towards the repairing of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. • • •

HE built granaries in all parts of the city, for the use of those who had none of their own. Of these public and common granaries frequent mention is made by the antients. He caused baths to be likewise erected in each quarter of the city, and, at his own expence, furnished them with wood, and oil for the lamps in the night; whereas before his time they were never opened till the rising, and were shut again at the setting, of the sun. He built a great many fine houses for such of his friends and ministers as had served him faithfully, and lived without reproach<sup>l</sup>. He furnished the governors of provinces, at their first setting out, with money, and other things which were thought necessary; that is, according to *Lampridius*, with twenty pounds weight of silver, eight mules, two horses, two gowns, an hundred pieces of gold, one cook, one coachman, and one concubine, if the person he named was not married<sup>m</sup>. He founded a great many free-schools in *Rome*, and took particular care of the children of noble, but decayed families. He embellished *Rome* with an incredible number of stately buildings; repaired most of the ancient structures, leaving upon them the names of their first founders; and erected in the great square of *Nerva* statues in honour of most of the emperors his predecessors, with inscriptions on columns of brass, containing succinct accounts of all their memorable actions<sup>n</sup>.

ALEXANDER was a great encourager of learning, took much delight in conversing with learned men, and spent all the time he could spare from public affairs in reading the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, especially *Plato's* commonwealth, *Tully's* offices, the works of *Horace*, of *Virgil*, whom he used to stile the *Plato* of the poets, and of *Serenus Sammonicus*, another poet, whom we have mentioned above<sup>o</sup>. He

<sup>k</sup> Alex. vit. p. 124. 130.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, p. 127.

<sup>m</sup> Idem,

p. 130. <sup>n</sup> Idem, p. 123.

<sup>o</sup> See before, p. 339, (D).

*His learning.*—was himself well versed in all the branches of polite literature, and described in verse the exploits of some of his predecessors. He applied himself chiefly to the study of judicial astrology, which was by his orders publicly taught at Rome; and pretended to be thoroughly acquainted with the science of the soothsayers and augurs, both as to entrails of sacrifices, and the flight and chirping of birds. He often went to hear the poets and orators declaim in the public schools; but would not allow them to write any thing in his praise. In short, *Alexander*, to end the history of his reign with the words of *Aurelius Victor*, made it his whole study to encourage virtue and learning, to reform abuses, to restore the military discipline, and to discharge, with the greatest fidelity and disinterestedness, each duty of an excellent Prince. His endeavours were attended with such success, that the empire would have still retained its former lustre, had those who succeeded him firmly maintained what he had so wisely established. Some of his predecessors, namely *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius*, performed perhaps greater things; but were older when they came to the empire, than *Alexander* was at the time of his death. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, the reader will find a succinct account in our note (W).

<sup>P</sup> Vit. Alex. p. 123.  
vit. Alex.

<sup>q</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Aur. Vict. in

(W) *Lampridius*, in his life of *Alexander*, often quotes *Acholius*, *Septimius*, and *Eucolpius*; but seems to prefer *Septimius* to the other two (6). They flourished under *Alexander*, and wrote the history of that prince's reign. *Vossius* ranks them among the Latin historians, tho' none of their works have reached our times; and *Lampridius* does not inform us, whether they wrote in Greek or Latin (7). *Acholius* lived in the time of *Alexander*, but died long after; for he was *admissionum magister*, that is, in the modern phrase, master of the ceremonies, to the emperor *Valerian*, who began his

reign in the year 253. eighteen years after the death of *Alexander* (8). He even wrote the life of *Valerian*, and consequently outlived him; nay, *Vossius* is of opinion, that he was still alive in the reign of *Aurelian*, who was raised to the empire in 270 (9). *Eucolpius* not only lived in the time of *Alexander*, but was highly favoured by that prince (1). A treatise on government, ascribed to *Eucolpius*, was translated out of Greek into English above an hundred years since; in which the reader will find a particular account of a supposed conference between the emperor *Alexander* and *Origen*. But, as

(6) Vit. Alex. p. 119, 131, 136.

(8) Aur. Vict. p. 213.

(7) Vide Voss. Lib. Lat. p. 719.

(9) Voss. bib. Lat. l. ii. c. 4. p. 182.

(1) Alex.

vit. p. 119.

some circumstances of that conference are inconsistent with what we read in the best historians, we are inclined to ascribe that piece to some modern Greek writer, and to look upon the whole as a mere fable (2). *Gargilius Martialis* wrote likewise the history of the reign of *Alexander*, and is ranked by *Vopiscus* among those historians who wrote with more exactness than elegance (3). *Servius*, and other writers, quote a treatise on gardening by one *Gargilius Martialis* (4) ; but whether this be the historian, or another author of the same name, we cannot take upon us to determine. *Marius Maximus* wrote the history of the emperors from *Trajan* to *Alexander*, and is often quoted by the *Augustine* writers. *M. Valois* takes him to be the same person with *L. Marius Maximus*, who had been consul, and was preferred by *Macrinus* to the government of *Rome* in the year 218 (5). *Ammianus Marcellinus* observes, that at *Rome*, in the fourth century, when learning was utterly neglected, many, who never looked into any other book, read, with great attention, the satires of *Juvenal*, and the history of *Marius Maximus* (6). *Capitolinus* commends his sincerity and exactness (7) ; but *Vopiscus*, whose judgment is of great weight with the learned, styles him of all historians the most tedious and long-winded, and finds fault with him for filling his books with fables (8). The

life of *Alexander* was likewise published by *Aurelius Philippus*, his father's freedman (9). *Julius Granianus*, who intrusted *Alexander* in rhetoric, left some declamations, which were still extant in the time of *Lampridius* (1). Besides the celebrated civilians *Ulpianus* and *Paulus*, of whom we have made mention above, *Florentinus*, *Aelius Marcianus*, *Hermogenes* or *Hermogenianus*, *Callistrata*, and *Claudius Venuleius Saturninus*, whose names are famous in the pandects, were all *Papinian's* disciples, and flourished under *Alexander* ; as did likewise *Herennius Modestinus*, who was preceptor to *Maximinus*, the son of the emperor of that name, and wrote several books of jurisprudence, and, among the rest, one in *Greek*, on the excuses of guardians. He was honoured with the consularship by *Alexander* ; but was still alive in the reign of *Gordian*, which began in 239 (2). In the time of *Alexander*, flourished, as we suppose, the sophists, who are mentioned by *Philistratus* in the end of his work ; for he wrote soon after that prince's reign (3). Among these was *Aspasius*, who attended the emperor into the East, afterwards taught at *Rome*, and was, in the end, preferred to be one of the emperor's secretaries, and charged with the province of drawing up his rescripts, which he did in a bombastic and obscure style. He was a native of *Ravenna* (4). Ca-

(2) Vide Selden. in Eutyrb. Egypt. &c. not. p. 174, 175. London. ann. 1617.

(3) Vopisc. Prob. vit. p. 234. (4) Vide Casaub. not. p. 168. (5) Ammian. not. p. 364. Spon. p. 114. (6) Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372. (7) Vit. Alb. p. 81. (8) Vide Voss. bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. p. 178. (9) Vit. Alex. p. 118.

(1) Alex. vit. p. 137. & Casaub. not. p. 178. Maxim. vit. p. 148. Cod. Justin. l. ii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 197.

(3) Philostr. soph. 59. p. 622. (4) Idem, p. 623.

nifus published in 1602. the work of an anonymous Christian writer, composed, as the author informs us, in the thirteenth year of *Alexander's* reign, and the 236th after the birth of our Saviour. But he counts two hundred and six years since our Saviour's death, supposing him to have lived only thirty years. This work is an ill-digested abridgment of geography and chronology, and, in the opinion of the learned, full of anachronisms, and other faults. The transcribers of *Canisius's* copy have left out the chronological table of the *Roman* emperors, which is twice promised in the preface (5). Father *L'Abbé*, who has published the same author, found in his copy the above-mentioned table, which is far from being exact (6). It ends with the thirteen years and nine days of the reign of *Alexander* (7); whence it is plain, that the author put the last hand to it in the beginning of the reign of *Maximinus*. In father *L'Abbé's* edition of this work, the author promises a catalogue of the bishops of *Rome*, and the time of their respective episcopacies; but that catalogue is wanting in the manuscript. The author was, perhaps, a native of *Rome*, and a priest; for, in father *L'Abbé's* edition, he addresses himself to a deacon, whom, he says, he designs to instruct; which, in the primitive church, no ecclesiastic of an inferior rank, and much less a layman, would have

taken upon him to do. \* Of this writer *Vossius* takes no notice.

But the most famous of all the writers, who flourished under *Alexander*, was the celebrated historian *Dio Cassius*, called also *Cassius Cocceius* or *Cocceianus*. He was a native of *Nicea* in *Bithynia*, and probably related to *Cocceianus Dio*, a citizen of *Prusa* in the same province, in whose behalf *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan* (8). Under *Trajan* flourished another *Dio* of *Prusa*, a famous sophist, commonly known by the name of *Dio Chrysostomus*, who wrote several works, which have reached our times (9). The historian was the son of *Apronianus*, who was governor of *Cilicia* about the year 183. when the two brothers *Quintilii* were put to death by *Commodus's* order (1). He was likewise for some time governor of *Illyricum* (2). His son was at *Rome* in the reign of *Commodus*, at least towards the latter end of it (3). He was senator in the year 192. the last of the reign of *Commodus*, and named prætor for the ensuing year by *Pertinax*, who had a particular kindness and esteem for him (4). He was appointed consul by the emperor *Severus* (5); attended, after that prince's death, his son *Caracalla* into the East (6); and spoke with him, for the last time, at *Nicomedia*, about the latter end of the year 215 (7). *Macrinus* named him to the government of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*, which he held under *Heliogaba-*

(5) *Canis. antiq. læt. tom. ii. p. 594.*

(6) *L'Abbé bibl. nov. tom. i. p. 308.*

(7) *Idem, p. 309.*

(8) *Plin. l. x. epist. 87. p. 612.*

(9) *Suid. p. 753.*

et 765.

(1) *Dio, l. lxxix. p. 788. et l. lxxii. p. 820.*

(2) *Idem, l. xlix.*

*p. 413.*

(3) *Idem, l. lxxii. p. 818.*

(4) *Idem ibid. p. 820, 827. et*

*l. lxxiii. p. 835.*

(5) *Idem, l. lxxvi. p. 869.*

(6) *Idem, l. lxxviii.*

*p. 823, 824.*

(7) *Dio, l. lxxix. p. 909.*

lus, and was still in *Asia* in the year 221 (8). From *Asia*, he went into *Bithynia*; whence he was recalled, and appointed governor, first of *Africa*, afterwards of *Illyricum*, and lastly of *Pannonia*; in which governments he acquitted himself so well, that *Alexander*, upon his return to *Rome*, honoured him with a second consulship in the year 228 (9). When the time of his consulship expired, he obtained leave to return into his own country, where, he passed the remaining part of his life in retirement. *Dio Cassius* wrote in eight decades, that is, in eighty books, the *Roman* history, from the landing of *Aeneas* in *Italy*, to the reign of the emperor *Alexander* (1). In the time of *Severus*, he wrote a book on the dreams, and other prodigies, which seemed to presage the rise of that prince; which being well received by the emperor, *Dio* dreamt the following night, that his genius commanded him to undertake the writing of history. Accordingly he immediately began that of the reign of *Commodus*; and, being encouraged by *Severus*, and others, to whom he read what he had done, to apply himself to the writing of history, he undertook that of *Rome* (2), and spent ten years in collecting the necessary materials for so great a work, and twelve more in composing it (3). He is very minute in his history of the emperors to the death of *Heliogabatus*; but gives us only a summary account of the eight first years of *Alexander*, having been, as he himself informs us,

most part of that time absent from *Italy* (4), and consequently not so well acquainted with what passed at *Rome*. He had, it seems, begun his history before the death of *Plautianus*, that is, before the year 204. and ended it soon after the year 229. for he takes no notice of *Alexander's* war with the *Persians*. His account of the public transactions, from the reign of *Commodus* to that of *Alexander*, is very particular and minute; for he then began to write, not what he had learnt of others, but what he had himself seen and observed. He assures us, that no one capable of writing an history was better acquainted, than himself, both with the public and private transactions; which is not at all incredible in a person of his rank. His style, according to *Photius*, is sublime, and answerable to the greatness of his subject; his terms expressive, his phrase elegant, his periods full, and well-sounding, and the whole worthy of the best historians of ancient *Greece*. He proposed *Thucydides* for his model, and does not, in the opinion of *Photius*, fall much short of that excellent writer (5). *Vossius*, however, blames him for decrying the greatest men of antiquity, namely, *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and *Seneca*; but others clear him from that censure, and think he acted the part of an unbiassed historian, in discovering the faults (for no man is without faults) even of those whom he himself most admired (6). He blames only what in them was blameworthy, and

(8) *Dio*, p. 915. (9) *Idem*, l. lxxx. p. 917. (1) *Suid.* s. p. 753. (2) *Idem*, l. lxxii. p. 828. *Phot.* c. 71. p. 105. (3) *Idem*, l. lxxii. p. 829. (4) *Idem*, l. lxxvi. p. 860. (5) *Phot.* c. 71. p. 103. (6) *Voss. hist. Grec.* l. ii. c. 15. p. 238.

commends what to him seemed commendable. Others think him too diffuse in his accounts of dreams, prodigies, and other things of that nature, beneath the dignity of an historian. He wrote, as we have observed above, the *Roman* history in eighty books; but of that great work only a small part has reached us. For the first thirty-four books have been long since intirely lost; and of the thirty-fifth only some fragments are remaining: the following books, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are thought to be intire; but the next six are, in some places, strangely maimed and corrupted. Of the twenty last, we have only some fragments published by *Fulvius Ursinus* and *M. Valois*. However, that great loss has been, in some degree, supplied by *John Xiphilin*, who was patriarch of *Constantinople* in the eleventh century, and epitomized *Dio's* history from the thirty-fifth book to the end. This epitome is greatly esteemed by the learned, and thought to be very exact. The history of *Zonaras* may likewise be called an abridgment of *Dio's* work; for he copied, as he himself owns, most of his history from *Dio*, and followed him with great exactness. These abridgments

have been of great use to us in the compiling of our history; for in them are to be found the most material transactions of the *Romans*, from the period where *Tacitus's* history ends, to the time of the emperor *Alexander*. From that prince to *Constantine*, the history of the emperors is more perplexed, and less certain: for *Herodian* wrote with more elegance than exactness; and *Lampridius*, and the other *Augustine* writers, scarce deserve the name of historians. They wrote in the beginning of the fourth century; and *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* only copied them about the close of the same century. *Zosimus*, who wrote at the end of the fifth century, shews, by the mistakes of which he is guilty in the very beginning of his work, that he either made use of bad memoirs, or did not understand the good ones. *Dio Cassius*, besides his *Roman* history, published a particular history of *Trajan*, the life of the philosopher *Arrian* the disciple of *Epictetus*, itineraries, the history of the *Persians*, and that of the *Geta* (7). The latter was known to *Jornandes*, who copied from it what he writes of *Telephus*, king of the *Geta* in the times of *Achilles* and *Ulysses* (8).

(7) *Suid. d. p. 714.*(8) *Jornan. de reb. Gothic. c. 9.*

## C H A P. XXIII.

*The Roman History, from the Death of Alexander Severus, to the Captivity of Valerian, when the Empire was usurped by thirty Persons at once, commonly called The Thirty Tyrants.*

THE murder of *Alexander* occasioned a great tumult and Maximinus confusion in the army; during which the *Pannonian* nus de-troops, under the command of *Maximinus*, proclaimed him clared emperor; and the rest, finding no other appeared to claim or emperor, dispute that title, followed their example, and took the usual and his oaths to *Maximinus*, after he had solemnly declared, that he son Maxi-minus. had been no-way necessary to the death of *Alexander*. The new emperor immediately declared his son *Maximinus Caesar*,<sup>a</sup> and prince of the *Roman* youth, invested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, honoured him with the title of *Augustus*, and took him for his partner in the sovereignty.\* The senate, whom he took care to acquaint, as soon as possible, with his assumption to the empire, not daring to oppose the choice of the soldiery, confirmed it; so that *Maximinus* was, without the least opposition, acknowledged emperor by the senate, the people, and the army<sup>a</sup>. He was, according *His ex-* to *Syncellus* <sup>b</sup>, a native of *Thrace*; according to *Herodian*, *tracian* *Capitolinus*, and *Jornandes*, born in a village on the confines and pre- of that province, and the country of the barbarians. His ferments. father, by name *Micca*, or *Micca*, was a *Goth*; and his mother *Alaba*, or *Abala*, an *Alan*<sup>c</sup>. He is stiled in the antient inscriptions *C. Julius Verus Maximinus*. He was of a very mean extraction, and, in his early youth, a shepherd, but of a gigantic stature, being eight feet and an half tall, and withal exceeding well shaped, all his limbs answering his stature in symmetry and proportion. Of his strength won- *Hismighty* derful things are related by the antients; to wit, that he was strength. often seen to draw a loaded waggon, which two oxen could scarce move, to tear up trees by the roots, to crumble pebbles between his fingers, &c. Besides, he was so bold and courageous, that he took delight in exposing himself to the greatest dangers: whence he was called, for his courage and valour, *Achilles*, *Hector*, and *Ajax*; for his strength, *Hercules*, *Antæus*, and *Milo*; but, at the same time, for his savage cruelty, *Busiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*.

HE was first known to the emperor *Septimius Severus* on On what the following occasion: That prince having exhibited, as he occasion

<sup>a</sup> Max. vit. p. 142.<sup>b</sup> SYNC. p. 361.<sup>c</sup> HEROD. l. vi.

p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138. JORNAND. regn. c. 22.



*first known* passed through *Thrace*, some military games and exercises in the honour of his second son *Geta*, and proposed prizes for the conquerors, *Maximinus*, at that time about twenty years old, begged leave of the emperor, partly in the *Latin*, and partly in the *Thracian* language, to enter the lists, and try his skill with the rest. The emperor, admiring his size, matched him, not with the soldiers, as he was a barbarian, but with some of the strongest slaves in the camp; whom he overcame, sixteen one after the other. Hereupon the emperor ordered him to be lifted among the horse. A few days after, as the emperor was visiting the different quarters of the camp on horseback, *Maximinus*, accosting him, began to run by him. The emperor, to try whether he could run as well as he could wrestle, put his horse upon a full gallop, and rid round the camp, *Maximinus* keeping close by him the whole time, till both he and his horse were quite spent. Then turning to him, *Thracian*, said he, *art thou now disposed to wrestle?* *I am*, answered *Maximinus*, *as much as you please*. The emperor immediately dismounted, and ordered some of the strongest soldiers, and best wrestlers, in the army, to enter the lists with him; of whom he overcame and threw down seven, as if they had been so many children; which so pleased the emperor, that he presented him with a golden collar, placed him among his guards, and heaped many favours upon him, appointing him extraordinary allowances, the common pay not being sufficient to support him: for he used to eat, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, forty, according to *Ælius Cardus*, a more antient historian, sixty pounds weight of flesh a day; and to drink eight *amphoræ* of wine, that is, six gallons, without ever eating or drinking to excess<sup>d</sup>.

*Preferred by Caracalla.* HE was preferred by *Caracalla* to the post of a centurion; but quitted the army upon that prince's death, being unwilling to serve under *Macrinus*, the chief author of the murder, and retired to his own country. When *Heliogabalus* came to the empire, he offered his service to him; and, being admitted again into the army, he was, by the interest of his friends, raised to the rank of a tribune; but always declined, under some pretence or other, attending the emperor, who had disoblged him with an impure jest, alluding to his mighty strength<sup>e</sup>. He had even absented himself from *Rome*, not being able to bear the sight of that lewd monster; but returned thither when he understood, that *Alexander* was raised to the empire; and was by that prince received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, recommended by him to the senate, created senator, and honoured with the command of

*He is greatly favoured by Alexander.*

<sup>d</sup> HEROD. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138, 139. <sup>e</sup> Max. vit. p. 139, 140.

a new-raised legion, which the emperor thought him well qualified to instruct in the military exercises. In that office he acquitted himself so well, that *Alexander* preferred him to an higher command, and, at the breaking out of the German war, charged him with the care of disciplining the new-raised troops, consisting chiefly of *Pannonians* (A).

MAXIMINUS no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign power, than he dismissed all those who had been employed by *Alexander* in places of trust, and appointed creatures of his own in their room, selected, for the most part, out of the very dregs of the people. He made it his chief study to gain the affections of the soldiery; but, choosing rather to be feared than loved by the rest of his subjects, he began his reign with unheard-of cruelties. All those who had been intimate with *Alexander*, or shewed the least concern for his death, were, by his orders, inhumanly massacred; the senators whom he had created, degraded; and such officers as he had raised, under various pretences, discharged, and most of them banished. Being ashamed of the meanness of his extraction, he caused all those who knew his parents, or any of his family, to be privately murdered, though many of them had relieved him when in a low condition, and, by their interest, raised him in the army. His cruelty was heightened by the conspiracy of *Magnus*, a consular of an illustrious family, and great merit. He conspired with several of *Alexander's* old soldiers to break down the bridge which that prince had built over the *Rhine*, after *Maximinus* had passed it, and abandon him to the enemy. But, the conspiracy being discovered, all those whom *Maximinus* only suspected to have been privy to it, were inhumanly massacred, to the number of four thousand, without being tried, or even examined; which induced many to believe, that the plot was only a contrivance of *Maximinus*, to rid himself of those who gave him umbrage.<sup>f</sup>

His cruelty  
after his  
accession to  
the empire.

The con-  
spiracy of  
Magnus.

<sup>f</sup> Max. vit. p. 142. HEROD. l. vii. p. 589.

(A) We are told, that *Alexander* had even some thoughts of marrying his sister *Theoclia* to the son of *Maximinus*, who, in most inscriptions, is stiled *C. Julius Verus Maximinus*. He was a youth of extraordinary beauty, in stature almost equal to his father, well-shaped, brave, courageous, but proud and haughty to such a degree, that, upon his being proclaimed *Augustus*, and his father's partner in the empire, he suffered his soldiers not only to kiss his hand, but his knees and feet, which his father could never endure. When he was killed with his father in the year 238. he was betrothed to *Julia Fadilla*, the great-niece of *Antoninus Pius* (1).

(1) Max. vit. p. 119, &c.

Of  
Romans  
revolt.

Quartinus  
betrayed  
and mur-  
dered.

Maximi-  
nus gain-  
several  
victories  
over the  
Germans.

Year of  
the flood  
2584.  
Of Christ  
236.  
Of Rome

984.

A few days after the conspiracy of *Maximus*, the *Ostrogothians*, who served in the army, and had been greatly attached to the late emperor, no longer doubting that he had been assassinated by *Maximinus's* orders, openly revolted, proclaimed *T. Quartinus* emperor, and attired him, much against his will, with the imperial purple, and all the ensigns of sovereignty. But soon after one *Macrus*, who had been the chief author of the revolt, and pretended great friendship for *Quartinus*, murdered him while he was reposing in his tent, and carried his head to *Maximinus*, who, instead of rewarding him according to his expectation, caused him some time after to be executed for rebelling against his prince, and betraying his friend. The *Ostrogothians* returning to their duty after the death of *Quartinus*, the following year, when *Sverus* and *Quintianus* were consul, *Maximinus* entered *Germany* at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners. Several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand, discharging every duty of a gallant soldier, and experienced commander. He chose always to fight at the head of his troops, and often grappled with the enemy hand to hand like a common soldier. Having, in one encounter, to encourage his men, rushed sword in hand into the midst of the enemy, he was surrounded on all sides, and had been either killed or taken, notwithstanding his extraordinary strength, in which he placed too much confidence, had not his men, animated by the example of their general, hastened to his rescue. He took care to transmit an account of his victories to the senate; telling them, among other things, that he had laid waste the enemy's country four hundred miles round; destroyed near one hundred and fifty of their villages; taken an incredible number of prisoners; and fought more battles, than any of the antients had ever done. He ordered his exploits to be represented in painting, and hung up in the squares and public places at *Rome*. For these victories the senate decreed both to him and his son the title of *Germanicus*; which is still to be seen on several of his medals.

FROM *Germany* he marched into *Illyricum*, and, having passed the winter at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, where he entered upon his first consulship, and took *Africanus* for his colleague, early in the spring he led his army into the countries of the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, gained several victories over those

HEROD. l. vii. p. 590. Max. vit. p. 142, &c.

Idem ibid.

GOLIZ. p. 101, 102. BIRAO p. 329.

barbarous nations, and obliged them to submit to such terms *Overcomes* as he was pleased to impose upon them. He had nothing less *the Da-* in view than to extend the borders of the empire to the north- *cians and* ern ocean, which he would have easily accomplished, says *Sarma-* *Herodian*<sup>k</sup>, had he not been interrupted by a civil war, and *tians.* great disturbances at home, occasioned by his unheard-of cruelty, and insatiable avarice. He encouraged informers, *His cruel-* feigned plots, and condemned, without distinction of quality, *ty.* sex, or age, all who were accused, seizing their estates, and reducing the richest families in *Rome* to beggary. Persons of the greatest distinction were snatched away from their friends and relations, and, upon various groundless accusations, carried into *Pannonia*, to be judged by the emperor, who never failed to condemn them either to death or banishment, and to seize their estates, whether the crimes laid to their charge were proved or no. Not satisfied with the wealth of so many illustrious families, he began to plunder the temples, to strip the public buildings of their ornaments, and to seize on the public money in the cities allotted for the maintenance or diversions of the people. This alarmed the populace, and dis- *The people* posed them to a general revolt, which first broke out in *Africa*, in *Africa* about the middle of *May* of the ensuing year, when *Perpetuus* *revolt.* and *Cornelius* were consuls, on the following occasion: Two young men of great distinction, being condemned by the emperor's receiver in that province, who oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner, to pay a fine, which would have reduced them to beggary, conspired to save their fortunes, by destroying him; and accordingly, having gained some soldiers of the legion quartered there, they fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut in pieces both him, and such of the soldiers as attempted to defend him.

THIS murder, they well knew, the emperor would never forgive; and therefore, well apprised, that the only means of escaping the punishment due to their crime, was to create a new prince, they openly revolted, and, with the concurrence of the people, who could no longer bear the tyrannical government of *Maximinus*, proclaimed *Gordianus*, at that time proconsul of *Africa*, emperor in his room. *Gordianus* was *Gordian* descended of an illustrious family, possessed of immense wealth, *proclaimed* and universally beloved both at *Rome*, and in the provinces, *emperor in* many of which he had governed, on account of his extraor- *Africa.* dinary merit and virtues; but, as he was advanced in years, being at this time eighty and upwards, when the people broke unexpectedly into his house, and saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, he threw himself upon the ground, and begged,

<sup>k</sup> HEROD. l. vii. p. 592.

with many tears, they would suffer him to spend the poor remains of his life in quiet, and choose some other more able, an account of his age, to deliver the state from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned. But the people, and, at their head one *Mauritius*, a person of great authority among them, continuing unalterable in their former resolution, *Gordianus* was, in the end, constrained to accept the ensigns and title of emperor; which he had no sooner done, than, to the inexpressible joy of all the *Africans*, he took his son, who bore the same name, was then his lieutenant, and had been consul, for his partner in the empire. From *Thysdrus*, a city of no small note in *Byzacene*, not far from *Adrumetum*, where this happened, *Gordianus* marched to *Carthage*, and made his entry into that city arrayed with the imperial purple, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, saluting him with the title of *Gordianus Africanus*.

He writes  
to the se-  
nate:

FROM *Carthage* he wrote to the senate and people of *Rome*, acquainting them with what had happened in *Africa*, and assuring them, that he had accepted the empire against his will, and was ready to resign it, if they did not think fit to confirm his election. In the decrees which he sent with his letters, and ordered to be publicly set up, with the approbation of the senate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, banished the informers, promised large sums to the people, and to the soldiery a greater largess than any emperor had ever given. At the same time he wrote to all the great men in *Rome*, most of whom were his particular friends, encouraging them to exert themselves on the present occasion, and join him in rescuing *Rome* from the insupportable tyranny of *Maximinus*, which was the only motive that had prompted him, in his old age, to submit to so heavy a burden as the empire. In his letter to *Junius Syllanus*, then consul, he charged that magistrate to dispatch, without delay, *Vitalianus*, who commanded the body of the prætorian guards that had been left in *Rome*, and was greatly attached to *Maximinus*, being of a no less cruel and savage temper than that tyrant. *Syllanus*, upon the receipt of this letter, sent the quæstor, attended by some resolute men, with letters to *Vitalianus*, which he pretended to have just received from *Maximinus*, injoining them to draw him aside, and dispatch him while he was perusing them; which they did accordingly, and then gave out, that what they had done was by *Maximinus's* orders: which was believed; for thus he used to treat even his best friends.

AFTER this, the consul *Syllanus* assembled at his house the prætors, ædiles, and tribunes of the people; and, attended by them, went to the senate; and there read, on the twenty-seventh

seventh day of *May*, the letters which *Gordianus* had written both to them, and to him. Hereupon the senate, in great transports of joy, declared, without the least hesitation, the two *Gordians* emperors, the two *Maximins* public enemies; and decreed a great reward to such as should kill either of them. At the same time they named to the prætorship of the ensuing year a third *Gordian*, grandson to the elder, tho' then only twelve years old. These proceedings, however, were kept secret, till such time as the senate had taken the necessary measures for quashing at once the party of the *Maximins* in *Rome*; which was no sooner done, than they gave out, that they were both killed, and that the two *Gordians* reigned in their room. The edicts of the latter were publicly hung up, and their images carried to the camp, with their letters to the soldiery, who, being, after the death of *Vitalianus*, destitute of a leader, readily submitted to the *Gordians*. As for the people, transported with rage against *Maximinus* hardly to be expressed, they immediately ran and pulled down all his statues and monuments, uttering dreadful imprecations against the bloody tyrant, and his son. At the same time the senate enacted a decree, sentencing to death all the friends of *Maximinus*, and the ministers of his cruelty. Hereupon such of them, as had not the good luck to escape, were massacred without mercy by the enraged multitude, dragged through the streets, and thrown into the common sewer. Several innocent persons perished with the guilty, many laying hold of that opportunity to dispatch their private enemies or creditors. *Sabinus*, governor of *Rome*, endeavouring to put a stop to these disorders, had his brains dashed out with a blow from one of the mob, and his body was left for some time in the public street<sup>1</sup>.

In the mean time it being publicly known, that *Maximinus* was still alive, the senate issued a second decree against him, declaring anew both him and his son public enemies; and at the same time dispatched persons of the greatest interest and authority into all the provinces, with letters to the præconsuls, presidents, lieutenants, tribunes, &c. exhorting them to join in the common cause, and exert themselves in defence of their common liberties, against a raging tyrant, and public enemy (B). They likewise chose twenty senators, who had all been consuls.

<sup>1</sup> *Gordian*. vii. p. 153, & seq. *Max.* vii. p. 143, & seq. *Harod.* l. vii. p. 595—598.

(B) The letter, which the senate wrote on this occasion, was conceived in the following terms:  
 "To all præconsuls, presidents,  
 C c 2 " lieutenants

consuls, and sent them into different parts of *Italy*, with orders to guard night and day all the roads, ports, and harbours, that no account of what had passed at *Rome* might be transmitted to *Maximinus* before the arrival of *Gordian*. The letters of the senate were received in most cities and provinces with incredible joy, and a dreadful slaughter was made of the officers and friends of *Maximinus*. Only a few places continued faithful to him, and either delivered up to the tyrant, or massacred, the deputies of the senate. At *Rome* persons of all ranks and ages, even the women and children, crowded to the temples, beseeching the gods, that they would never suffer the bloody tyrant to approach the city <sup>m</sup>.

MAXIMINUS, who was at this time either in *Thrace* or *Sarmatia*, soon received intelligence of what had passed at *Rome*, and in *Africa*, notwithstanding all the precautions of the senate; nay, a copy of the decree of the senate, declaring him a public enemy, and setting a price upon his head, was transmitted to him; upon the reading of which he flew into such a passion, as can hardly be expressed or conceived: more like a wild beast than an human creature, says the author of his life, he beat his head against the wall, threw himself upon the ground, tore his royal robes, drew his sword, and, after having uttered dreadful menaces against the senate, fell upon those who stood next to him, and would have killed his son, had he not quickly withdrawn, for having refused to quit him, and live at *Rome*; which the father advised him to do upon their first coming to the empire, and which would, in his opinion, have kept the senate and people in awe, and prevented the present revolt. In short, such was his fury and rage, that his friends, looking upon him as a man bereaved of his understanding, with much difficulty snatched his arms from

*His rage upon the news of the revolt.*

<sup>m</sup> HEROD. l. vii. p. 599. Max. vit. p. 141.

lieutenants, commanders, tribunes, free towns, cities, villages, and castles, the senate and people of *Rome*, whose deliverance from the tyranny of the cruel monster *Maximin* is begun by the *Gordians*, greeting: By the favour of the gods we have lost emperor *Gordian*; a person of the greatest merit and virtue. We have proclaimed him emperor, and

for the greater security of the state, his son in conjunction with him. It is incumbent upon you to concur with us in procuring and promoting the public welfare and safety; in opposing the wicked designs of those who threaten us; and in pursuing to death the cruel tyrant *Maximin*, and his friends; for we have declared him and his son public enemies (2).

(2) *Vit. M. x. p. 143, 144.*

him, and carried him to his room. Being returned to himself, he spent some days in deliberating with his council about the most proper measures to be pursued at such an important conjuncture. Then assembling his army, he acquainted them with the state of affairs, pretending to be under no apprehension, and promising to distribute among them the estates of the senators, and *African* rebels.

HAVING ended his speech, he gave his soldiers a great bounty, and, without loss of time, began his march towards *Italy*. The troops not shewing so much ardour and forwardness as he expected, he wrote to his son, who was marching with a separate body at some distance, to join him with all possible expedition, lest the army should, in his absence, attempt upon his life. \* At the same time he dispatched persons to *Rome*, to publish there in his name a general pardon with respect to all past injuries, and with them letters to *Sabinus*, not being yet apprised of his death, in which was inclosed a copy of the decree, declaring him a public enemy; for he supposed *Sabinus*, who had absented himself that day from the senate, to be altogether ignorant of what had passed there <sup>a</sup>. While *Maximinus* was marching towards *Italy*, the face of affairs was quite changed in *Africa*: A senator, by name *Capelianus*, had been appointed governor of *Mauritania* by *Maximinus*, with a considerable body of troops under his command, to make head against the *Moors* not subject to *Rome*, who infested with daily incursions the *Roman* territories. But *Gordianus*, to whom he had ever been a declared enemy, and whom he had on all occasions opposed, immediately discharged him, and named another in his room. *Capelianus*, who was an officer of great valour and experience, instead of obeying the orders of the new emperor, assembled all his forces, levied several companies of *Moors*, and, having with incredible dispatch drawn together a very considerable body of well-disciplined and resolute men, marched at the head of them strait to *Carthage*. His approach alarmed the city. The inhabitants, however, betook themselves to their arms, and marched out under the conduct of *Gordianus* the younger to meet the enemy. Hereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Gordianus*'s raw and undisciplined troops performed wonders; but were in the end put to flight, and most of them cut in pieces, either in the battle, or the pursuit. *Gordianus* himself was killed in the field, which, together with the loss of the battle, and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to such despair, that he strangled

\* <sup>a</sup> Gord. vit. p. 157, 158. HEROD. p. 601. Max. vit. p. 141.



himself with his own girdle <sup>o</sup>. Such was the end of the two Gordians, after having reigned, according to the most probable opinion <sup>p</sup>, one month and six days (C).

THE

\* HEROD. l. vii. p. 602, 603. Gord. vit. p. 158. Max. vit. p. 145. <sup>p</sup> Vid. PETAV. doct. temp. p. 337.

(C) They were sprung from two of the most antient and illustrious families in Rome. Gordianus the father, stiled in most medals and inscriptions *M. Antonius Gordianus*, was the son of *Mæcius Marullus*, descended from the *Gracchi*, and of *Ulpia Gordiana*, of the family of the emperor *Trajan*. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, had been consuls; and he himself twice discharged that honourable office, first with the emperor *Caracalla* in 213. and the second time with *Alexander Severus* in 229. His wealth was answerable to his quality; for he possessed, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, more land in the provinces, than any private man in Rome (3). The same writer observes, that he was the first private person who had a consular habit of his own, the rest, and even some of the emperors, contenting themselves with the common robes that were lodged in the capitol (4). He was well-shaped, of a comely and majestic aspect, and thought to resemble the emperor *Augustus*. He was highly esteemed by the emperor *Alexander*, who returned public thanks to the senate for preferring so deserving a person to the government of *Africa*, stiling him, in the letter which he wrote on that occasion, a nobleman of

great magnanimity, eloquence, justice, moderation, integrity, goodness, &c. He was exceeding kind to all his relations, and paid such respect to his wife's father, *Annius Severus*, that he never presumed, before he was prætor, to sit down in his presence, and never failed waiting upon him once a day, even when he was consul. He was very sober in his diet, modest, but proper, in his dress, and regular in all his actions, without ever being guilty of any excess, or discomposed by any passion (5). He was well versed in all the branches of literature, especially in poetry; and wrote in his youth several poems, which were greatly esteemed, and, among the rest, one intituled *Antoninades*, describing in thirty books the lives and wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, or *Antoninus Philosophus*. He wrote likewise in prose the praises of the *Antonini*. His chief entertainment was to read *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, and the other antient authors. No one ever gave greater satisfaction to the people, or discharged the public offices with more generosity, than *Gordianus*. During the year of his ædileship, he exhibited public shews once a month, sometimes five hundred couple of gladiators at a time, and never

(3) Gord. vit. p. 151, 152.  
p. 152, 153.

(4) *Idem*, p. 152.

(5) *Idem*,

THE news of their death threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. However, as they dreaded above all things

less than one hundred and fifty. He caused an incredible number of wild beasts to be brought to Rome, for the diversion of the people, from the most distant parts of the empire. In one day a thousand bears were hunted and killed, and, in his other shews, such numbers of wild beasts of all kinds, as had never before been seen in Rome; which gained him the affections of the people, intirely addicted to diversions of that nature. After his second consulship, he was immediately sent into Africa in quality of proconsul; which office he discharged with such justice, equity, and moderation, that he was universally adored, and more beloved by the people, than any governor had ever been before him, some calling him a *Scipio*, some a *Cato*, some a *Mutius Scaevola*, a *Rutillius*, a *Lælius*. He married *Fabia Orestilla*, the daughter of *Annius Severus*, and granddaughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*; and had by her a daughter named *Mecia Faustina*, who was married to *Junius Balbus* a consular; and a son, stiled in the ancient inscriptions and medals *M. Antonius Gordianus* (6), with the title of *pontifex*; whereas his father is distinguished with that of *pontifex maximus*. The son was killed in the year 237. the forty-sixth of his age (7); and consequently was born in 191. the twelfth of the reign of *Commodus*. He had an extraordinary memory, and was well versed in polite literature, having had *Se-*

*renus Sammonicus* for his preceptor, who bequeathed to him his famous library, consisting of sixty-two thousand volumes. He wrote several pieces both in prose and verse, which shewed, says *Capitolinus* (8), that he had a fine genius, but neglected to cultivate and improve it. He was well skilled in the law, and one of *Alexander's* chief counsellors. He was universally beloved on account of his obliging carriage, and extraordinary sweet temper; but loved his pleasures, and spent most of his time in baths, gardens, and groves. He kept constantly twenty-two concubines, and is said to have had by each of them three or four children; whence he was called the *Priapus*, and satirically the *Priapus*, of his time. *Ælius Cordus* writes, that he could never be prevailed upon to marry, and consequently had no lawful issue. On the other hand, *Dexippus* tells us, that he married, and had by his wife *Gordian*, afterwards emperor (9). But, according to *Herodian*, the emperor was not his, but his sister's son. But of him hereafter. *Gordian*, of whom we are now writing, was highly favoured by *Heliogabalus*, as a young man added to his pleasures, and by that prince raised to the quaestorship. *Alexander* preferred him, as he was a man of known integrity, and great abilities, to the praetorship, and soon after honoured him with the consular dignity. In the reign of *Alexander* or *Maximinus* he was

(6) *Goltz.* p. 102. (7) *Vit. Gord.* p. 1, 3. (8) *Idem*, p. 160. (9) *Idem ibid.*

Pupienus  
and Balbi-  
nus pro-  
claimed  
emperors.  
The rise  
and pre-  
ferments  
of Pupie-  
nus.

things the cruel effects of *Maximinus's* resentment, and expected to find no mercy at the hands of so barbarous a tyrant, they resolved not to submit to him, but to defend themselves to the last. The senate therefore, assembling in the temple of *Concord*, chose two new emperors, *M. Caelius Pupienus Maximus*, and *Decimus Caelius Balbinus*. The former was a person of low birth, but extraordinary merit. His father was, according to some, a cartwright; according to others, a locksmith; but the son raised himself, chiefly by his courage and valour, to the first employments in the empire. He served first in quality of a private soldier; but was soon preferred, as he distinguished himself on all occasions, to the post of a centurion, then to that of a tribune, and not long after to the command of several legions, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was admitted into the senate, created prætor, honoured with the consulship, and successively appointed governor of *Bithynia*, *Greece*, and *Narbonne Gaul*. From *Gaul* he was sent to command the troops in *Illyricum*, where he gained great advantages over the *Sarmatians*, and the forces in *Germany*, where he was attended with equal success against the *Germans*. Upon his return from *Germany*, he was made governor of *Rome*, in which place he acquitted himself with such prudence, integrity, and discretion, that he was both esteemed and beloved by persons of every rank and condition. He appeared always grave and serious, and shewed no great complaisance to any one; but was just, merciful, and never guilty of the least action that favoured of inhumanity, but, on the contrary, always ready to forgive. He addicted himself to no party, was steady and inflexible in his resolutions, and, without trusting to others, examined every thing himself with great care and attention. In short, the senate entertained such an high opinion of his extraordinary merit and virtues, that, in declaring him emperor, they solemnly protested, that, in the whole empire, they knew no person better qualified than he for sustaining the name and dignity of a prince <sup>9</sup> (D).

<sup>9</sup> Max. & Balb. vit. p. 166, 167.

sent into *Africa*, in quality of lieutenant to his father, who took him for his partner in the empire, and, upon his death put an end to his own life in the manner we have related above.

(D) He is commonly called *Pupienus* by the *Latin* historians, and by the *Greek* writers *Maxi-*

*mus*; which has strangely perplexed *Capitolinus*, who, after a long descant, concludes, that they were two names of one and the same person: this trouble he might have saved himself, by only looking upon one of that prince's coins.

BALBI-

BALBINUS was descended of an illustrious family, and pre-<sup>The ex-</sup>tended to derive his pedigree from *Cornelius Balbus Theo-*<sup>traction</sup>  
*phanes*, a celebrated historian, and a man of the first rank in <sup>and em-</sup>  
<sup>the island of Lesbos, who was made free of Rome by Pompey ployments</sup>  
<sup>the Great.</sup> The present emperor had been twice consul, and of Balbi-  
had governed without blame several provinces; to wit, *Asia*,  
*Africa*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Gaul*. He  
had likewise commanded armies; but, being somewhat timor-  
ous, he was thought better qualified for civil than military  
affairs. He possessed immense wealth, lived with great splen-  
dor, was addicted to pleasures, but at the same time univer-  
sally beloved on account of his integrity (for he injured no  
man but himself), his humanity, sweet temper, and obliging  
behaviour. He was an excellent orator, no mean poet, and  
had an uncommon talent in making extemporary verses <sup>r</sup>.

MAXIMUS and *Balbinus*, being, with the unanimous con-  
sent of the senate, raised to the sovereignty, and vested with  
the tribunitial and proconsular power, went, at the breaking  
up of the assembly, to the capitol. But, while they were <sup>The people</sup>  
offering there the usual sacrifices, the populace rose, and, <sup>mutiny.</sup>  
armed with stones and clubs, declared that they would not  
obey the new emperors; and demanded, with great clamour,  
a prince of the *Gordian* family. *Maximus* and *Balbinus*,  
backed by some young knights, attempted to open themselves  
a way through the croud, sword in hand; but were in the  
end, in spite of all their efforts, obliged to send for young  
*Gordian*, then only twelve years old, who was received by  
the populace with loud shouts of joy, and carried to the ca-  
pitol; where the senate, to appease the multitude, declared <sup>Young</sup>  
him *Cæsar*, arrayed him with the habit peculiar to that dig- <sup>Gordian</sup>  
nity, and in that attire shewed him to the people, who there- <sup>declared</sup>  
upon dispersed, and, retiring quietly to their houses, suffered <sup>Cæsar.</sup>  
the new emperors to take possession of the palace <sup>a</sup>, where  
they began to discharge the functions of the sovereignty with  
deifying the two *Gordians*. When that ceremony was over,  
they appointed *Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, and *Pinarius Va-*  
*lens*, uncle by the father to *Maximus*, commander of the  
prætorian guards; and then, without loss of time, began to  
levy what forces they could, and make the necessary prepa-  
rations for taking the field against *Maximinus*, who, upon  
the news of their election, quickened his march, breathing  
nothing but ruin and destruction.

As most of the provinces had espoused the party of the  
senate, troops were sent from all parts to reinforce the army

<sup>r</sup> Max. & Balb. vit. p. 168, & seq. HEROD. 1. vii. p. 604.

<sup>a</sup> Max. & Balb. vit. p. 145.

Maximus  
marches  
against  
Maximi-  
nus.

Dreadful  
disturb-  
ances in  
Rome.

A battle  
between  
the præ-  
torian  
guards,  
and the  
people.

of *Maximus*, who, being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, set out from *Rome* soon after his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new-raised forces, to defend the city, and awe the populace. After his departure, the senate dispatched the most considerable men of their body into the different parts of *Italy*, with orders to fortify all the cities, and supply the inhabitants with arms; to remove all manner of provisions into the fortified towns, and either to reap or destroy the corn in the fields; to mow the grass, and lay waste the whole country, through which *Maximinus* was to march with his numerous army. At the same time, they sent circular letters into all the provinces, declaring such as should lend him the least assistance, traitors, rebels, and public enemies. *Maximus* had scarce left the city, when dreadful disturbances arose there, occasioned by the temerity of two senators, *Gallicanus* and *Mæcenas*, who, seeing two soldiers of the prætorian guards enter the hall, where the senate was assembled, quitting their places, rushed upon them unexpectedly, and dispatched them with their daggers; for, in those distracted times, most senators wore daggers under their robes. Hereupon the other soldiers of that corps, who were waiting at the door mixed with the populace, betook themselves to flight; but were pursued by *Gallicanus*, who encouraged the mob to fall upon them as spies and partisans of the tyrant *Maximinus*. Some of them were wounded, but the rest shut themselves up in their camp, where they were attacked the same day by *Gallicanus* at the head of the multitude (whom he had supplied with arms), and of all the gladiators he could draw together. The guards sustained the attack with their usual resolution, repulsed the assailants, and, falling upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces. This slaughter served only to inspire the multitude with new rage; and the senate, espousing their quarrel, ordered the new-levied forces, which *Maximus* had left to maintain peace and tranquillity in the city, to march against the prætorian guards; which they did accordingly, and attacked the camp with great fury; but were, after repeated assaults, in which great numbers of them perished, obliged to give over the attempt, and retire. The incensed multitude, finding all their efforts thus baffled, betought themselves at last of cutting the conduits that conveyed water into the camp; which reduced the soldiery to such despair, that, throwing the gates of the camp open, they rushed unexpectedly upon the multitude, sword in hand, and drove them, after a long dispute, in which much blood was shed on both sides, into the city, where the combat began anew, the people discharging from the tops of their houses

showers

showers of stones and tiles upon the soldiery, who, in revenge, set fire to their shops and storehouses; which consumed the greatest part of the city, an incredible quantity of valuable effects, and many persons of all ranks<sup>c</sup> (E).

THE next year, when *Annius Pius*, or, as others call him, *Ulpus*, and *Pontianus*, were consuls, *Maximinus* early in the spring pursued his march towards *Italy*, having with him, we may say, all the forces of the empire. Being arrived at the foot of the *Alps*, that part *Italy* from *Illyricum*, he found the city of *Hemona* or *Æmona* abandoned by its inhabitants; which inspired him with hopes of certain victory; for he thence concluded, that no place of city would dare to withstand him (F). *Maximinus*, leaving *Æmona*, passed the mountains without meeting with the least opposition; which heightened his joy and confidence. But his men, who expected to be refreshed, after passing the mountains, with plenty of all manner of provisions in *Italy*, finding the country laid waste far and wide, and themselves destitute even of necessaries, began to mutiny. *Maximinus* punished the ringleaders of the tumult with great severity, which only served to exasperate the rest. However, he pursued his march; and, being informed that the city of *Aquileia* had shut its gates against a party, which he had sent to take possession of the place, he marched thither in person with all his forces, not doubting but the inhabitants would submit upon the approach of so formidable an army. But *Crispinus* and *Menophilus*, two consulars of great

*His soldiers begin to mutiny.*

*Maximinus summons the city of Aquileia to surrender.*

<sup>c</sup> HEROD. l. vii. p. 607, 608.

(E) *Herodian* does not inform us how the tumult ended; but *Capitolinus* writes, that the temples were profaned, the private houses pillaged, the streets covered with dead bodies, &c. that the emperor *Balbinus*, attempting to appease the tumult, and part the combatants, was dangerously wounded on the head; but at length, having sent for young *Gordian*, and shewed him to the people in his purple robes, the fury of both parties asswaged at once, hostilities ceased, the people retired to their houses, and the soldiers to the camp. So great

was the esteem, respect, and veneration, both of the people and soldiery, for one sprung from the *Gordians*, who had lost their lives in the defence of the people of *Rome* (1).

(F) *Herodian* calls *Æmona* the first city of *Italy*; but he ought rather to have styled it the last of *Pannonia*; for in that province it is placed by all the ancient and modern geographers. *Sanfon* supposes it to have stood where the present city of *Laubach* stands, the capital of *Carniola*; others place it in the neighbourhood of *Jgg*, in the same country.

(1) *Vit. Max. & Balb.* p. 168, 169.

resolution and intrepidity, to whom the senate had committed the defence of the city, answered the tribune sent by *Maximinus* to summon them to surrender, that they were determined to hold out to the last, and rather forfeit their lives, than betray their trust, or yield to such a cruel, bloody, and faithless tyrant. At the same time, to animate the inhabitants, who began to waver, they gave out, that *Apollo*, the tutelar god of the place, had assured them of victory; which dispelled all fear, so that every one began to prepare for a vigorous defence.

The inhabitants sustain a siege with great resolution.

In the mean while, *Maximinus*, having spent some time in passing the river *Sontius*, now *Isarzo*, about sixteen miles from *Aquileia*, approached the city; and, having caused all the vines, and neighbouring groves, which were a great ornament to the place, to be cut down, he began to batter the walls with an incredible number of warlike engines, and to harass the besieged with repeated assaults; which they sustained with such resolution and intrepidity, as can hardly be expressed. Even the women and children appeared on the ramparts, and bore their share in the common danger; the women especially signalized their zeal, by yielding their hair to be employed in making strings for the bows, and other warlike machines. The senate, out of gratitude, after the death of *Maximinus*, caused a magnificent temple to be erected, which they consecrated to *Venus calva*, or *Venus the bald*: on a medal of *Quintia Crispilla*, wife to the emperor *Maximus*, is to be seen a temple with that legend, and the figure of a bald woman<sup>u</sup>. The soldiers of *Maximinus*, in the beginning of the siege, shewed great ardour; which, however, began to abate, when they found the inhabitants firmly determined to undergo all labours and hardships, rather than submit. *Maximinus*, highly provoked at their backwardness, and, besides, enraged at the bitter reproaches uttered by the inhabitants against him and his son, as often as they approached the walls, caused several of his officers to be publicly executed, ascribing the coolness of the soldiers to want of courage in them. This exasperated the soldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of provisions, of which, and even of water, there was great scarcity in the camp. Besides, a report was spread, that the whole empire was arming against *Maximinus*, and ready to fall upon those who supported him in his tyranny. Hereupon the *Albanians*, that is, the soldiers belonging to the camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, took a sudden resolution to dispatch the author of so many calamities; and, without farther

The soldiers of Maximinus muti-

<sup>u</sup> Vide DE MENESTRIER medailles des emper. & imperator. p. 145. à Dijon, 1642.

deliberation, went strait at noon-day to the tent of *Maximiny, and*  
*mus*, dispatched both him and his son with many wounds, cut *murder*  
off their heads, and sent them to *Rome*, and threw their *him and*  
bodies into the river. With them were killed *Anolinus*, their *his son*.  
captain of the guards, and all their chief ministers and friends \*. Year of  
Such was the end of the reign, or rather of the tyranny, of the flood  
the two *Maximins*, after it had lasted three years, and a few 2586.  
days, the father being then in the fifty-fifth year of his age, Of Christ  
and the son in the twenty-first. The *Pannonians, Thracians,* 238.  
and some other troops, heard the news of their death with Of Rome  
regret; but did not attempt to revenge it. Thus the whole 986.  
army presented themselves unarmed before the gates of *Aqui-*  
*leia*, acquainted the besieged with the death of *Maximinus*,  
and desired to be admitted into the city. It was not thought  
adviseable to open the gates to them; but, after they had  
adored the images of *Maximus, Balbinus*, and *Gordian*, placed  
for that purpose on the ramparts, a great quantity of provi-  
sions was sent to their camp; for they were almost famished:  
and the next day they all took the usual oaths to *Maximus*  
and *Balbinus*.

An express was immediately dispatched to *Rome* with these *His death*  
joyful tidings, who, passing through *Ravenna*, found the *occasions*  
emperor *Maximus* there busy in assembling his forces, in *great joy*  
order to march against the tyrant. But, when he understood, *at Rome.*  
that both the *Maximins* were killed, that their army had  
submitted, and sworn fidelity to him and his colleague, trans-  
ported with joy, and laying aside all military preparations,  
he repaired to the temples to return thanks to the gods for  
such signal and unexpected success. In the mean time the  
express pursuing his journey, and often changing horses, reach-  
ed *Rome* the fourth day, distant from *Aquileia* about two hun-  
dred and eighty miles; which no one, says our historian, had  
ever done before. Upon his arrival, he found *Balbinus* and  
*Gordian* assisting with the people at the public sports in the  
theatre, where he delivered his letters to the two princes;  
which he had no sooner done, than the whole multitude cried  
out with one voice, *Maximinus is killed*; and, rising up, left  
the theatre, and crowded to the temples, whither *Balbinus*  
and *Gordian* followed. The senate immediately assembled;  
and, after decreeing several honours to the three princes, ap-  
pointed sacrifices to be offered in all the temples, and a day  
of public and solemn thanksgiving for their happy delivery.  
*Balbinus*, who used to tremble at the very name of *Maximi-*  
*mus*, offered an hecatomb; which was never done, but upon

\* HEROD. l. viii. p. 614.  
Max. vit. p. 146.

\* HEROD. l. viii. p. 626, 627.



some very extraordinary occasion ; and caused the same sacrifice to be offered in all the cities of the empire <sup>1</sup>. Those who brought the heads of the two *Maximins*, arrived at *Rome* soon after the courier ; for they made what haste they could. They were met every-where by crouds of the people, and received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. They entered *Rome* with the heads stuck upon two lances, that every one might see them ; and no sight was ever more pleasing. They repaired again to the temples, offered new sacrifices, and seemed no less transported with joy, than if they had been delivered from imminent death or captivity <sup>2</sup>. The two heads were abandoned to the rage of the populace, and, after many insults, burnt in the field of, *Mars*. The names of the *Maximins* were, by a decree of the senate, erased out of all inscriptions, their statues overturned, and their bodies ordered to be left unburied. The emperor *Maximus* hastened from *Ravenna* to *Aquileia*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and acknowledged emperor by the army of *Maximinus* ; among whom he distributed large sums, and then sent them back to their respective quarters, retaining with him only the prætorian guards, and a small body of *Germans*, in whom he chiefly confided. During his stay at *Aquileia*, the senate, to do him honour, sent a deputation to him, consisting of twenty of their body, who had been all consuls, prætors, or quæstors.

**Maximus** WITH them he set out from *Aquileia* ; and, arriving at *Rome* with a numerous and splendid retinue, was there received at the gates by *Balbinus*, *Gordian*, the senate in a body, and all the people, and conducted in triumph to the

*The wise  
admini-  
stration of  
the two  
emperors.*

palace <sup>3</sup>. The two emperors governed with great prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, maintained the military discipline with due rigour, paid great respect and deference to the senate, and conducted themselves in all things with such wisdom, equity, and moderation, that they were in a manner adored both by the senate and people <sup>4</sup>. But the happiness and tranquillity, which they enjoyed under these excellent princes, were short-lived. The *Carpi*, a people beyond the

*The Car-  
pi, Goths,  
and Per-  
sians,  
threaten  
the Ro-  
mans  
with war.*

*Danube*, passing that river, ravaged the province of *Mæsia* ; the *Goths*, provoked perhaps by the death of *Maximinus*, invaded the *Roman* territories on the side of *Scythia* ; and the *Persians*, who had continued quiet since the year 233. When *Alexander* made war upon them, threatened the *Roman* pro-

<sup>1</sup> Max. vit. p. 169, &c.      <sup>2</sup> Idem ibid. HEROD. p. 617.  
<sup>3</sup> HEROD. l. viii. p. 620. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170.      <sup>4</sup> Max.  
& Balb. vit. p. 167. 171.

vinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that *Maximus* should march against the *Persians*, *Balbinus* against the *Goths* and the *Carpi*, and *Gordian* remain in the mean time at *Rome*.

BUT, while great preparations were making for the intended expeditions, the prætorian guards, dissatisfied to see the princes, who had been created by the senate, so much applauded, and provoked at the bitter invectives which were daily uttered against *Maximinus*, and reflected no small dishonour upon them, who had raised him to the empire, began to mutiny, and complain with one another, that the right of naming the emperors, which had hitherto proved so advantageous to them, was snatched out of their hands, and transferred to the senate. Besides, they grew jealous of the *Germans*, whom *Maximus* had brought to *Rome* with him, with a design, as they imagined, to discharge the prætorian guards, as *Septimius Severus* had formerly done, and to take the *Germans* in their room. Being thus prejudiced against the two emperors, they resolved to dispatch them, and resume their pretended authority, by setting up another in their room. Having taken this resolution, they only waited for an opportunity of putting it in execution, which soon offered; for, the *Capitoline* games being celebrated a few days after, and most of the emperor's guards and domestics resorting thither, the discontented and mutinous soldiery marched straight to the palace, where the two princes were left almost alone. *Maximus*, informed of their arrival before they had entered the palace, was for calling the *Germans* to his assistance; but was therein opposed by *Balbinus*.

FOR these two princes were not, for all their great qualities, free from private jealousies. *Balbinus* was piqued at the extraordinary honours which the senate had heaped upon his colleague, as if the death of *Maximinus*, and blessings thence accruing, had been chiefly owing to him; and, besides, looked upon him as one greatly inferior to himself in birth and nobility. On the other hand, *Maximus*, knowing himself to be by far the better soldier, and abler commander, tacitly claimed on that score the chief authority. These mutual jealousies, tho' prudently concealed, and rather guessed at by others, than seen, bred some misunderstanding between them, and occasioned in the end the ruin of both. For *Balbinus*, not giving credit to what he was told of the designs of the prætorian guards, but rather suspecting, that his colleague intended to employ the *Germans* against him, would not suffer *Maximus*, to whom they were greatly attached, to send for them. This occasioned a warm dispute, and gave time to the prætorian guards to break into the palace, and disperse such of the emperor's friends and domestics as offered to oppose them. When

*They are  
both killed.*

*Gordian  
proclaimed  
emperor.*

they came to the apartment where the two princes were, they rushed upon them with a fury hardly to be expressed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out of the palace, with a design to carry them to their camp, wounded and insulted them in a most outrageous manner. But, while they were hurrying them through the city to the camp, being informed, that the *Germans* had taken arms, and were advancing to rescue the princes out of their hands, they killed them both; and, leaving their bodies in the street, retired to the camp, carrying with them young *Gordian*, whom they proclaimed emperor, giving out, to appease the populace, that they had killed those whom the people had at first rejected, and set up in their room the person whom they had demanded. The *Germans*, informed that the emperors were killed, retired, without committing any hostilities, to their quarters without the city. Thus *Gordian* remained in peaceable possession of the empire<sup>c</sup>. *Maximus* and *Balbinus* had reigned about one year and two months.

*His excellent  
qualifications.*

OF the descent and birth of *Gordian* we have spoken above. He was, according to *Herodian*, the son of *Junius Balbus*, by the sister of *Gordian* the younger, from whom he borrowed the name of *M. Antonius Gordianus*, as he is stiled in all the antient inscriptions<sup>d</sup>. He was about thirteen years old, when he came to the empire; and consequently must have been born in the year 225. the fourth of *Alexander's* reign. He was a youth of a gay temper, comely aspect, and exceeding sweet disposition; which gained him the love of all who approached him. *Capitolinus* tells us, that he was beloved by persons of all ranks more than any prince had ever been before him. The senate used to stile him their son, the soldiers their child, and the people their darling. He was addicted to study and learning, and well instructed in most branches of polite literature. He had all the necessary qualifications for forming an excellent prince; but, as he wanted experience, and such a mother to

*Is deceived  
and im-  
posed upon  
by his mi-  
nisters.*

direct and advise him as *Mamea*, in the beginning of his reign he fell into the hands of one *Maurus*, and some other crafty freedmen and eunuchs, who, playing booty, and abusing the confidence he reposed in them, persuaded him to do many things which he ever after regretted. They soon drove all good men from the court, raised to the first employments persons altogether unworthy of them, plundered the exchequer, and did all the mischief which wicked and avaricious ministers are capable of doing<sup>e</sup>. In the beginning of the year, the

<sup>c</sup> HEROD. p. 621. MAX. BALB. vit. p. 170.  
I. vii. p. 605. OCCO, GOLTZ. ONUPH. &c.  
p. 621. GORD. vit. p. 160—164.

<sup>d</sup> HEROD.  
<sup>e</sup> HEROD. I. viii.

young prince entered upon his first consulship, to which he had been named in the reign of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and took for his colleague *Aviola*. This year he entertained the people with magnificent sports, in order to make them forget their past heats and animosities.

THE following year, when *Sabinus* was consul the second time with *Venustus*, *Sabinianus* revolted in *Africa*, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but the governor of *Mauritania* reduced the rebels to such straits, that they delivered up *Sabinianus* to him, acknowledged their fault, and submitted. All the partisans of *Sabinianus* were pardoned; but, what was his fate, we are no-where told. The next year, the emperor took upon him his second consulship, having *Pompeianus Croica* for his colleague. The young prince married this year *Furia Sabina Tranquillina*, the daughter of *Misitheus*, who was immediately honoured with the title of *Augusta*; but, whether he had any children by her, history does not inform us. The emperor chose *Misitheus* for his father-in-law, purely on account of his great wisdom, integrity, and learning; and appointed him captain of the guards, that he might have a person of his extraordinary talents with whom to advise, not daring to trust to his own judgment. *Misitheus* had no sooner taken possession of that important employment, than he acquainted the emperor with the misdemeanour of *Maurus*, and base practices of the other freedmen and eunuchs, who were thereupon all discharged, and banished the court. From a letter of *Misithus* to the emperor, quoted by *Capitolinus*, it appears, that the young prince had been strangely misled, and grossly imposed upon, by that infamous crew (G); and from the emperor's answer to it, that he was sensible

*Sabinianus*  
revolts; but  
is defeated.

*Misitheus*,  
captain of  
the guards,  
and father  
in law to the  
emperor.

<sup>f</sup> Gord. vit. p. 161. Zos. l i. p 610.

(G) This letter was conceived in the following terms. "It is with the greatest pleasure I congratulate you upon the alteration of times. Every thing was formerly bought and sold by the eunuchs, and such as pretended to be your friends, but were in reality your greatest enemies. I am glad that this blot is removed from your reign; the more, because you are glad of it yourself; which will convince the world, that the disorders hitherto com-

plained of ought not to be imputed to you. All posts in the army have been disposed of to persons no way qualified for them; others have been denied the rewards due to their services; innocent persons have been condemned, and such as were guilty saved; the public revenues misapplied, the exchequer plundered, &c. But these, and many other disorders, will no longer be imputed to you, but to those who entered into cabals to deceive

"you,

sensible of his former misconduct, and desirous to correct his faults, to know the truth, and to employ only such persons as would speak it without flattery or disguise (H). He respected *Mistheus* as his father, gave him that title, ordered him to call him his son, and returned thanks to the senate for distinguishing his father-in-law with the titles of *father of princes*, and *guardian of the republic*; titles which he well deserved, being one of the few ministers who are said to have had nothing in view but the glory of their prince, and the welfare of the state <sup>h</sup>. This year happened a dreadful earthquake, which overturned a great many cities, and destroyed an infinite number of people <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Gord. vit. p. 161.  
p. 162.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, p. 163.

<sup>i</sup> Idem,

" you, to remove from the court  
" all persons of virtue, honour,  
" and integrity, and to intro-  
" duce in their room men as  
" wicked as themselves, that they  
" might make you a property to  
" their evil designs. But now  
" your eyes are opened, you  
" have begun to reform the  
" state, and many disorders have  
" been already redressed. I rec-  
" kon it my greatest happiness  
" to be father-in-law to so good  
" a prince; a prince, who, with-  
" out trusting to others, exa-  
" mines into every thing him-  
" self, and has banished from his  
" court those, who, consulting  
" not his honour, but their own  
" interest, led him astray (2)."

(U) The emperor returned to his father-in-law the following answer: " If the immortal gods  
" had not protected the *Roman*  
" empire, I had been deluded,  
" and, together with the empire,  
" utterly ruined by slaves and  
" eunuchs. I am now fully con-  
" vinced, that *Felix* ought not  
" to have been trusted with the

command of the guards, nor  
*Serapammo* with that of the  
fourth legion. \* But, not to  
mention all my errors, I own,  
that I have done many things  
amiss; and now return thanks  
to the gods for having by your  
means discovered many things  
to me, which have been hi-  
therto maliciously concealed  
from me. *Maurus* entering  
into a confederacy with *Gau-  
dianus*, *Reverendus*, and *Mon-  
tanus*, who confirmed what-  
ever he said, imposed upon me;  
so that, whatever they ap-  
proved or condemned, I ac-  
cepted or rejected, relying in-  
tirely upon their integrity.  
Unhappy therefore is that  
prince, who has not such about  
him, as will tell him the truth  
without disguise. For, as he  
cannot immediately know  
what passes among his people,  
he must understand it by the  
relation of others, and take  
his measures according to their  
information (3)."

(2) Gord. vit. p. 162.

(3) Idem *ibid.*

THE following year, when *C. Vettius Aufidius Atticus* and *Sapor king C. Asinius Prætextatus* were consuls, *Rome* was alarmed with of *Persia* news from the East, where the *Persians*, under the conduct of *Sapor*, son and successor to *Artaxerxes* the restorer of the *Per-* <sup>over-runs</sup> *the Roman* *sian* monarchy, had entered the *Roman* dominions at the head <sup>dominions</sup> *in the East.* of a mighty army; reduced all *Mesopotamia*, with the cities of *Nisibis* and *Carrhæ*; and, entering *Syria*, committed most dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and sword. *Capitolinus* writes, that he had made himself master of *Antioch* itself, and threatened to over-run the other provinces, most of the *Romans*, who defended them, having, through fear, lifted themselves in his army. *Gordian* resolved to march in person against so formidable an enemy; and accordingly, having caused the temple of *Janus* to be opened, according to the antient custom, which had been long omitted, and perhaps was never after practised, he set out from *Rome* this year 242. the fourth of his reign, with a numerous and well-disciplined army; and, taking his route through *Mæsia*, defeated in that province the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, who disputed his passage; and obliged them to abandon their conquests, and return to their respective countries<sup>k</sup>. However, he was overcome in a tumultuary engagement by the *Alani*, in the celebrated plains of *Philippi* in *Macedon*, or, as others will have it, of *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*<sup>l</sup>. But the barbarians neglected, it seems, to improve their victory, and withdrew; for *Gordian* pursued his march unmolested through *Thrace*, and, passing the *Hellepont*, arrived safe in *Asia*. To this passage perhaps alludes the ship which is to be seen on some of his medals bearing no date<sup>m</sup>.

FROM the *Hellepont* he marched through *Asia* into *Syria*, *He is de-* where he gained signal advantages over the enemy, of which *seated by* historians give us but a confused account. However, they all *Gordian,* agree, that he overcame the *Persians* in several battles; that he recovered the cities of *Nisibis* and *Carrhæ*, and obliged the mighty *Sapor*, with his powerful and numerous army, to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire with shame and disgrace into his own country, whither he pursued him as far as *Ctesiphon*<sup>n</sup>. These successes were chiefly owing to the wise counsels and directions of the brave *Misithius*, as the emperor himself, with great modesty, acknowledged in a letter which he wrote to the senate upon his arrival at *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*. In that letter he first acquaints the senate with the advantages he had gained over the barbarians in *Macedon* and *Thrace*; then, coming to his victories over the *Persians*,

<sup>k</sup> Gord. vit. p. 163.  
p. 339.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, p. 165.

<sup>m</sup> BIRAG.

<sup>n</sup> Gord. vit. p. 162. AUR. VICT. EUTROP.

¶ d. 2.

he

*and obliged*  
*to retire.*  
Year of  
the flood  
2590.  
Of Christ  
242.  
Of Rome  
990.

Gordian is  
decreed a  
triumph,  
and Misi-  
theus a  
triumphal  
statue.

Mistheus  
dies.

Julius Phi-  
lippus cap-  
tain of the  
guards in  
his room.

he tells them, that he had delivered the *Antiochians* from the *Persian* yoke, recovered *Carrhae*, and other cities, and was arrived at *Nisibis*, whence he designed to proceed to *Ctesiphon*, provided the gods, adds he, continue their protection to us, and preserve *Mistheus* my father, and captain of the guards, by whose wife conduct we have achieved these, and hope to achieve still greater things. It is incumbent upon you, conscript fathers, to appoint public processions, to recommend us to the gods, and to return thanks to *Mistheus*. Upon the receipt of this letter, the senate decreed a triumph to the emperor, and a triumphal chariot to *Mistheus*, with a pompous inscription, styling him the *father of princes, captain of the guards, and the guardian of the republic*°. This inscription, which was placed on the basis of his triumphal statue, is still to be seen at *Rome* almost intire.

BUT the happiness which the whole empire enjoyed under the government of *Gordian*, and the wise administration of *Mistheus*, was short-lived. The latter died the following year, in the consulship of *Arrianus* and *Papus*, and by his last will left the *Roman* people his heirs. We are told, that, *Mistheus* being ill of a flux, the physicians prescribed him a remedy to stop it, which, by the contrivance of *Julius Philippus* (of whom hereafter), was exchanged, and another administered in its room, which, as it had a quite contrary effect, put an end to his life. Upon his death, *Philip* was appointed captain of the guards, and commander in chief, under the emperor, of all the forces in the East; for of him *Gordian* did not entertain the least suspicion. The following year, when *Peregrinus* and *Æmilianus* were consuls, the emperor entered the *Persian* dominions, in order to pursue the war, which he had so successfully begun. *Plotinus*, the celebrated philosopher, lifted himself in his army, hoping by that means to have an opportunity of conferring with the *Persian* and *Indian* philosophers. The philosopher was then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, which, according to the chronology of *Porphyrus*, the author of his life, answers the present year, the 243<sup>d</sup> of the Christian æra, and sixth of *Gordian's* reign.

PHILIP no sooner saw himself raised to the important post of captain of the guards, than he began to aspire to the sovereignty itself. As the soldiers were greatly attached to the young prince, in order to lessen their affection to him, he sometimes led them into places where no provision could be found; at other times sent in his name the vessels, which attended the army, loaded with corn, another way; hoping

° Gord. vit. p. 160.

† Idem, p. 162. Zos. l. i. p. 641.

‡ PORPHYR. vit. Plot. p. 2.

that the troops, distressed for want of necessaries, would, notwithstanding their attachment to *Gordian*, begin to mutiny; which they did accordingly, the most turbulent among them, whom *Philip* had gained, whispering about in the mean time, that *Gordian*, a youth only nineteen years old, was not fit to command such powerful forces; that they wanted such a general as *Philip*, whom long experience had taught how to govern an empire, how to command an army<sup>r</sup>. *Gordian*, however, advanced against *Sapor*, and, meeting him in *Mesopotamia*, gave him a total overthrow on the banks of the *Aboras*, or *Aburas*, and obliged him to take shelter in the heart of his own dominions<sup>s</sup>.

BUT, while the young conqueror was pursuing the advantages of his victory; *Philip*, who had already gained the chief officers of the army, led the troops through barren and desert countries, where, through failure of provisions, which they ascribed to want of experience in *Gordian*, they openly mutinied, and demanded, that *Philip* might reign in conjunction with *Gordian*, as his guardian and governor. The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to shed *Roman* blood, granted them their request, and took *Philip* for his partner in the empire, who, seeing himself upon the level with his sovereign, soon began to usurp an authority over him, and to dispose of all employments, as if he had been sole emperor. This *Gordian* could not bear, and therefore attempted to depose him; but, *Gordian Philip's* party prevailing, he was himself deposed, and in the end murdered by the usurper (H). His death happened, according to the most probable opinion, founded on the authority of the code<sup>t</sup>, about the beginning of *March*, after he had lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. He was killed on the farthest borders of *Persia*, in the place

*He induces  
the soldiers  
to mutiny.*

*deposed,  
and slain.*  
Year of  
the flood  
2592.  
Of Christ  
244.

<sup>r</sup> Gord. vit. p. 163. Zos. l. i. p. 641.  
l. xxiii.

<sup>s</sup> AMMIAN. Cod. Just. l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 7. p. 813, &c.

Of Rome  
992.

(H) *Capitolinus* writes, that *Gordian*, finding himself reduced to a private life, offered to serve under *Philip* as captain of the guards, and even condescended to beg his life; at which demand, *Philip* began to relent; but afterwards, considering how dear the young prince was to the senate and people of *Rome*, and not doubting but they would

use their utmost efforts to reinstate him in the sovereignty, he commanded him to be slain (4). Other writers take no notice of these particulars, which, if true, betray great meanness, and want of courage, in *Gordian*; but only tell us, that *Philip* caused him to be murdered, and reigned in his room.

(4) Gord. vit. p. 163—165.



His tomb  
and epitaph.

where his tomb was still to be seen in the year 363. beyond the *Euphrates* and the *Aboras*, between the cities of *Cercusa*, which stood near the conflux of those two rivers, and that of *Dura*, which stands very near the latter, and is about twenty miles distance from the former river. The place was called *Zantha* or *Zaithe*<sup>a</sup>. There the soldiers erected to the memory of the deceased emperor a stately tomb, with the following epitaph in the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Persian*, *Hebrew*, and *Egyptian* tongues, that it might be read by all nations; *To the deified Gordian, who conquered the Persians, Goths, and Sarmatians, suppressed the civil discords, subdued the Germans, but could not overcome the Philips*. The last words allude, according to *Capitolinus*, to his having been overcome by the *Alani* in the plains of *Philippi*, and his being killed by *Philip*<sup>w</sup>. But we can hardly persuade ourselves, that this epitaph was put up during the life and reign of the emperor *Philip* (I). All those, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of this excellent prince, perished soon after<sup>x</sup>. *Capitolinus* writes, that they dispatched themselves with the same swords which they had employed against him<sup>y</sup> (K).

#### PHILIP

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 244—246. Zos. l. iii. p. 716. NORIS, epist. p. 287. <sup>w</sup> Gord. vit. p. 165. <sup>x</sup> AMMIAN. ibid. p. 246. <sup>y</sup> Gord. vit. p. 165.

(I) The same writer adds, that *Licinius*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Philip*, caused this epitaph to be taken down. *Vistor* the younger writes, that the body of *Gordian* was interred in that tomb; but *Eutropius* and *Festus* assure us, that it was conveyed to *Rome*, where the deceased prince was with the usual ceremonies ranked among the gods. The senate granted this extraordinary privilege to the *Gordian* family, that they might for ever be exempted from taking upon them, unless it were by their own choice, guardianships, embassies, or any other public duty whatever (5).

(K) The writers who flourished under *Gordian* were, *Cen-*

*forinus*, who wrote, or rather finished, his famous book, intitled *de die natali*, in the first year of that prince's reign, the second of the 254th *Olympiad*, the 991st of *Rome*, when the *Capitoline* games were celebrated the thirty-ninth time (6). All these particulars give great light to chronology. He wrote the above-mentioned book, designing it as a present to one of his friends, by name *Q. Cerellius*, against his birth-day. Thence he takes occasion to treat of the birth of man, and to make many learned observations on days, months, and years. This work was known to, and greatly esteemed by, *Apollinaris Sidonius*,

(5) Gord. vit. p. 164. c. 21. p. 155, 156.

(6) *Censor. de die natal. c. 8. p. 131, 132. &*

PHILIP was by birth an *Arabian*, being born in *Besra*, a *Birth and city of Arabia Petraea*. He was of a very mean descent; for *extraction* his of Philip.

and *Cassiodorus*, of whom the latter quotes a book, written by *Censorinus*, on accents; but of that work only some fragments have reached our times, quoted by *Priscian*, who styles *Censorinus* a very learned grammarian (7). He is, by the best critics, looked upon as the most exact writer of his time (8). *Censorinus* himself quotes, as a work of his own, a book intituled *indigitamentorum*, in which he took particular notice of all the gods, who, in the opinion of the pagans, contributed to the life of man (9). *Herodian* wrote, in eight books, the history of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to that of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. He assures us, that he wrote nothing but what he himself had seen; so that he must have died very old; for his work comprehends the space of sixty-eight or seventy years (1). All we know of his life is, that he was at *Rome* in the latter end of the reign of *Commodus* (2), and had several employments under the succeeding emperors (3). As for his history, *Photius* commends his style as noble and sublime, and at the same time clear, and free from all affectation (4). *Capitolinus*, who in many places only translates and copies him, bestows great encomiums upon his writings; but at the same time

condemns him, and with a great deal of reason, as too favourable to *Maximinus*, and highly prejudiced against *Alexander* (5). *Vossius*, and others, approve of this censure (6); whence, in our history of the reigns of these two princes, we have preferred the authority of *Capitolinus* to his. He omits the dates, and many other things, which would have cleared up great difficulties in history and chronology; and seems to have been quite unacquainted with geography, as appears from the account he gives us of the route which he supposes the emperor *Alexander's* forces to have taken, when that prince marched against the *Perians*. Under *Gordian* likewise flourished *Arrian*, a Greek historian, quoted by *Capitolinus* in his history of the reigns of *Maximinus* and *Gordian* (7), and *Ælius Julius Cordus*, often quoted by the *Augustine* historians (8). He wrote the lives of the emperors, from *Trajan* to the two *Gordians*; but filled his history, according to *Capitolinus*, with many impertinent and trifling accounts, telling his readers how many suits of cloaths each emperor had, what number of courtiers and domestics, &c (9). *Vossius* places him among the *Latin* historians, with *Ælius Sabinus*, who wrote the life of *Maxi-*

(7) *Voss. bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3.* (8) *Append. ad Cyprian. dissert. c. 9.*  
 (9) *Censor. c. 3. p. 17.* (1) *Herod. l. i. p. 465. & l. ii. p. 514.* (2) *Idem, l. i. p. 484.* (3) *Idem ibid. p. 465.* (4) *Phot. c. 99. p. 276.*  
 (5) *Maximin. vit. p. 143.* *Alex. vit. p. 134.* (6) *Voss. bist. Græc. l. ii. p. 276.* (7) *Voss. ibid. l. iv. p. 17.* *Maximin. vit. p. 150.*  
 (8) *Voss. bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. p. 179.* *Macrin. vit. p. 93.* (9) *Gord. vit. p. 152. 160.*

his father is said to have been a famous captain of robbers in that country<sup>2</sup>. In the antient inscriptions he is stiled *M. Julius Philippus*, and his wife *Marcia Otacilla Severa*. He had a son, named likewise *Philip*, born in the year 237. and consequently seven years old when his father came to the empire. The emperor himself was at that time, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*<sup>3</sup>, about forty; but *Aurelius Victor* supposes him to have been much older (L). He no sooner saw himself

<sup>2</sup> Gord. vit. p. 163. ZONAR. p. 229. VICT. epit. Alexand. p. 630.

<sup>3</sup> Chron.

*minus*, *Vulcanius Terentianus*, author of the lives of the three Gordians, in whose times they lived, and *Curius Fortunatianus*, who wrote the history of the reign of the two *Maximins* (1). Some pretend, that the history of *Fortunatianus* is still extant, and lodged in the emperor's library; nay, that it was formerly printed in Italy. To this *Fortunatianus*, *Vossius* ascribes the three books on rhetoric, which have reached our times, under the name of *Curius Fortunatianus Consultus*, and are deservedly esteemed by the learned (2). In the reign of the emperor *Constantine* were still extant some books of epigrams by *Fabius* a Greek grammarian, and one of the preceptors of *Maximinus* the younger, and various poems written by *Toxotius*, a senator of the family of *Antoninus Pius*. He married *Junia Fadilla*, formerly betrothed to young *Maximinus*, and died soon after he had discharged the office of prator (3).

(L) Whether or no *Philip* was the first Christian emperor, has been the subject of great disputes among the learned. The affirmative seems to us by far the

most probable, being maintained by the following writers; to wit, *Jerom*, *Chrysostom*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Cedrenus*, *Rufinus*, the chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Syncellus*, *Orosius*, *Jornandes*, the anonymous writer published by *Valesius*, with *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the learned cardinal *Pona*, *Abulfaragius*, *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and *Iluctius*. The arguments which some modern critics have alleged in favour of the opposite opinion, are not of weight enough with us to bear down the authority of so many eminent writers; nay, most of them have but little or no force in themselves; and only prove, that *Philip* was guilty of several actions highly discountenanced by the Christian religion; such as his murdering his sovereign; his slaying him a god; his assisting at the public shews, which were always attended with idolatrous ceremonies, and his being deified after his death. But in all times there have been Christians whose lives were a disgrace to their profession; and in that number some rank the present emperor, though there are not wanting writers of

(1) *Voss. bibl. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. Max. vit. p. 150. Gord. vit. p. 160.* (2) *Voss. ibid.* (3) *Maximin. vit. p. 148.*

himself vested with the sovereign power, than he declared his son *Cæsar*, and took him, though but seven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the death of *Gordian*, which he falsely ascribed to a natural distemper, and with his own election <sup>He takes his son for his partner in the empire.</sup>

(M). *Philip*, desirous to return to *Rome*, immediately concluded a peace with the *Persians*, and led back his army into *Syria* (N). He arrived at *Antioch* before *Easter*, which, according to *Eusebius*<sup>c</sup>, was celebrated this year on the fourteenth of *April*; and from thence set out for *Rome*, where he was received with the usual demonstrations of joy by the senate and people; whose affections, though they at first seemed averse to him, he soon gained by his mild administration, and obliging behaviour<sup>d</sup>. He appointed his brother *Priscus* commander in chief of the troops in *Syria*, and *Seve-* <sup>He concludes a peace with the Persians.</sup>

<sup>He gains the affections of the people at Rome.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Gord. vit. p. 164.  
*Zos.* l. i. p. 646.

<sup>c</sup> EUSEB. l. vi. c. 34.

<sup>d</sup> AUR. VICT.

no small account, who, 'bating the murder of *Gordian*, for which, they say, he atoned by submitting to a public penance, think he did nothing inconsistent with the principles of the religion which he professed: and truly we are no-where told, that he demanded of the senate the apotheosis of *Gordian*. He used indeed, as we read in *Capitolinus*, to honour that prince, when he mentioned his name, with the title of *divus*, the deified *Gordian*; but that title was given even by *Constantine* after his conversion, and by other Christian emperors, to the princes who had reigned before them, as appears from their rescripts. *Philip* is said by *Victor* the younger to have been present at the public shews that were exhibited on occasion of the thousandth year of *Rome*; but, that he assisted at the religious, or rather idolatrous, ceremonies which usually preceded the sports, we find no-where recorded. His

being deified after his death was no crime in him, but a kind of compliment paid by the senate to most emperors: the same honour was conferred upon *Mamea* the mother of *Alexander*; and yet no one pretends to infer from thence, that she was not a Christian.

(M) Some authors write, that the senate, believing, or pretending to believe him, confirmed without hesitation the choice of the soldiery; while others affirm, that the senate did not acknowledge *Philip*, till *M. Marcus* and *L. Aurelius Severus Hostilianus*, two senators of great distinction, whom they successively created emperors, were snatched away by sudden deaths (4).

(N) *Zonaras* writes, that he yielded to *Sapor Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*; but soon after broke the treaty, and recovered, to the great satisfaction of the *Romans*, both countries (5).

(4) *Zonar.* p. 229. *Onuph.* p. 260. *Cedren.* p. 257. (5) *Zonar.* l. d.

rianus, his father-in-law, of the forces in *Mæssia* and *Macedon*, persons but ill qualified for those important posts \* (O).

THE following year the emperor entered upon his first consulship, having *Titianus* for his colleague; and soon after, leaving the city, marched against the *Carpi*, who, passing the *Danube*, had invaded *Mæssia*, and laid waste great part of that province. The emperor defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to repass the *Danube*, and sue for peace; which he readily granted, and returned to *Rome*†. The next year, when *Præfens* and *Albinus* were consuls, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in the provinces, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except the burning by accidental fire the theatre of *Pompey*, and another stately building called *Centum Columnæ*, or the *Hundred Pillars*. In the beginning of the following year the emperor entered upon his second consulship, having his son for his colleague, whom he honoured with the title of *Augustus*, and vested with the tribunitial power‡. Both princes retained the fasces all this and the following year, to celebrate with the greater pomp and magnificence the thousandth year of *Rome*, begun on the twenty-first of *April* of the year 247. of the Christian æra, and fifth of *Philip's* reign, according to the computation of *Varro*, which was then followed by most historians and chronologers. Extraordinary rejoicings were made at *Rome*, shews of all kinds exhibited for ten days together, and an incredible number of wild beasts, reserved by *Gordian* for his triumph over the *Persians*, killed, and distributed among the people<sup>h</sup>.

Defeats  
the Carpi.

The thousandth  
year of  
Rome.

Unnatural  
lust sup-  
pressed at  
Rome.

(P). This year the emperor published an edict, forbidding, under the severest penalties, all manner of unnatural lust, and those infamous practices which had long prevailed in *Rome*, being countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good

\* Zos. l. i. p. 642, 643.

† Idem, p. 641.

‡ OUPH.

p. 260. GOLTZ, p. 107.

<sup>h</sup> PAGI, p. 247. SPANH. l. iii. p. 147.

(O) As the works of *Trebellius Pollio*, and others, who wrote the lives of *Philip* and his successors to *Valerian*, have not reached our times, we cannot help borrowing many things of *Zosimus*; but we think it incumbent upon us to acquaint our readers, that he was a professed and implacable enemy to the Christian religion, and therefore omits no

opportunity of blackening the character of *Philip*, and extolling his successor *Decius*, by whom the church was most cruelly persecuted.

(P) *Orosius* writes, that the pious emperor turned this extraordinary solemnity to the honour of Christ and his church. We wish he had informed us in what manner.

princes<sup>1</sup>. The following year, when *M. Æmilianus* was the second time consul with *Julius Aquilinus*, the eastern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, nor bear with the haughty conduct of *Priscus* their governor (we follow *Zosimus*, for want of a better guide), openly revolted, and proclaimed one *Papianus*, or *Jotopianus*, emperor; but he was soon killed, and, with his death, put an end to the disturbances on that side<sup>2</sup>. At the same time the provinces of *Mæsia* and *Pannonia* revolted, continues *Zosimus*, and set up one *P. Carvilius Marinus*, who was but a centurion. Hereupon *Philip*, in great consternation, besought the senate either to enable him to quash the rebellion, or to depose him, if they were dissatisfied with his conduct. This unexpected speech surprised the senate; but *Decius*, while the other senators continued silent, addressing the emperor, told him, that he had no reason to fear *Marinus*, whose presumption, as he was unequal to any great undertaking, would soon prove his ruin.

WHAT *Decius* had foretold, happened a few days after, when *Marinus* was killed by those very persons who had raised him to the empire. Hereupon *Philip*, recalling his father-in-law *Severianus*, obliged *Decius*, much against his will, to accept of the government of *Mæsia* and *Pannonia* in his room. He no sooner appeared there, than the soldiers proclaimed him emperor, and forced him to accept the sovereignty, by threatening to put him to death, if he declined it. Fear therefore getting the better of his fidelity, he suffered himself to be arrayed with the imperial purple, and the soldiers to swear allegiance to him<sup>3</sup>. *Zonaras* tells us, that he immediately wrote to *Philip*, assuring him, that he designed to resign the sovereignty as soon as he reached *Rome*<sup>4</sup>. But *Philip*, without relying upon such promises, marched with all possible expedition against the usurper, hoping to surprise him. His son he left at *Rome*, with a detachment of the prætorian guards, to keep the city in awe. *Decius*, having timely notice of his march and approach, received him with his troops in battle-array. Hereupon an action ensued, in which great numbers of *Philip's* men were cut in pieces, and the rest obliged to retire to *Verona*, where he himself was killed by the army<sup>5</sup>, whether by his own, or by that of *Decius*, we are not told. The news of his death no sooner reached *Rome*, than the prætorian guards dispatched his son, who was then in their camp. Such was the end of the emperor *Philip*, after he had reigned

*Decius declared emperor by the troops in Illyricum.*

*Philip overcome, and killed.*  
Year of the flood  
2597.  
Of Christ

<sup>1</sup> Alex. vit. p. 121. AUR. VICT.

<sup>2</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 642.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid. & p. 643.

<sup>4</sup> ZONAR. p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Zos. Of Rome

l. i. p. 643. AUR. VICT. ZONAR. p. 229.

997.

five years, and some months; for he was proclaimed emperor on the fourteenth of *March* of the year 244. and killed after the seventeenth of *June* of the year 249. as appears from the dates of his laws °. Both he and his son were, according to *Eutropius*, ranked among the gods; which shews, that his administration was not displeasing to the senate, though he had succeeded *Gordian*, a prince so much and so universally beloved (Q). Of the authors who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (R).

UPON

° Cod. Just. l. ix. tit. 32. leg. 6. p. 489. & l. viii. tit. 56. leg. 1. p. 804, &c.

(Q) *Eusebius*, and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who was raised to that see in his reign, tell us, that, under him, the Christian religion was publicly preached; that it flourished and increased more than it had done under any other prince (7): And no wonder, adds the former writer, without explaining himself any farther; but meaning, as to us seems plain from the context, that he professed it himself (8). *Gregory* of *Nyssa* writes, that, in the reign of *Philip*, all the inhabitants of the city and territory of *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus* being converted to Christianity, the idols were every-where overturned, with their altars and temples, and churches erected in their room to the honour of the true God (9). Of *Philip* the son authors observe, that he was of such a grave, or rather melancholy temper, that no one could, by any contrivance, ever make him laugh or smile; and add, that, his father one day breaking out into a loud laughter, he could not help turning away his face, and

expressing his displeasure with a more grave and reserved look than usual (1). Both he and his mother *Marcia Otacilia Severa* professed, according to *St. Jerome* (2), and the chronicle of *Alexandria* (3), the Christian religion; nay, *Petrus de Natalibus* reckons the two *Philips* among the martyrs of the church (4), upon the authority of *Orosius*, who writes, that *Decius* put them to death, either because they were Christians, or that he might, when they were removed, persecute the Christian religion (5). But the authority of *Orosius*, who lived many ages after, is of no great weight with us, unless confirmed by that of more ancient writers. *Eusebius* says, that *Decius* persecuted the church out of hatred to *Philip* (6); but we cannot from thence conclude, that he put *Philip* to death on account of his religion. . .

(R) Under *Philip* flourished *Nicagoras*, a celebrated sophist of *Athens*. He was the son of one *Mneseus* an orator, and wrote the lives of illustrious men (7). *Phi-*

(7) *Euseb.* l. vi. c. 35. p. 232.

*Nyssa* vit. *Greg.* *Thaumaturg.* tom. ii. p. 563.

*Chron.* c. 92. p. 218.

(7) *Suid.* p. 223.

(8) *Idem.* c. 41. p. 238.

(1) *Vit. ejus.*

(4) *Act. de Natal. catol.*

(6) *Euseb.* l. vi. c. 39.

UPON the death of *Philip* and his son, *Decius* was acknowledged emperor, first by the soldiery, and soon after by the senate and people, who wanted both strength and courage to dispute the election of the new prince. He was a native of *The birth Bubalia*, or *Budalia*, a borough in the territory of *Sirmium* in *and descent Lower Pannonia*, and, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* <sup>of Decius</sup>, raised to the empire in the fifty-seventh, but, according to *Victor* the younger, only in the forty-seventh, year of his age. He had by his wife *Herennia Etruscilla* four sons, to wit, *Decius*, *Hoftilianus*, *Etruscus*, and *Trajan*. The

P Chron. Alexand. p. 632.

*Iostratus* reckons him and *Apfinas* among the great men of his time, with whom he was intimately acquainted (8). *Minutianus* the son of *Neagoras* published a book of rhetoric, on which *Porphyrius* wrote comments (9), and a small treatise on syllogisms, which has reached our times (1). *Apfinas* flourished at the same time, and is greatly commended by *Philoftratus*, on account of his exactness in writing, and extraordinary memory (2). He was a native of *Phœnicia*; but spent great part of his life at *Athens*; and is thence by *Suidas* called an *Athenian* (3). *Onasimus*, the *Athenian* sophist, whom we must distinguish from another of the same name and profession, born in *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, was the son of *Apfinas*, and father to another *Apfinas*, who seems to have flourished under *Constantine* (4). *Suidas* mentions a third sophist of this name, who flourished under *Maximian*; but was a native of *Gadara* on the confines of *Palaestina* and *Syria*, and attained to the rank and title of consular (5). *Mojer*, an *Arabian* sophist,

flourished likewise under *Philip*, and wrote the book of rhetoric (6), no more of which has reached us. *Symon* was another *Theopompus* a philosopher, who became very famous at *Thasonea* in *Ætolia* (7); but of him no notice is taken either by *Suidas*, or any other writer. *Apfinas Quadrantus* wrote the *Roman history* in the *Ionic* dialect, from the foundation of the city to the reign of *Alexander*, says *Suidas* (8); but he must have brought it down to the fifth year of *Philip's* reign, which was the thousandth of *Rome*; for his book was intitled *χίλια*, or *the thousand years* (9). This work is quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer, by the *Augustine* writers, by *Zosimus*, and by *Xiphilin*; but has been long since lost. He likewise wrote the history of the *Parthians*, often quoted by the ancients, and that of *Germany*. Of the former, *Stephanus* cites the ninth book; and *Agathias*, speaking of the latter, tells us, that he was a native of *Italy*, and wrote with great exactness (1).

(8) *Philof. fupb.* 59, p. 629.

*vit. c. 6. p. 51. Jof. l. iii. c. 14.*

(4) *Idem ibid.*

*p. 523. l. c. c. 3. p. 464.*

(5) *Idem ibid.*

*bif. Græc. l. ii. c. 16. p. 239.*

(9) *Suid.* p. 573.

(2) *Philof.* p. 623.

(5) *Idem ibid.*

*p. 362.*

(1) *Agath.* l. i. p. 17.

(1) *Porphy.*

(2) *Suid.*

(3) *Suid.*

*Euseb. præp. evang.*

(8) *Suid.* p. 1484.

(9) *Jof.*



His character.

name of *Messius* was common to them all ; whence we may conclude, that it was the name of the family. The emperor is stiled, in the ancient inscriptions, *Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius*. He was, according to *Zosimus* his panegyrist, descended of an illustrious family, and endowed with every good quality <sup>q</sup>. *Victor* the younger stiles him *the best of princes*, and *Vopiscus* equals him to the most renowned commanders of antiquity <sup>r</sup>. He was no sooner vested with the sovereignty, than he declared his eldest son *Cæsar*, and *prince of the youth*. The same title he soon after bestowed upon his three other sons <sup>s</sup>.

His cruel persecution of the church.

In the very beginning of his reign he raised the most dreadful and bloody persecution that had ever oppressed the church, prompted thereunto by his zeal for the declining cause of paganism, which he saw fatally undermined by the wonderful progress of Christianity. Concluding therefore, that the one could not be supported but by the utter ruin of the other, he enacted most cruel edicts against all who professed the Christian religion (S). This persecution, however, did not rage, at least with its first violence, above a year, as appears from the epistles of St. *Cyprian* <sup>t</sup>, the emperor and magistrates being, by the invasion of several barbarous nations, diverted from

<sup>q</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 641. <sup>r</sup> AUR. VICT. p. 223. <sup>s</sup> GOLTZ; p. 109. ONUPH. p. 261. OCCO, p. 454. <sup>t</sup> CYP. epist. 36, &c.

(S) Pursuant to those edicts, the Christians were in all places driven from their habitations, stripped of their estates, dragged to execution like public malefactors, and racked with the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent. The laws of nature and humanity were trodden under-foot ; friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents ; every one thinking it meritorious to discover a Christian, and procure his death. It is easier, says *Nicephorus*, speaking of this persecution, to count the sand on the seashore, than the martyrs who suffered under *Decius*. The tyrant vented his rage chiefly upon the

bishops, of whom many were seized, inhumanly racked and executed ; and, among the rest, *Fabian* bishop of *Rome*, *Babylas* bishop of *Antioch*, and *Alexander* bishop of *Jerusalem*. Great numbers of Christians betook themselves to barren mountains, rocks, and deserts, choosing rather to live amongst wild beasts, than men who had divested themselves of reason and humanity. Among these was the celebrated hermit *Paul*, who, withdrawing into the deserts of *Egypt*, led there a solitary life for the space of ninety years at least, and became the father and founder of the order of anchorites (2).

● (2) Hier. vit. Paul. p. 237. Euseb. l. iii. c. 39. Laët. persec. c. 4. Greg. Nyss. vit. Theod. p. 567. Cyp. disc. xl. c. 53. Optat. l. iii. p. 71. Hierar. in Cons. p. 113. Cyp. epist. 52.

searching after the Christians ; for, about the end of the first year of *Decius's* reign, when he was consul for the second time with *Vicius Gratus*, the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, having passed the *Danube*, under the conduct of their king *Cniva*, invested with seventy thousand men the city of *Eusterium* in *Lower Mæsia* ; but, meeting there with a vigorous opposition from *Gallus*, who was afterwards emperor, they raised the siege of *Eusterium*, and sat down before *Nicopolis*, another city in the same province.

AGAINST them *Decius* dispatched his eldest son, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army ; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut thirty thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire beyond mount *Hæmus*, which parted *Mæsia* from *Thrace*. However, they soon recruited their army, and, entering *Thrace*, laid siege to *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*. Young *Decius* hastened to the relief of the place ; but, while his troops were refreshing themselves, after a long march, in the neighbourhood of *Berœa*, a city of the same province, *Cniva*, coming unawares upon them, cut the whole army in pieces, and obliged the young prince to save himself by flight into *Mæsia*. *Cniva* then returned before *Philippopolis* ; and, having made himself master of the place, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thousand souls, off. says *Ammianus* <sup>u</sup>, without distinction of sex or age, to the sword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waste great part of *Macedon* <sup>w</sup>, where *L. Priscus*, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time ; but he, instead of opposing, joined the enemy, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Hereupon *Decius*, who had staid at *Rome* to consecrate the walls of the city, which he had ordered to be built, or rather repaired, immediately set out for *Pannonia* ; where, in the beginning of the following year, he took upon him his third consulship, and honoured with that dignity his eldest son, stiled, in the inscriptions of this year, *Q. Herennius Decius Cæsar* ; whence it is manifest, that the emperor had not yet conferred upon him the title of *Augustus* <sup>x</sup>. *Decius* overcame the *Goths*, says *Zosimus*, in several engagements, obliged them to quit the booty they had taken, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions <sup>y</sup>. What that author writes is confirmed by several medals, mentioning his conquests in *Dacia*, and victories over the *Carpi*, who had probably joined the *Goths* <sup>z</sup>. *Prisca* was declared by the senate a public enemy, and slain ; but where, or in what manner, history does not inform us.

Young *Decius* gains great advantages over the *Goths* ;

but his army is in the end entirely cut off.

The *Goths* are overcome by the emperor.

<sup>u</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 446.  
<sup>w</sup> ZOS. l. i. p. 644. JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637.  
<sup>y</sup> ZOS. p. 643. <sup>z</sup> OCCO, p. 450.

The office  
of censor  
re esta-  
blished.

Valerian  
chosen cen-  
sor.

Then *Thrace* the emperor wrote to the senate, acquainting them, that he designed to re-establish the office of censor, an ancient magistracy of great authority, and leaving to them the choice of a person fit for the discharge of so great a trust (T). The senate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, assembled in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and there, instead of waiting till their votes were asked, cried out with one voice, as soon as the letter was read, *Let Valerian be censor; let him censure and correct the faults of others, who has no faults of his own.* Of *Valerian*, who was raised to the empire two years after, we shall speak in a more proper place. He was then in *Thrace* with *Decius*; who, upon his receiving the decree of the senate, caused it to be publicly read; exhorted *Valerian* not to decline an office, to which he had been named by the republic with such extraordinary marks of esteem and distinction; and explained to him the nature and importance of his new employment, with the authority and power annexed to it, which, he said, extended over all persons civil and military, of what rank and condition soever, except the governor of *Rome*, the consuls for the time being, the pontiff stiled *rex sacrorum*, and the superior of the *Vestal* virgins, so long as, mindful of her vow, she preserved herself undefiled. *Valerian*, says the author of his life, earnestly besought the emperor not to lay a burden upon him, to which he was in every respect unequal; but does not tell us whether he was in the end prevailed upon to submit to it.

Decius  
gains new  
advan-  
tages over  
the Goths.

Soon after, the emperor marched against the *Goths*, overcame them, and reduced them to such straits, that they offered to set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and relinquish their booty, provided he would suffer them to retire unmolested. But the emperor, bent upon cutting off at once the whole nation, and delivering *Rome* from so troublesome an enemy, without hearkening to their proposals, sent *Trebonianus Gallus*, with a strong detachment, to cut off their retreat, and, pursuing them close with the rest of the army,

\* Valer. vit p 173, 174.

(T) This employment, famous in the times of the republic, had been abolished by the emperors, who discharged the functions annexed to it, without assuming the title, for since *Domitian's* time the title of censor had been quite laid aside, and ne-

glected by most of the princes who reigned before him (3). The last private persons, who discharged that office, were *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, in the tenth year of *Augustus's* reign.

(3) Dio, l. lvi p. 598.

came to with them before they reached the *Danube*, and engaged them a second time. The *Goths*, knowing that all lay at stake, fought like men in despair. Young *Decius* signalized himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner, and is said to have killed many of the enemy with his own hand ; but, being in the end mortally wounded with an arrow, he fell from his horse in the sight of the whole army. The emperor, seeing him fall, cried out to his soldiers, without betraying the least concern, *We have lost but one man ; let not, fellow-soldiers, so small a loss discourage you.* Having uttered these words, he rushed into the midst of the enemy, but, instead of revenging the death of his son, he was himself surrounded on all sides, overpowered, and killed (U). Young Decius is killed,

THE *Goths*, after the death of *Decius*, pursued their victory, and made a dreadful havock of the disheartened army. Such of the *Romans* as escaped the general slaughter, fled to the legions commanded by *Gallus* ; who, by pretending a great concern for the unfortunate end of *Decius*, and the defeat of his army, and feigning to march against the barbarians, gained and likewise the emperor.

(U) Thus *Zosimus* (4) and *Jornandes* (5). But *Aurelius Victor* and *Zonaras* tell us, that *Gallus*, who kept a private correspondence with the *Goths*, advised them to encamp behind a morass, in which the emperor, while he attempted to pass it, pursuant to the treacherous counsel of the same *Gallus*, perished with his son, and the greatest number of the army, partly suffocated in the mud, and partly destroyed by the showers of arrows, which the barbarians discharged upon them, while they could neither advance nor retire (6). The same writers add, that the bodies of the two princes could never be found. *Eusebius* (7), and the chronicle of *Alexandria* (8), only say, that the two *Decii* were killed by the

treachery of one of their own officers. *Lactantius* writes, that *Decius*, having engaged the *Carpis*, was by them surrounded, cut in pieces with great part of his army, and left unburied a prey to the ravens and wild beasts. Thus, concludes that writer, an enemy to God, and a persecutor of his church, deserved to perish (9). *St. Jerom* likewise (1). *St. Cyprian* (2), and *Constantine the Great* (3), ascribe the unhappy end of *Decius* to divine vengeance. With him perished, according to *Eusebius*, three of his sons, to wit, *Decius*, *Etruscus*, and *Trajan* (4). He had reigned two years, and some months (5) ; and was, after his death, ranked among the gods with the usual ceremonies.

(4) *Zos.* l. i. p. 643.

(5) *Jornand. de reb. Goth.* c. 18. p. 637.

(6) *Zonar.* p. 231. *Aur. Vict.* in *Dec.*

(7) *Euseb. chron.* p. 236.

(8) *Chron. Alexand.* p. 251.

(9) *Lactant. persecut.* c. 4. p. 4. 5.

(1) *Hier. in Zach.* xiv. p. 285.

(2) *Cypr. epist. de laps.* p. 238.

(3) *Con-*

*stant. orat. apud eum.* *Euseb. oper.* c. 24. p. 600.

(4) *Euseb. l. vii.*

c. 1. p. 250.

(5) *Gothm.* p. 108.

Gallus the hearts of the soldiery, and was by them, with loud shouts proclaimed of joy, proclaimed emperor. He immediately declared his son *Volusianus Cæsar*; married him to *Herennia Etruscilla*, the daughter of the deceased prince; and, to remove all suspicion of his being any-way accessory to the misfortunes which had befallen him and his army, he adopted *Hosfilianus*, his only surviving son; conferred upon him the title of *Augustus*; vested him with the tribunitial power; and named him consul for the ensuing year <sup>b</sup>. *Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus*, as he is stiled in the antient inscriptions, was, according to *Viñor* the younger, a native of the island of *Meninx* on the coast of *Africa*, called afterwards *Garba*, and at present *Gerbi* and *Zarbi*. Of his family no mention is made by the writers who have reached us; and all we know of his employments is, that he commanded the troops on the frontiers of *Mæsia* in 250. and in the present year 251. He was, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, fifty-seven, but, according to *Viñor* the younger, only forty-five, when raised to the empire. *Hosfilia Severa*, honoured on some medals with the title of *Augusta* <sup>c</sup>, is supposed to have been his wife. His son is stiled in some inscriptions *C. Vibius Volusianus*, and, in others, *Annius Gallus Trebonianus* <sup>d</sup>. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than, instead of revenging the death of *Decius*, and the overthrow of his army, he concluded a dishonourable peace with the *Goths*; suffered them to retire unmolested with all their booty and prisoners, among whom were many *Romans* of great distinction; and even engaged to pay them yearly a considerable sum, provided they continued quiet in their own country <sup>e</sup>. After this ignominious peace, he returned to *Rome*; and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his first consulship, having his son for his colleague. He began his reign with reviving all the edicts which had been published by his predecessor against the Christians, and which he caused to be put in execution with the utmost rigour. At the same time a dreadful plague, breaking out in *Ethiopia* on the confines of *Egypt*, spread in a short time over all the provinces of the empire, and swept away incredible numbers of people, especially at *Rome*, where it raged with great violence (W). The same year was remarkable

He concludes a dishonourable peace with the Goths.

He persecutes the Christians.

<sup>b</sup> Zos. lib. i. p. 644. GOLTZ. p. 111. ZONAR. p. 644.

<sup>c</sup> GOLTZ. p. 119. OCCO, p. 457.

<sup>d</sup> GOLTZ. *ibid*.

SÆON. hist. de Genev. p. 371.

<sup>e</sup> JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 19. p. 638. Zos. p. 644.

(W) Some authors write, that *Hosfilianus* the son of *Decius*, it carried off, among the rest, soon after he had been honoured with

able for a general drought, a great famine, and wars kindled in most parts of the empire. *M. Aufidius Perperna Licinianus*, took upon him the title of *Augustus*; but this revolt was soon quashed<sup>f</sup>; in what manner, we are no-where told. The *Goths*, the *Borani*, the *Carpi*, the *Burgundi*, or *Burgundiones*, a people dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, broke into *Mæsia* and *Pannonia*; the *Scythians* over-ran *Asia*; and the *Persians*, entering *Syria*, laid waste that province, and even made themselves masters of *Antioch* &c. *Æmilianus*, who commanded in *Mæsia*, overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit the *Roman* dominions.

ELATED with this success, and despising *Gallus*, who was *Æmilianus* wallowing in pleasures at *Rome*, while his generals were ex-nus proposing their lives in defence of the empire, he caused himself claimed to be proclaimed emperor, and was saluted by the troops under emperor in his command, whose affections he had gained, with the titles *Mæsia* of *Augustus*, and *Father of his country*. This roused *Gallus* from his lethargy, who immediately ordered *Valerian* to march with the *Gaulish* and *German* legions against this new rival. But *Æmilianus*, without giving him time to assemble his troops, set forward to *Italy*, and, by long marches, arrived in a short time at *Interamna*, now *Terni*, about thirty-two miles from *Rome*. There he was met by *Gallus*, and his son, at the head of a considerable army; but the troops of the latter, despising their leaders, flew them in the sight of *Æmilianus's* army, and proclaimed him emperor. Such was the end of the emperor *Gallus*, after he had reigned a year, and six months<sup>h</sup>. Mention is made on some medals of the apotheosis of *Volusianus*<sup>i</sup>; whence we may conclude, that *Gallus* was likewise deified. No sooner were the news of their death brought to *Rome*, than the senate confirmed the election of the soldiery, and honoured the new prince with the usual titles. *Æmilius Æmilianus*, as *Aurelius Victor* calls him, or *C. Julius Æmilianus*, as he is stiled on the antient coins, was by nation a *Moor*, and of a very mean descent. He had served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and raised himself to the first employments in the state; for he had been

<sup>f</sup> *Vict. epit.* Occo, p. 454.      <sup>g</sup> *Zos.* p. 644. *ZONAR.* p. 232.      <sup>h</sup> *Zos.* p. 645. *ZONAR.* p. 242. *SYNCEL.* p. 376. *BIRAG.* p. 362.      <sup>i</sup> *Idem*, p. 364.

with the title of *Augustus* (6); and then gave out, that he was but *Zosimus* assures us, that *Gallus* dead of the plague (7). caused him to be put to death,

(6) *Vict. epit.*

(7) *Zos.* p. 644.

consul before he came to the empire\*. In the letter which he wrote to the senate after the death of *Gallus*, he promised to drive the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, and the *Persians* out of *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, to comport himself in every thing as the lieutenant of the republic, and to leave the exercise of the sovereign power to the senate<sup>1</sup> (X). The troops, which *Valerian* was leading to the assistance of *Gallus*, hearing in *Rhætia* that he was dead, refused to submit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor; who, thereupon, quickening his march, passed the mountains, and entered *Italy* at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army.

He is killed by his own men, and *Valerian* proclaimed emperor in his room.

Year of the flood  
2601.

Of Christ

253.  
Of Rome  
1001.

*ÆMILIANUS*'s army no sooner understood, that *Valerian*, of whom they entertained a mighty opinion, had been proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, than they fell upon their own leader, and dispatched him, to avoid, says *Zonaras*, a civil war, and the shedding of the blood of their fellow-citizens<sup>m</sup>. *Æmilianus* was killed at *Spoletum*, now *Spoleti*, or at a bridge in that neighbourhood; which *Visior* the younger pretends to have been thence called *The bloody bridge*. He died in the forty-sixth year of his age, after a short reign of three, or, at most, of four months<sup>n</sup> (Y).

ÆMI-

\* BIRAG. p. 364.

<sup>1</sup> ZONAR. p. 233.

Idem ibid.

<sup>m</sup> HIER. chron. EUTROP. AUR. VICT.

(X) *Aurelius Visior* writes, that he governed with great moderation; wherein he disagrees with *Zonaras*, who tells us, that he acted more like a soldier than a prince, and did many things highly unbecoming an emperor (8).

(Y) *Eusebius* does not even rank him among the emperors (9); and is therein followed by the chronicle of *Alexandria*, and that of *Nicephorus*, in which *Valerian* is placed immediately after *Gallus*. *Aurelius Visior* writes, that *Æmilianus* died a natural death (1). In his reign *C. Virius Paulinus* was governor of *Rome*, and comes *domesticorum* (2). This is the first time we find the latter

employment, which, in the fourth century, became very famous, mentioned in history. *Pancirollus* takes the words *domestici* and *protectores* to be synonymous terms. The province of the latter was to guard the prince's person, and, under the Christian emperors, to carry the great standard, with the cross. They were superior in rank to the prætorian guards, and distinguished with particular badges peculiar to them. This corps consisted of three thousand five hundred men before *Justinian's* time, who is said to have increased them to the number of five thousand five hundred. They were divided into several bands of horse and foot, called *scholæ*,

(8) ZONAR. p. 233.  
VICT. in Æmil.

(9) EUSEB. l. vii. c. 10. p. 255.  
(2) OROSY. in fast. p. 262.

(1) AUR.

EMILIANUS being killed, according to the most probable opinion, in the month of *August* of the year 253. the senate, with great joy, confirmed the election of *Valerian*, and conferred upon his son *Gallienus* the title of *Cæsar*. *Valerian* His descent, employments, and character. was descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*, had commanded armies, and discharged, with great reputation, the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military. He was adored by persons of all ranks, on account of his integrity, prudence, modesty, and extraordinary accomplishments; for he was well versed in all the branches of learning, and had ever lived free from the vices, which generally prevailed in those dissolute times; a friend to virtue, an enemy to all wickedness and tyranny, a great admirer of the customs of the primitive *Romans*, and no-way inferior to those among them, who were extolled for their love of virtue, and aversion from vice; insomuch that if every person in the empire had been allowed the liberty of naming to the sovereignty whom he pleased, no one, says the historian, would have thought of choosing any but *Valerian*<sup>o</sup>. Thus he was universally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it; but was afterwards found no-way equal to such a mighty charge; whence most writers ascribe to his want of activity, prudence, and resolution, the many calamities which befel the empire in his and his son's reign<sup>p</sup>. Before his accession to the empire, he was prince of the senate, which gave him a right to vote before all the consuls. Afterwards he commanded the third legion, and was, by degrees, raised to the first posts in the army. He attended *Decius* in his wars with the *Goths*, and was, while he continued with him in *Thrace*, named by the senate to the censorship, in the manner we have related above (Z). He began his reign with great applause, and behaved himself so as to gain the affections both of the senate and people, paying the utmost respect to the former,

<sup>o</sup> Valer. vit. p. 173.  
p. 640.

<sup>p</sup> VICT. epit. EUTROP. Zos. l. i.

and commanded by some person of great distinction, styled *comes domesticorum* (3). From several inscriptions of this time, we learn, that the word *comes* was already a title of dignity; so that the title of *comes*, or *count*, does not, as some imagine, owe

its original intirely to *Constantine*.

(Z) In the antient inscriptions he is styled *P. Licinius Valerianus*; to these names *Victor* the younger adds that of *Colobinus*; and *O-nuphrius* quotes an inscription, in which he is named *P. Aurelius*

(3) *Pancir*, in not. imp. Rom. c. 89.



The empire invaded on all sides by the barbarians.

former, and easing the latter of the heavy taxes, with which they had been loaded by his predecessors. He enacted many excellent laws, and, by that means, suppressed most of the disorders, which, in those unhappy times, prevailed, not only at *Rome*, but all over the empire. Authors observe, that he employed only men of merit; and that most of those whom he preferred to the command of his armies, were afterwards raised to the empire. In the beginning of the following year 254. he entered upon his second consulship, having his son *Gallienus* for his colleague. *Zosimus* writes, that this very year, the first of his reign, he took *Gallienus* for his partner in the empire, being prompted thereunto by the danger to which the empire, invaded on all sides by the barbarians, was then exposed; for the *Germans* and the *Franks* committed great devastations in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*; the *Goths* and the *Carpi* invaded the provinces of *Mæssa*, *Thrace*, and *Macedon*; and the *Persians*, passing the *Euphrates*, over-ran *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*. *Aurelian*, at that time tribune of a legion quartered in *Mentz*, fell upon the *Franks* while they were ravaging the neighbouring country, killed seven hundred of them, took three hundred prisoners, whom he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and retire (A).

THE

<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> Aur. vit. p. 211. TREBEL. POLLIO. hist. trigint. tyrann. c. 9. p. 189. Prob. vit. p. 234. <sup>3</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 646. <sup>4</sup> Vit. Aur. p. 211.

*Licinius Valerius Valerianus* (4). He married two wives, and had by the first, whose name is not mentioned in history, *Gallienus*, who succeeded him in the empire. By his second wife, named by some writers *Mariniana* (5), he had *Valerian*, who was twice consul, to wit, in 258. and 263. and honoured, either by his father, or by his brother *Gallienus*, with the title of *Cæsar* (6). He had other sons; for *Gallienus* is said to have married his brother's sons, and to have stiled himself the brother of many princes (7).

(A) The country of the *Franks*,

now for the first time mentioned in history, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the west by the ocean and the river *Rhens*; and on the south by the *Weser*: according to which description, they possessed the modern countries of *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and some adjacent states (8). They were a motley multitude, consisting of various *German* nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*; who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of *Franks*, the word *frank* signifying in their language, as it still does in ours, free (9). A.

(4) Onuph. in fast. p. 262.

(5) Birag. p. 361.

(6) Val. vit. p. 175.

(7) Idem ibid.

(8) Adrian. Vales. rer. Francicar.

Buch. p. 209.

(9) Buch. ibid.

mong

THE following year, *Valerian* being consul the third time, *The German* and *Gallienus* the second, a great victory was gained in *Germany* by the latter, who thereupon assumed the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, as appears from several medals of this *Gallienus*, year<sup>c</sup>; but what nation he overcame, whether the *Franks*, or the *Alemanni*, who inhabited the countries lying between the *Rhine*, the *Maine*, and the *Danube*, history does not inform us. The next consuls were *Maximus* and *Glabrio*, during whose administration *Gallienus*, with a body only of ten thousand men, defeated, if *Zonaras* is to be credited, three hundred thousand *Alemanni* in the neighbourhood of *Milan*; overcame the *Heruli*, a *Gothic* nation; and with great success made war upon the *Franks*<sup>d</sup>. We wish that writer had given us a more distinct account of these mighty exploits. In *Gaul*, *Posthumius*, a commander of great prowess and experience, gained great advantages over several *German* nations, who had invaded that province<sup>e</sup>. The following year, *Valerian* being *The Christian* consul the fourth time, and *Gallienus* the third, a violent persecution broke out against the *Christians*, *Macrianus*, a *secured* celebrated magician of *Egypt*, having seduced the emperor, who had been hitherto a great patron of the *Christian* religion, by persuading him, that the affairs of the empire would never prosper, till the pagan rites were restored, and the religion of the *Christians*, so odious to the gods, utterly abolished. This persecution, commonly reckoned the eighth, lasted three years; that is, from the present year 257. to the year 260. when *Valerian* was taken prisoner by the *Persians*.

THE same year *Aurelian* being sent to succeed *Ulpian* *Crispinus* in the command of the troops in *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, drove the *Goths* out of those provinces, took an incredible number of them prisoners, and, pursuing them beyond the *defeated Danube*, laid waste their country, and returned to *Mæcia* by *Aurelian* loaded with booty<sup>f</sup>. At the same time *Probus*, passing the *lian*, and *Danube*, made war with great success upon the *Sarmatians* the *Sar-* and *Quadi*, and rescued out of the hands of the latter *Valerius* *matians* *Flaccus*, a youth of a noble descent, and nearly related to *Probus*.

<sup>c</sup> BIRAC. p. 367, & 371.

<sup>d</sup> ZONAR. vit. Gallien. p. 235.

<sup>e</sup> TREBEL. POL. in vit. tringit. tyrann. p. 184.

<sup>f</sup> Aurel. vit p. 213.

mong them we find the following nations mentioned; to wit, the *Aduarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Frisii*, *Chauci*, *Amisuarii*, and *Catti* (1). The *Franks* are sometimes called *Sicambri*, be-

cause they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation, which was intirely cut off by *Augustus*, as we have related in its proper place.

(1) *Adrian. Vales. not. Gall. p. 201. Es. Buch. p. 210.*

The Persians over-  
run several pro-  
vinces.

the emperor, who rewarded *Probus* with a civic crown; which, in the times of the republic, was given to such as had saved the life of a citizen<sup>v</sup>. About the latter end of this year the emperor, leaving *Rome*, set out for the East, to make head against the *Persians*, who had invaded *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and committed dreadful ravages in those provinces. He reached *Byzantium* in the beginning of the following year, when *Memmius Tuscus* and *Bassus* were consuls; and there held a council, at which assisted all the chief officers of the empire, to deliberate about the measures to be taken with respect to the *Persian* war; for *Sapor* king of *Persia* had already seized all *Armenia*; made himself master of *Nisibis* and *Charrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*; and thence advancing into *Syria* at the head of a mighty army; had ravaged that province, and taken *Antioch* itself. His guide in this expedition was one *Cyriades*, descended of an illustrious family, but abandoned from his youth to all manner of wickedness; in-  
 so-much that, not able to bear the reproaches and wholesome admonitions of his father, he fled from home, and retired into *Persia*, carrying thither with him a great quantity of gold and silver, which he had purloined. There he entered into the service of the *Persian* king, stirred him up to make war upon the *Romans*, and served him as a guide, being well acquainted with the countries, in his marches through *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Syria*. *Sapor*, after he had taken and plundered *Antioch*, returned into *Persia*, to discharge his army of the immense booty, with which they were incumbered; and left *Cyriades* governor of the conquered countries, who thereupon assumed the title of *Cæsar*, and soon after that of *Augustus*, and was acknowledged as emperor by most of the eastern provinces<sup>z</sup>.

The Scythians  
commit  
great de-  
vastations  
in Asia.

At the same time the *Borani*, a *Scythian* nation, crossing the *Euxine* sea, surprised and plundered the cities of *Pytus* in *Bosporus*, and *Trapezus* in *Pontus*; and thence advancing to the neighbourhood of *Byzantium*, crossed over into *Asia*, and surprised the cities of *Chalcedon*, *Nicæa*, *Apamea*, *Prusa*, and several other places, which they plundered; and then returned with an immense booty into their own country, before *Valerian* could come up with them<sup>a</sup>. The following year, when *Secularis* and *Bassus* were consuls, *Valerian* marched from *Cappadocia*, whither he had pursued the *Scythians*, into *Syria*, recovered *Antioch*, and thence advanced into *Mesopotamia*, where he met *Sapor*, attacked him, but, by the treachery of *Macrianus*, who persuaded him to engage in a disadvantageous post, lost the flower of his troops in the action, and was himself taken pri-

<sup>v</sup> Prob. vit. p. 234, 235.

<sup>a</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 648.

<sup>z</sup> Vit. trigint. tyrann. p. 185.

soner<sup>b</sup>. Thus *Zonaras*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and *Agathias*; but *Zosimus* writes, that *Valerian* having, after the defeated battle in which he was defeated, been prevailed upon to confer in person with *Sapor*, was by that treacherous prince seized, and carried into *Persia*. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken prisoner, carried in triumph by *Sapor* into *Persia*, and there insulted in a most outrageous manner by that haughty conqueror; who, after having shewn him loaded with chains in all the chief cities of his empire, treated him with greater indignities than the meanest slave, making him his foot-stool whenever he mounted on horseback<sup>c</sup>. He was taken the in year 260. the 70th of his age, and sixth of his reign, and was still alive in the year 263. nay, the chronicle of *Alexandria* tells us, that he did not die till the year 269. After his death, his body was flayed by *Sapor's* orders, and preserved in salt; and his skin dressed, dyed red, and exposed in a temple; where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, it was shewn to all foreign princes and ambassadors, as a lasting monument of the power of the *Persian* monarch. *Agathias* writes, that *Valerian* was flayed alive<sup>d</sup>; but is therein contradicted by all the antient historians (B).

Year of  
the flood  
2608.  
Of Christ  
260.  
Of Rome  
1008.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*The Roman History, from the Captivity of Valerian to the Resignation of Dioclesian.*

THE news of the defeat of the *Roman* army by the *Persians*, and the captivity of *Valerian*, no sooner reached the barbarous nations at war with *Rome*, than they flew to arms; and, pouring on all sides incredible multitudes into the *Roman* territories, threatened the empire, and *Rome* itself, with utter destruction. The *Goths* and *Scythians* ravaged

The em-  
pire in-  
vaded on  
all sides by  
the barba-  
rians.

<sup>b</sup> ZONAR. p. 234. VICT. epit. EUTROP. fest. AGATH. l. iv. p. 153. <sup>c</sup> EUSEB. orat. Const. c. 24. LACT. persecut. c. 5. OROS. l. vii. c. 22. Vit. Valer. p. 175. <sup>d</sup> AGATH. l. iv. p. 233.

(B) We are told, that nothing grieved the unhappy *Valerian* in his deplorable condition so much, as to see himself intirely neglected by his son *Gallienus*, who was so far from pressing the *Persian* king to set him at liberty, or offering to ransom him, that, on the contrary, he expressed no small joy when news was brought him of his captivity. though most

foreign princes, nay, even those who had assisted *Sapor* in his wars against the *Romans*, did all that lay in their power to prevail upon him to grant the *Roman* emperor his liberty; but the haughty *Persian* was too much elated with his success, to be terrified with the menaces of his enemies, or to hearken to the intreaties of his friends.

anew *Pontus* and *Asia*, committing every-where dreadful devastations : the *Germans*, that is, the *Alemanni*, and the *Franks*, having over-run *Rhætia*, entered *Italy* itself, and advanced as far as *Ravenna*, putting all to fire and sword : the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* seized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia* ; and other barbarous nations, invading *Spain*, made themselves masters of *Tarraco*, and other important places in that province<sup>a</sup>. *Gallienus*, who was then in *Gaul*, hearing that the *Alemanni* and *Franks* had entered *Italy*, and were advancing towards *Rome*, flew to the defence of the capital, and obliged the enemy to retire. Whether they were overcome in battle, as some authors write, or marched back upon the news of his approach, as we read in others, is uncertain. The barbarians, who had invaded *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, were driven back by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, and who is said to have gained several victories over them in one day<sup>b</sup>.

WHILE *Regillianus* was employed against the barbarians, whom he had pursued into *Mæsia*, *Ingenius* caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Pannonia*, and was acknowledged by the inhabitants both of that province, and of *Mæsia* ; for he was a man of great valour and experience in war, and universally beloved both by the people and soldiery. *Gallienus* no sooner heard of his revolt, than he marched from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, where he then was, into *Illyricum*, engaged *Ingenius*, and put him to flight (A). The troops, who had formerly served under *Ingenius*, and the in-

<sup>a</sup> Zos. l. i. p. 650.

<sup>b</sup> Trig. tyrann. vit. p. 188.

(A) Some authors write, that *Ingenius* was killed after the battle by his own soldiers, while others tell us, that he put an end to his own life, to avoid, by that means, falling into the hands of so cruel an enemy as *Gallienus* ; who used his victory with a barbarity hardly to be equalled, commanding his soldiers to put all the inhabitants of *Mæsia* they could meet with to the sword, whether they had taken up arms in favour of the usurper, or no ; as appears from the following letter, which he wrote to *Verianus Celer*, one of his officers :  
 “ I shall not be satisfied with  
 “ your putting to death only  
 “ such as have borne arms a-

gainst me, and might have  
 “ fallen in the field: you must  
 “ in every city destroy all the  
 “ males, old and young; spare  
 “ none who have wished ill to  
 “ me, none who have spoken ill  
 “ of me, the son of *Valerian*,  
 “ the father and brother of  
 “ princes. *Ingenius* emperor!  
 “ Tear, kill, cut in pieces with-  
 “ out mercy: you understand  
 “ me; do then as you know I  
 “ would do, who have written to  
 “ you with my own hand (1).”  
 Pursuant to these cruel orders, a most dreadful havock was made of that unhappy people, and in several cities not one male child left alive.

(1) Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 3.

bitants.

habitants of *Mæſia*, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, provoked by theſe cruelties, proclaimed *Q. Nonius Regillia-* *Regillia-*  
*nus* emperor. He was a *Dacian* by nation, deſcended, as *nus empe-*  
 was ſaid, from the celebrated king *Decebalus*, whom *Trajan* *ror.*  
 had conquered; and had, by ſeveral gallant actions, gained  
 great reputation in the *Roman* armies (B). After he was pro-  
 claimed emperor, he gained very conſiderable advantages over  
 the *Sarmatians*; but was ſoon murdered by his own ſoldiers, *He is mur-*  
 and the people of *Illyricum*, who had raiſed him to the em- *dered by*  
 pire; but, not long after his aſſumption, began to dread the *his own*  
 effects of *Gallienus's* cruelty. The *Roxolani*, who ſerved un- *men.*  
 under him, revolted the firſt; and their example was ſoon  
 followed by the reſt of the army, and the people of *Illyri-*  
*cum*. *Aurelius Viſtor* writes, that he was overcome in battle  
 by *Gallienus*.

THE ſame year *M. Caſſius Labienus Poſthumius* revolted *Posthu-*  
 in *Gaul*. He was meanly born, but endowed with extraor- *mius re-*  
 dinary parts, and reckoned one of the beſt commanders in *volts in*  
 the whole empire. *Valerian*, when he ſet out for the Eaſt, *Gaul.*  
 committed to his care both his ſon *Gallienus*, and the troops  
 that were left in the weſtern provinces, declaring, that he  
 loved and eſteemed *Poſthumius* above all the officers of his ar-  
 my. When he appointed him governor of *Gaul*, and com-  
 mander of the troops on the *Rhine*, he wrote, on that occa-  
 ſion, a letter to the inhabitants of *Gaul*, in which he expreſſed  
 his eſteem for *Poſthumius* in the following terms: “ You  
 “ will, I hope, be convinced that I have a particular regard  
 “ for you, ſince I have ſet over you ſuch a man as *Poſthu-*  
 “ *mius*. He is one whom I eſteem above the reſt, and think  
 “ the moſt worthy of all to repreſent the prince. If I am  
 “ deceived in the opinion I entertain of him, I will not pre-  
 “ tend to know any man <sup>d</sup>.” When *Gallienus*, upon the

<sup>a</sup> Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 9. p. 189.

<sup>d</sup> Idem, c. 2. p. 185.

(B) *Claudius*, who was afterwards emperor, wrote the following letter to him, congratulating him upon the victory he had gained over the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* in *Mæſia*: “ Happy is the re-  
 “ public in having at this time  
 “ ſuch a commander as you;  
 “ happy *Gallienus*, though no  
 “ one dares ſpeak truth to him,  
 “ nor blame or commend men  
 “ according to their deſerts. *Bo-*  
*nitus* and *Celfus*, two of the  
 “ prince’s liſeguardmen, have

given me an account of your  
 gallant behaviour in the neigh-  
 bourhood of *Scupi*, where you  
 gained ſeveral victories over  
 the barbarians in one day. In  
 ancient times you would have  
 been thought worthy of a tri-  
 umph; but at preſent I would  
 have you to conquer with  
 more caution, mindful of a  
 certain perſon, to whom your  
 victories may give umbrage,  
 &c.”

The son of  
Gallienus  
murdered.  
P' thu-  
minus deli-  
virs Gaul  
from the  
Germans.

news of his father's captivity, and the invasion of the *Frank*<sup>1</sup> and *Alemanni*, set out for *Italy*, he left his eldest son *Saloninus*, named also *Valerian*, then an infant, at *Cologne*, under the tuition, some say, of *Posthumius*, and others, of *Sylvanus*, ordering all things to be transacted in his name. Soon after the emperor's departure, *Posthumius* having defeated some *German* nations, who had invaded *Gaul*, *Sylvanus* obliged him to send all the booty to him, and the young prince; which provoked the soldiery to such a degree, that they revolted, and proclaimed *Posthumius* emperor; who, marching without loss of time to *Cologne*, besieged the place, and reduced the inhabitants to such straits, that they were forced to deliver up to him both *Sylvanus* and *Saloninus*, whom he caused to be immediately put to death (C). He reigned seven years, during which time he drove all the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and even built several forts in their country, restored peace and tranquillity to that afflicted province, and governed with such equity and moderation, that he was universally adored, and honoured with the titles of *The restorer of Gaul*, *The defender of the empire*; for, had he not repulsed the *Germans*, they would, in those distracted times, have over-run, with great ease, the whole empire<sup>e</sup>. On several of his medals mention is made of his victories over the *Germans*, that is, according to *Adrianus Valesius*<sup>f</sup>, over the *Franks*; and on some he is styled *Germanicus Maximus*<sup>g</sup>. He had by his wife *Junia Donata*, perhaps the daughter of *Junius Donatus*, who was governor of *Rome* in the year 257. and this year consul, at least one son, styled on the ancient coins *C. Junius Cossius Posthumius*. The emperor *Valerian* appointed him tribune of a band or company of *Vocantii*, that is, of *Dauphinois*. His father afterwards created him *Cæsar*, took him for his partner in the empire, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus*<sup>h</sup>. He was thought to have equaled in eloquence *Quintilian*, whom he studied to imitate; whence his declamations were inserted among those of that excellent writer<sup>i</sup>; and the nineteen declamations, which pass under the name

<sup>e</sup> Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. BIRAG. p. 393. <sup>f</sup> VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 6. <sup>g</sup> BIRAG. p. 394. GOLTZ. p. 116. <sup>h</sup> Trig. tyrann. vit. ibid. <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. p. 186.

(C) Thus *Zosimus* (2): but *Trebellius Pollio* ascribes the revolt, and the death of the young prince, to the *Gauls*, who, hating *Gallienus*, and not able to brook the government of a child, stirred

up the soldiers to murder him, and proclaim *Posthumius* emperor (3), who was with great joy acknowledged, not only in *Gaul*, but in *Spain* and *Britain* (4).

(2) Zof. p. 651. (3) Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. (4) Claud. vit. p. 204. Span. l. ix. p. 845.

of *Quintilian*, but seem not altogether worthy of him, are by some modern critics ascribed to young *Posthumus* <sup>k</sup>. *Gallicus*, tho' greatly concerned for the death of his son, whom he immediately caused to be ranked among the gods <sup>l</sup>, did not march in person against the usurper till some years after.

DURING these disturbances in the West, *Sapor*, king of *Persia*, elated with his late success, over-ran most of the Eastern provinces, laid waste *Mesopotamia*, and, entering *Syria*, took *Antioch* the third, or, at least, the second time, and leveled with the ground all the public buildings of that stately metropolis. From *Syria* he led his army into *Cilicia*; took and plundered the city of *Tarsus*, the capital of that province; and, advancing from thence into *Cappadocia*, made himself master of *Cæsarea*, and cut all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thousand, in pieces, for having opposed him under the conduct of one *Demosthenes*, a man of great resolution and intrepidity, who, after the city was taken, opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the midst of the enemy, and made his escape <sup>m</sup>. Thus the *Persian* over-ran all the provinces of the East, committing every-where most dreadful ravages (D).

*The Persians over-ran and plunder all the Eastern provinces.*

IN the mean time, the *Roman* troops, who had dispersed upon the captivity of *Valerian*, rallying, chose for their leader *Callistus*, or rather *Balista*, who had been captain of the guards to *Valerian*, and was a man of great address, intrepidity, and experience in war. He, without loss of time, transported his forces in boats into *Cilicia*, and obliged the *Persians* to raise the siege of *Pompeiopolis*, a maritim city of that province, when it was upon the point of submitting. From *Cilicia* he flew with great celerity into *Lycaonia*, and there made a dreadful havock of the *Persians*, whom he found busy in plundering the open places, and no-ways upon their guard. He took from them all their booty and captives, made a great many prisoners, and, among the rest, the wives of *Sapor*. From *Lycaonia* he retired with his booty and captives, before the *Persians* could draw together their dispersed forces; and, embarking his army on the vessels and boats he had

*Balista cuts many of them in pieces.*

<sup>k</sup> Vide Voss. rhet. c. 15. p. 192.

<sup>l</sup> BIRAG. p. 382.

<sup>m</sup> ZONAR. p. 234.

(D) *Agathias* tells us, that he filled up deep valleys with dead bodies, and took pride in passing over them on horseback from one hill to another (5). To the captives, whom he was pleased to

spare, he allowed only what food was barely sufficient to keep them alive, and ordered them to be driven once a day in herds to water like so many cattle (6).

(5) *Agath.* l. iv. p. 234.

(6) *Zonar.* p. 234.

assem-



Odenatus  
of Palmy-  
ra.

assembled, landed some of his men at *Sebastæ*, and others at *Corycus*, two cities on the coast of *Cilicia*, and in both places surprised and cut in pieces above three thousand *Persians* <sup>a</sup>. *Balista* was well seconded in his attempts by *Odenatus*, whose name is famous in the history of these times, on account of the many victories he gained over the *Persians*, and his saving the *Roman* empire in the East. All authors agree, that he was a native of *Palmyra*, a city of *Phœnicia*, about one day's journey from the *Euphrates*; but some writers call him a citizen and decurio, while others stile him prince of that place. *Procopius* gives him the title of prince of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and were allies of the *Romans* <sup>o</sup> (E). As *Palmyra* was at this time a *Roman* colony <sup>p</sup>, *Odenatus* was prince, not of that city, but probably of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in that neighbourhood. As he had been accustomed, from his infancy, to the manly exercises of hunting, he bore with great cheerfulness and alacrity the toils of a military life <sup>q</sup>. Of his wife *Zenobia* we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

How  
treated by  
Sapor.

*ODENATUS* was scarce known till the captivity of *Valerian*, when, dreading the power of the *Persian* monarch, as he lived in amity with the *Romans*, he wrote to him a most respectful and submissive letter, protesting, that he had never borne arms against the *Persians*; and at the same time sent him several camels loaded with rich presents. But *Sapor*, highly provoked at the arrogance of such an insignificant person, as he expressed himself, in presuming to write to him, tore his letter, ordered his presents to be thrown into the river, and, with a threatening voice, told his ambassadors, that he would teach their master the respect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and sovereign; that he would exterminate and utterly destroy him, his whole family and country; adding, that if he came and threw himself prostrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps, by that submission, atone in some degree for his temerity and presumption. *Odenatus*, resenting, as it became a man of his spirit, this vile treatment, swore he would pursue the *Persians* to the last with fire and sword, and either bring down the pride of their mighty monarch, or perish in the attempt <sup>r</sup>. With this view, he immediately declared for the

<sup>a</sup> ZONAR. p. 382. SYNCCELL. p. 235.

<sup>o</sup> PROCOF. p. 97.

<sup>p</sup> NORIS. de epoch. Syromaced. p. 103.

<sup>q</sup> Trig. tyrann. c. 14.

p. 192.

<sup>r</sup> PETR. PATR. in excerpt. de legat. p. 29.

(E) *Zosimus* tells us, that his family had been long before distinguished with particular marks of honour by the *Roman* emperors, and that he had troops of his own (7).

*Romans*; and, joining *Baliffa* with all his forces, bore a great, *He sides* if not the chief, share in the above-mentioned exploits; for *with the* to him *Trebellius Pollio* ascribes the taking of *Sapor's* wives \*. *Romans*, The *Persian*, greatly concerned for that loss, and apprehending it might be attended with others still greater (for *Odenatus* and *Baliffa* pursued him close), resolved to retire; and accordingly bent his march towards the *Euphrates*. But, as he *and gains* was marching through the province of *Euphratesiana*, at a great *ad-* small distance from *Palmyra*, *Odenatus*, falling upon his rear, *antages* made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged the rest to re- *over the* pass the *Euphrates* with great hurry and confusion. Many *Persians*. perished in the river; and *Sapor* was glad to compound with the *Roman* garison in *Edeffa*, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding to them all the *Syrian* money he had amassed in the plunder of so many cities †. *Zonaras* writes, that *Odenatus* found among the *Persian* captives, and likewise among the dead, many women attired and armed like men ‡.

AFTER these victories, *Odenatus* assumed the title of king *Odenatus* of *Palmyra*, which he likewise gave to his eldest son *Herod*, *assumes the* as he did that of queen to his wife *Zenobia*. *Gallienus*, to re- *title of* ward his eminent services, appointed him commander in chief *king of* of all the *Roman* forces in the East; which trust he discharged *Palmyra*. with great fidelity, and was attended with better success than any of the *Roman* generals. For the following year, 261. when *Gallienus* was consul the fourth time with *Petronius Volusianus*, *Odenatus*, not satisfied with having driven *Sapor* out of the *Roman* dominions, entered *Mesopotamia*, and there recovered the cities of *Nisibis* and *Gharrae*. From *Mesopotamia* he advanced into the very heart of the *Persian* dominions, being extremely desirous of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of *Valerian*. *Sapor* met him at the head of a mighty army; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the *Persians* were utterly defeated, and *Sapor*, with his children, obliged to shelter themselves within the walls of *Ctesiphon*, *Defeat* the metropolis of the *Persian* dominions. Thither *Ode-* *Sapor, and* *natus* pursued them, and laid close siege to the place, after *besieges* having destroyed with fire and sword the neighbouring country *Ctesiphon* to a great distance. The *Persian* lords, alarmed at the danger that threatened their prince and nation, armed all their vassals, and flew from the most distant parts of the kingdom to *Ctesiphon*. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which served only to increase the number of *Odenatus's* victories; many *Persians* of great distinction were

\* Trig. tyr. c. 14. p. 192.  
legat. p. 25.

† PETR. PATR. in excerpt. de  
ZONAR. p. 235.

taken prisoners, and sent by the conqueror to *Gallienus*: *Sapor* on one side, and the brave *Odenatus* on the other, exerted their utmost efforts, the latter to deliver *Valerian*, and the former to avoid the like doom, which now threatened him \*. But here *Trebellius Pollio*, after having raised our expectation, drops at once both *Odenatus*, and the siege of *Ctesiphon*; and, giving himself no farther trouble about either, leaves us quite in the dark, as to the issue of so glorious and important an undertaking. The reader may thence judge of his abilities in the capacity of an historian. All we know for certain is, that *Sapor* was not taken, nor *Valerian* rescued from his cruel bondage. Some writers seem to insinuate, that the revolt of *Macrianus*, which, according to most historians, happened this year, obliged *Odenatus* to raise the siege of *Ctesiphon*.

The rise of  
Macria-  
nus.

*MACRIANUS* was of a mean descent; but had, by his courage and experience in war, raised himself from the low station of a common soldier to the highest posts in the army. He was exceeding rich, and had married a lady of great distinction, by whom he had two sons, *Macrianus* and *Quietus*, who had been raised to the rank of tribunes by *Valerian*, and were esteemed two of the best officers of the whole army \*. The father is stiled, by *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, the chief of the *Egyptian* magicians †; whence we conclude him to have been by nation an *Egyptian*, and greatly addicted to the study of magic. As the abominable mysteries of that art were abhorred, and deservedly censured, by the Christians, *Macrianus* thence became their implacable enemy, and inspired *Valerian*, with whom he bore great sway, with an irreconcilable hatred to them; which occasioned the eighth persecution, as we have hinted above ‡. Some authors write, that, abusing the confidence *Valerian* reposed in him, he betrayed that prince to the *Persians* §; but others clear him from that imputation. Be that as it will, about a year after the captivity of the unhappy emperor, he revolted from his son; and, having gained over *Balista*, was by his means acknowledged emperor by most of the troops, who had served under *Valerian*, but despised *Gallienus*. He immediately took his two sons for his partners in the empire, and appointed *Balista* his captain of the guards (F).

He is pro-  
claimed  
emperor.

Year of  
the flood  
2609.

Of Christ  
261.

Of Rome  
1009.

\* Vit. Gall. p. 179. Zos. p. 651.

\* Gall. vit. p. 175.

Trig. tyrann. c. 13.

† EUSEB. l. vii. c. 10.

‡ Idem

ibid.

\* Trig. tyrann. p. 174.

MACRI-

(F) *Trebellius Pollio*, of all country *Macrianus* was created emperor, nor where, or how long, he reigned; and, as to the other histo-

MACRIANUS no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereignty, than he marched with all the forces he could assemble into the East, says *Pollio*, that is, as we conjecture, from *Egypt* into *Syria*. He engaged several times, and defeated the *Persians*; but looked upon *P. Valerius Valens* as a far more formidable enemy, *Valens* had been sent by *Gallienus* into *Achaia*, or *Greece*, with the title of proconsul; but, hearing there, that *Macrianus* had been proclaimed emperor, he assumed the same title. Hereupon *Macrianus* immediately detached *Piso*, with a competent force, to suppress this new usurper. But *Piso*, finding him upon his guard, and ready to receive him, retired into *Thessaly*, and there assumed the title of emperor, with the surname of *Thessalicus*, as appears from his medals <sup>b</sup>. But he did not long enjoy that empty and seducing title, being soon after murdered by some soldiers sent by *Valens* for that purpose. *Valens* himself was slain a few days after by his own men; and his death, as well as that of his rival, was known at *Rome* before the twenty-fifth of *June* <sup>c</sup>. *Piso*, who was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of *Rome*, was universally la-

*Valens proclaimed emperor in Achaia, and Piso in Thessaly; but they are both killed.*

<sup>b</sup> BIRAG. p. 388.

<sup>c</sup> Trig. tyrann. p. 194, 195.

historians, *Zonaras* is the only one among them that takes any notice at all of him. That writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Asia* received him with extraordinary marks of joy (8). *Dionysius of Alexandria* gives us room to think, that he was acknowledged in *Egypt*; and that his and his son's reign ended before the ninth year of *Gallienus*, that is, before the *August* of the year 262 (9). During his usurpation happened, in all likelihood, at *Alexandria*, the disturbances described by that writer, who was bishop of the place. Fury and discord, says he, raged there to such a degree, that it was more easy to pass from the East to the remotest provinces of the West, than from one place of *Alexandria* to another: the inhabitants had no intercourse but by letters, which,

with great difficulty, were conveyed from one friend to another: it was more dangerous to cross the street, than the most tempestuous seas, the most dry and inhospitable deserts: the port resembled the shore of the *Red-sea* strewn with the carcases of the drowned *Egyptians*; the sea was dyed with blood, and the *Nile* choaked up with dead bodies (1). The war was attended with a general famine, and the famine by a dreadful plague, which daily swept off great numbers of people, insomuch that there were then in *Alexandria* fewer inhabitants from the age of fourteen to that of eighty, than there used to be from forty to seventy (2). Of such persons a register, it seems, was kept; and a certain quantity of corn distributed among them.

(8) *Zonar.* p. 236.  
(2) *Idem ibid.*

(9) *Euseb.* l. vii. c. 23.

(1) *Idem ibid.* c. 21.

The character of Pifo.

mented there on account of the merits of his ancestors, as well as his own. He had been highly esteemed by the emperors, nay, by *Valens* himself, who, upon hearing the news of his death, *What account, said he, shall I give to the gods, the infernal judges, of the death of Pifo? The Roman empire has not a person equal to Pifo.* Upon the news of his death, it was moved in the senate, that divine honours might be decreed to him, as to a lawful prince; nay, some writers tell us, that he was actually ranked among the gods with this remarkable elogium, *That there never was a better man, nor a man of more firmness and constancy.* However that be, he was decreed a statue with a triumphal chariot: the statue was still to be seen in the time of *Constantine*; but the chariot had been taken down, to make room for the famous baths of *Dioctlesian*, and was never after set up again <sup>d</sup>.

Aureolus made emperor in Illyricum.

ABOUT the same time that *Macrianus* usurped the empire in the East, *Manus Acilius Aureolus* was forced by the army, which he commanded in *Illyricum*, to take upon him the sovereignty; for the soldiers every-where abhorred *Gallienus*, and would only obey emperors set up by themselves. *Aureolus* from *Illyricum* marched into *Italy*, and made himself master of *Milan* <sup>e</sup>. *Gallienus*, after various unsuccessful attempts to suppress him, was in the end obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his assistance against *Posthumus*, as we shall relate hereafter. He was, according to *Zonaras*, a native of *Dacia*, of a mean descent, and in his youth a shepherd; but, lifting himself afterwards in the army, he was soon raised from the rank of a common soldier to the command of a body of horse. He distinguished himself in a very eminent manner under *Gallienus*, in the battle against *Ingenius*; for some authors ascribe to him the whole glory of that victory <sup>f</sup>. This year, 261. the *Scythians* breaking anew into *Bithynia*, laid waste the whole country a second time, leveled with the ground several cities, plundered *Nicomedia*, and returned unmolested into their own country with a great booty, and many captives <sup>g</sup>. At the same time, that no part of the empire might be exempt from some signal calamity, the island of *Sicily*, less exposed than other countries to the ravages of the barbarians, was miserably harassed by a band of robbers, who, roving up and down, committed dreadful devastations, and kindled a kind of servile war, which was not suppressed without much difficulty and bloodshed <sup>h</sup>.

Bithynia plundered by the Scythians.

THE following year, *Gallienus* being consul the fifth time with *Fauftianus*, the empire was in many places afflicted by

<sup>d</sup> Trig. tyr. vit. c. 20. p. 194.

<sup>e</sup> Idem, c. 10. p. 189.

VICT. epit.

<sup>f</sup> ZONAR. p. 235.

<sup>g</sup> Gall. vit. p. 177.

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

other calamities; besides the wars and commotions we have mentioned. The sun was overcast with thick clouds, and *The empire* a great darkness continued for several days together, attended *afflicted* with a violent earthquake, and dreadful claps of thunder, not in the air, but in the bowels of the earth, which opened in *plague,* many places, and swallowed up great numbers of people, with *famine,* their habitations. The sea, swelling beyond measure, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities. The plague *earth-* raged with great violence in *Greece, Egypt,* and especially at *Rome,* where it swept off, for some time, five thousand persons a day. The books of the *Sibyls* were consulted, public processions ordained, sacrifices offered to *Jupiter the author of health, &c.* but all to no purpose; nay, to their other calamities were added the incursions of the *Goths* in great swarms into *Greece,* and of the *Scythians* into *Asia.* The former, having made *New ir-* themselves masters of *Thrace,* over-ran all *Macedon,* and laid *ruptions of* siege to *Theſſalonica,* the capital of that province, which *the Scy-* threw all *Greece* into the utmost consternation: troops were *thians;* dispatched to guard the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ,* so famous in history; the *Athenians* rebuilt their walls, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of *Sylla*; the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* shut up the isthmus from sea to sea; new levies were made; the troops quartered in that province drawn together, &c. But, in the mean time, *Macrianus* arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy,* fell upon the barbarians while they were attempting to enter *Achaia,* put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into their own country, whither they carried, however, great part of their booty<sup>1</sup>. At the same time the *Scythians,* that is, another party of *Goths,* crossing the *Helleſpont* under the conduct of one *Raspa,* committed dreadful ravages in *Asia,* burnt several cities there, and plun- *dered the* dered the celebrated temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus,* so much *temple of* respected by the pagans, and so famous for its rich ornaments, *and immense wealth*<sup>k</sup>. Thus was the destruction of the *Diana* at most illustrious monuments of paganism begun by the *Goths,* *Ephesus.* who were themselves pagans; and we shall see them in the two following centuries complete what they now begin. In this irruption they ruined the city of *Chalcedon*; destroyed the poor remains of antient *Troy,* and the famous *Ilium*; and, repassing the *Helleſpont,* laid waste all *Thrace,* and returned to their own country with an immense booty<sup>1</sup>.

In the mean time *Macrianus,* having settled the affairs of *Syria,* left there his younger son *Quietus,* with *Balista,* to guard that province against the *Perſians*; and set out for

<sup>1</sup> Gall. vit. p. 177.  
rer. Goth. c. 20.

<sup>k</sup> Idem, p. 177, 178. JORNAND.  
<sup>1</sup> JORNAND. ibid.

Macrianus  
and his  
eldest son  
defeated  
and killed  
by Aureo-  
lus.

Balista  
assumes the  
title of em-  
peror,

Year of  
the flood  
2700.

Of Christ

262.

Of Rome

1010.

and like-  
wise Æ-  
milianus.

*Italy*, with his eldest son *Macrianus*, at the head of forty-five thousand men, to try his fortune against *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* at *Rome*. He was met by the forces of the former, either in *Illyricum*, or on the borders of *Thrace*; whereupon a battle ensued, in which *Macrianus* and his son being killed, their whole army submitted to *Aureolus*, and were incorporated in his troops<sup>m</sup>. The news of their defeat and death were no sooner heard in the East, than most cities there revolted from *Quietus*, who thereupon shut himself up with *Balista* in the city of *Emesa*, whither *Aureolus*, to complete his victory, sent ruffians to dispatch him. But, before their arrival, *Odenatus* had besieged the place; which so terrified the inhabitants, and the garison, that they killed *Quietus*, threw his head over the walls, and then submitted to *Odenatus*. *Macrianus* and his children being thus cut off, *Gallienus* was acknowledged anew in *Egypt* and *Syria*; for *Odenatus*, tho' master of almost all the Eastern provinces, acted, or at least pretended to act, in his name<sup>n</sup>. He had no sooner withdrawn his troops from before *Emesa*, than *Balista*, whom he had spared on account of his advising the inhabitants to murder *Quietus*, assumed the title of emperor, and put such numbers of the citizens of *Emesa* to the sword, no doubt for refusing to acknowledge him, that the unhappy city was almost turned into a desert<sup>o</sup>. We shall have occasion to speak of him hereafter; for he seems to have reigned at *Emesa* three years.

ABOUT the same time *Æmilianus*, styled on the antient medals *Tiberius Cestius Alexander Æmilianus*<sup>p</sup>, commander of the legions in *Egypt*, took upon him the title of emperor, hoping, by thus openly revolting from *Gallienus*, who was no less abhorred in *Egypt*, than in the other provinces, to appease the populace of *Alexandria*, who had risen upon a very trifling occasion, and invested the house where *Æmilianus* lodged, threatening him with present death. He no sooner proclaimed himself emperor, in opposition to *Gallienus*, than the rage of the incensed multitude asswaged, and the whole city of *Alexandria*, with loud acclamations, acknowledged him for their sovereign. He immediately seized all the corn in the public granaries, and, by that means, occasioned a famine in several provinces. He visited in person the most distant parts of *Egypt*, redressed many grievances, repulsed with great vigour the neighbouring barbarians (which procured him the name of *Alexander*), and was preparing for an expedition

<sup>m</sup> ZONAR. p. 236. Trig. tyran. c. 10. Gall. vit. p. 176.

<sup>n</sup> Gall. vit. p. 179. Trig. tyran. c. 14.

<sup>o</sup> Gall. vit. p. 176.

<sup>p</sup> GOLTZ. p. 115.

into *India*, when the troops sent against him by *Gallienus* arrived in *Egypt* <sup>1</sup>, as we shall relate hereafter. This year *Gallienus*, agreeing with *Aureolus*, marched into *Gaul* with him <sup>makes war upon Posthumus in Gaul.</sup> and *Claudius*, who succeeded him in the empire, to make war upon *Posthumus*, who had reigned three years undisturbed. As *Posthumus* was greatly beloved, and vigorously supported by the *Gauls*, the war lasted some years. *Gallienus* was defeated in the first general engagement of this year, and *Posthumus* in the second, after having lost the flower of his troops. But *Aureolus*, who was sent to pursue him, having suffered him to escape, when he might have easily taken him, he levied new forces, and began the war with fresh vigour <sup>2</sup>.

*GALLIENUS*, however, quitting *Gaul* the following year, when *Albinus* and *Dexter* were consuls, returned to *Rome*, and from thence hastened into the East, where he wreaked <sup>The Byzantines slaughtered by Gallienus.</sup> his rage on the city of *Byzantium*; but, upon what provocation, *Trebellius Pollio*, who describes the miserable condition to which that place was reduced, has not thought proper to acquaint us. All we know is, that *Gallienus*, as soon as he appeared before it, lost all hopes of ever being able to master it; but, being nevertheless admitted, the day after his arrival, within the gates, upon terms, without any regard to the agreement, he caused the garison, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the sword. Not one person, says *Trebellius Pollio*, was left alive in the place <sup>3</sup> (G). From *Byzantium* *Gallienus* returned to *Rome*, where he celebrated the tenth year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, and a kind of triumph, in which were led mock-captives, dressed like *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, and *Persians*. During this shew, some persons of humour, mixing with those who personated the *Persians*, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their dress, and seemed to betray great surprize. Being in the end asked, what they wanted, *We are looking*, said they, *for the emperor's father*; which so incensed *Gallienus*, that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alive <sup>4</sup>.

THIS year a new tyrant started up, by name *P. Semprius Saturninus*. He was a man of great parts, and renowned for his victories over the barbarians. History does not inform <sup>Saturninus assumes the title of emperor.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Trig. tyr. c. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Gall. vit. p. 178. Zon. p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Gall. vit. p. 178, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 179.

(G) *Vorborgius* ascribes this slaughter to the soldiers of *Gallienus*; and pretends, that the emperor left *Gaul*, and hastened into the East, on purpose to revenge the slaughter of the *Byzantines*, and punish the cruelty of the soldiers (3).



perer, and us where, or how long, he reigned; but only tells us, that *is murder*—he performed great things while he was emperor, and was, *ed by his*—on account of his severity, put to death by the same soldiers, *soldiers.*—who had raised him to the empire. When he was first pro-

claimed emperor by the troops under his command, he told them, that they *had lost a good captain, and made a bad prince* <sup>4</sup>.  
 Year of the flood 2701.  
 Of Christ 263.  
 Of Rome 1011.  
*Æmilianus de-*  
*feated,*  
*taken, and*  
*strangled.*  
 Towards the end of the year, *Theodotus*, a native of *Egypt*, dispatched by *Gallienus* against *Æmilianus*, who reigned in that country, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him prisoner, and sent him to *Rome*; where he was, by the emperor's order, strangled in prison, according to the antient custom of putting captive princes to death. The emperor, to reward *Theodotus*, designed to make *Egypt* a proconsular province, and honour him with that proconsulship; but was diverted from it by the priests alleging a prediction, which had prevailed even in *Cicero's* time; to wit, that *Egypt* would recover its antient liberty, when the fasces appeared there <sup>5</sup>. The fasces were carried, as is well known, before the pro-

consuls. At this time happened, as we conjecture, the siege of *Bruchium*, described by *Eusebius*; *Æmilianus* himself, or his partisans, having probably taken shelter there after the battle (II). This year the *Scythians* made a new irruption into *Asia*; but were, with great slaughter, driven back into their own country by the *Roman* forces quartered in that province <sup>6</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Gallienus* the sixth time, and *Satur-  
 Gallienus* *turninus*. This year *Gallienus*, by the advice of his brother  
*declares* *Valerian*, and his kinsman *Lucillus*, to reward the brave *Ode-  
 Odenatus* *natus* for the many victories he had gained over the *Persians*,  
*his partner* took him for his partner in the empire, honoured him with  
*in the em-* the titles of *Cæsar*, *Augustus*, and emperor, and all the ensigns  
*pire.* of sovereignty, and caused money to be coined with his name,

<sup>4</sup> Trig. tyr. vit. c. 22. p. 196.  
 Gall. vit. p. 178.

Ibid. c. 21. p. 195.

(II) *Bruchium*, or, as *Eusebius* calls it, *Pyruchium*, was a quarter of the city of *Alexandria* near the sea, on the side of the *Pharos*, and, as it were, the citadel of that metropolis. There stood the royal palace, the place where the *Egyptian* senate or council met, the public granaries, the museum, and the cele-

brated library of the *Egyptian* kings, containing once seven hundred thousand volumes, of which four hundred thousand were burnt in *Julius Cæsar's* time. The *Roman* army, under the command of *Theodotus*, having taken the rest of the city, laid siege to this quarter, and in the end reduced it by famine (4).

(4) *Euseb. ii. vii. c. 31. p. 285.*

on which he was represented leading the *Persians* captive. The title of *Augusta* was given to his wife, and that of *Cæsar* to his children <sup>1</sup>. This action of *Gallienus* was highly applauded by the senate, by the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire; for to his valour was intirely owing the preservation of the Eastern provinces, over-run and sorely harassed by the *Persians*. This year, 264. *Balista*, who had held some provinces in the East ever since the death of *Macrianus*, and his children, was at last killed, according to the most probable opinion, by a soldier sent by *Odenatus* for that purpose <sup>2</sup>. *Gallienus*, in the spring of this year, left *Rome*, and marched a second time in person against *Posthumus*, who still reigned in *Gaul*. At his approach, *Posthumus* withdrew into a strong-hold, which the emperor immediately invested; but soon after raised the siege, having received a wound in the back with an arrow, while he was viewing the walls <sup>3</sup> (1). However, *Posthumus* still maintained himself in possession of great part of that country; and this year, being hard pressed by *Gallienus*, he chose for his colleague *M. Aurelius Pius Victorinus*, *Posthumus* as he stiled on the ancient coins, of whom we read the following character in *Julius Aterianus*, a writer of those times: *Victorinus* No one, in our opinion, ought to be preferred to *Victorinus*, who reigned some time in *Gaul*: he equaled *Truján* in bravery, *Antoninus* in clemency, *Nerva* in gravity, *Vespasian* in managing the public money, and *Pertinax* and *Severus* in his care of the military discipline: but his unbridled lust drowned all his good qualities, and cast such a blemish upon his reputation, that no one dares to record the virtues of a man, whom all own to have deserved the doom, which, in the end, overtook him <sup>4</sup>. Of this doom we shall speak in its proper place.

THE next year, *Valerian*, the emperor's brother, and *The Isaurians* *Lucillus*, his kinsman, being consuls, the *Isaurians*, revolting in *Asia Minor*, chose for their leader *G. Annus Trebellianus*, who took upon him the title of *Augustus*, caused money to be coined with his name, and reigned some time in *Isauria* and *Cilicia*; but was in the end drawn by *Causisjoleus*, the brother of *Theodotus*, from among the rocks and mountains, where he had taken refuge, into a plain, and there defeated and

<sup>1</sup> Gall. vit. p. 179. GOLTZ. p. 115.

vit. c. 17. p. 193.

c. 5. p. 186, 187.

<sup>2</sup> Gall. vit. p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Trig. tyrann.

<sup>4</sup> Trig. tyrann.

(1) On several medals of this year, notice is taken of a victory he is stiled the restorer of that province (5).  
gained by *Gallienus* in *Gaul*, and

Celsus  
made em-  
peror in  
Africa,  
and soon  
after mur-  
dered.

killed. The *Isaurians* ranked him after his death among the gods; and, refusing to submit to *Gallienus*, whose cruelty they dreaded, maintained themselves a free people in the very heart of the *Roman* empire, at least till the time of the emperor *Constantine*, and committed dreadful ravages in *Asia Minor* and *Syria* c. While *Gaul*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, were held either by a domestic or foreign enemy, *Africa* too had its tyrant; to wit, *T. Cornelius Celsus*, set up by *Vibius Passienus*, proconsul of *Africa*, and *Fabius Pompeianus*, who commanded on the frontiers of *Libya*. He was but a tribune, and led at that time a retired life in the country. A lady, by name *Galliena*, nearly related to the emperor, bore a great share in this revolt. *Celsus* was a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raised; but he held it a short time, being killed the seventh day after his election. The inhabitants of *Sicca*, who had continued faithful to *Gallienus*, threw his body to the dogs, and crucified him in effigy, which, as our historian observes, had never been practised before d. Among the other misfortunes of this unhappy reign, we may reckon the loss of all the conquests of *Trajan*, that is, of the whole province of *Dacia*, seized by the *Goths*, and other northern nations; and the dreadful ravages committed by the *Franks* in *Spain* (K).

Odenatus  
gains  
great ad-  
vantages  
over the  
Persians.

THE following year, *Gallienus* being consul the seventh time, with *Sabinillus*, the brave *Odenatus*, entering the *Persian* territories, put all there to fire and sword, overcame *Sapor* in several battles, besieged a second time, and, according to *Syncellus*, made himself master of *Ctesiphon*. But, in the mean time, the *Goths* entering *Asia* by the *Euxine* sea, over-ran *Lydia*, *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Troas*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, laying waste the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immense booty, and an incredible number

c Trig. tyrann. c. 25. p. 198.

d Ibid. c. 28. p. 198.

(K) *Victor* is of opinion, that they entered that province on the side of *Gaul* (6); but *Adrianus Valefius* proves, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Constantine*, that they conveyed themselves thither by sea (7). Be that as it will, all authors agree, that they entered *Spain*, ravaged the country far and wide, and took

by storm, plundered, and almost utterly destroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which, for the space of an hundred and fifty years, bore the marks of what it suffered at this time (8). Some of the *Franks* from *Spain* crossed over into *Africa* (9): but what was the issue of that rash undertaking, we are no-where told.

(6) *Aur. Viſt. in Gall.*

(7) *Val. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 3, 4.*

(8) *Orof.*

*l. vii. p. 223. Hier. chron. Eutrop. Viſt.*

(9) *Viſt. & Val. p. 5.*

of captives<sup>e</sup>. The next year, *Paternus* and *Arcefilaus* being consuls, *Odenatus*, leaving *Ctesiphon*, hastened back to the relief of *Asia*; but the *Goths*, not thinking it advisable to wait his arrival, re embarked at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and returned home, loaded with booty. Many of them, however, were drowned, being overtaken in the *Euxine* sea by the *Roman* fleet. All authors agree, that *Odenatus* was killed about this time; but differ both as to the place and manner of his death (L). He had begun, as appears from some medals<sup>f</sup>, the fourth year of his reign. He left behind him three sons by *Zenobia*, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vabalath*, or, as he styled on some medals, *Hermias Vhaballat* &c. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, *Zenobia* governed in their name with the title of queen of the East; arrayed them with purple robes, and other ensigns of the imperial dignity; and, in that attire, presented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the assemblies of the people<sup>h</sup>. It is uncertain whether they were put to death by *Aurelian*, or died before<sup>i</sup>. From their medals it appears, that *Herennianus* reigned at least two years, *Timolaus* three, and *Vhaballat* seven<sup>k</sup>. *Zenobia* did not, it seems, tread in the footsteps of her husband, and keep up, as he had done, a good understanding with *Gallienus*. For we find, that *Heracianus*, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of *Odenatus*, had sent into the East to

He is murdered.

Year of the flood

2704. Of Christ

266.

Of Rome 1014.

His wife

Zenobia governs in

the name of her children.

<sup>e</sup> Gall. vit. p. 179.  
p. 116. BIRAG. p. 386.  
<sup>i</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> GOLTZ. p. 115.

<sup>g</sup> Idem,

<sup>h</sup> Trig. tyrann. c. 26. p. 192.

<sup>k</sup> GOLTZ. p. 116.

(L) According to *Syncellus*, he was killed at *Heraclea* (1); according to *Zosimus*, at *Emesa* (2). *Trebellius Pollio* writes, that he was murdered by one *Mæonius*, his cousin, who was proclaimed emperor in his room, but soon after put to death. *Syncellus* ascribes his death to another *Odenatus*, who was himself murdered by the guards (3). Some writers suppose *Zenobia* herself to have assisted the conspirators underhand, being provoked against her husband for preferring

his eldest son *Herod*, by a former wife, to the children he had by her (4). It is certain, that *Herod* was killed with his father, who, according to some writers, had taken him for his partner. Such was the end of *Odenatus*, deservedly ranked by historians among the greatest princes that ever reigned in the East. God, says *Trebellius Pollio*, was angry with the *Romans*, since he took *Valerian* from them, and did not long preserve *Odenatus* (5).

(1) *Syncell.* p. 382. (2) *Zos.* p. 651. Trig. tyr. c. 14, 16. (3) *Syncell.* p. 382. (4) Trig. tyrann. c. 16. p. 193. (5) *Ibid.* c. 14 p. 192.

make war upon the *Persians*, was this very year defeated by *Zenobia*, and obliged to return to *Rome*.

TOWARDS the end of the year, one *L. Ælianus* assumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*; but was soon overcome by *Posthumius*, who reduced the rebellious city, but would not give it up to be plundered by his soldiers; who thereupon mutinied, and, transported with rage, murdered their brave leader, with young *Posthumius*, his son. *Trebellius Pollio* ascribes his death to *Lollianus*, who had revolted from him, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. *Lollianus*, stiled on the ancient coins *Spurius Servilius Lollianus*<sup>1</sup>, was meanly born; but had raised himself in the army by his gallant conduct. He reigned in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*, while *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumius* had taken for his partner, held the rest. But he did not long enjoy the sovereignty, being murdered, on account of his severity, by his own soldiers, stirred up by *Victorinus*, who, upon his death, became sole master of all *Gaul*; but was soon after mortally wounded at *Cologne*, by one whose wife he had debauched. Before he died, he named his son *L. Aurelius Victorinus* his successor, tho' then an infant. But the *Gauls*, not able to brook the government of a child, murdered him; and set up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, originally an armourer, but a man of great valour, and extraordinary strength. He was killed the third day of his reign by a soldier, who had formerly worked under him. The assassin ran him through with his sword, telling him, that it was of his own making<sup>m</sup>. Upon his death, the troops in *Gaul* proclaimed *P. Pius* or *Pesuvius Tetricus* emperor. He was a *Roman* senator, had been consul, and was at this time governor of *Aquitaine*. He was acknowledged in *Spain* and *Britain*, as well as in *Gaul*, and held those provinces with the title of emperor till the fourth year of *Aurelian's* reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince<sup>n</sup>, as we shall relate hereafter. He immediately conferred the title of *Cæsar* upon his son *G. Paccuvius Pius* or *Pesuvius Tetricus*, who was then but an infant. All these usurpers in *Gaul*, to wit, *Posthumius*, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Marius*, and *Tetricus*, were set up by *Victorina*, or *Victoria*, the mother of *Victorinus*, who had a great interest in *Gaul*, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to *Gallienus*. She was honoured, probably by her son *Victorinus*, with the titles of *Augusta*, and *The mother of the armies*. As she was a woman of masculine courage, and possessed of immense wealth, which she liberally distributed among the soldiers, she gave

Posthumius murdered in Gaul, and Lollianus declared emperor.

Victorinus and his son murdered.

Marius declared emperor, and murdered; and Tetricus raised to the empire in his room.

<sup>1</sup> GOLTZ, p. 117.   
 Ibid. c. 23. p. 196.

<sup>m</sup> Trig. tyrann. c. 7. p. 187.

<sup>n</sup> Idem

the empire of *Gaul* to whom she pleased, and bore under all the usurpers, who were but her creatures, an absolute sway. She died during the usurpation of *Tetricus*; but whether a natural or violent death, is uncertain; for some writers seem to insinuate, that she was privately dispatched by his orders <sup>o</sup>.

THE same year the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, ravaged *The irrup-* anew the provinces of *Asia*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, *tions of the* and thence carried back with them an immense booty; while *Goths*, the *Heruli*, passing from the *Palus Mæotis* into the *Euxine* and the *Heruli*: sea with five hundred vessels, landed at *Byzantium*, and *Chrysopolis*, now *Scutari*, under the conduct of one *Naulobatus*. At the latter place they were attacked and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was himself killed in the engagement. Notwithstanding their defeat, instead of returning to their own country, they crossed the *Bosporus*; and, steering their course towards *Cyzicus*, surprised and plundered that great and wealthy city, with part of *Asia*, and the islands of *Lemnos* and *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. Then they sailed towards *Greece*; and, landing there, besieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, and laid waste all *Achaia*; but were in the end attacked and defeated with great slaughter by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the historian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devastations in *Bæotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace* <sup>p</sup>. *Gallienus*, who was just then returned from *Gaul*, where he had been making war upon *Lollianus*, leaving *Aureolus* at *Milan*, hastened into *Illyricum*; and, coming unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. *Naulobatus*, their leader, was obliged to yield himself to the emperor's mercy, who treated him with great humanity; and, to gain the affections of the barbarians, even honoured him either with the consulship, or the consular ornaments <sup>q</sup>. *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, *St. Jerom*, *Orosius*, and *Trebellius Pollio*, speak of a great victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Illyricum* over the *Goths*, meaning, no doubt, the *Heruli*; for all the northern nations are, by some writers, stiled *Goths*, by others *Scythians*. After this victory, *Gallienus* hastened back to *Italy*, leaving *Marcianus* in *Illyricum*, to pursue the war with the *Heruli*; which he did with no less courage than success, cutting off great numbers of them, and obliging the rest to quit their booty, and abandon the *Roman* dominions <sup>r</sup>.

THE revolt of *Aureolus* was what obliged *Gallienus* to return in great haste to *Italy*. For *Aureolus*, not satisfied with

<sup>o</sup> Trig. tyrann. c. 30. p. 200.

<sup>p</sup> Gall. vit. p. 184. SYN-

CELL. p. 382. Zos. p. 651.

<sup>q</sup> Gall. vit. p. 181. SYNCEL.

ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Claud. vit. p. 208. Gall. vit. ibid.

War be-  
tween  
Aureolus  
and Gal-  
lienus.

Gallienus  
murdered;  
Year of  
the flood  
2706.  
Of Christ  
268.  
Of Rome  
1016.



and most of  
his mini-  
sters and  
friends  
condemned  
by the se-  
nate.

the power which he already enjoyed, took advantage of *Gallienus's* absence, to march with all the troops under his command towards *Rome*, with a design to depose *Gallienus*, and cause himself to be proclaimed sole emperor; for some writers tell us, that *Gallienus* had already taken him for his partner in the empire; while others stile him only the emperor's general. *Gallienus*, hearing of his march, and suspecting his design, left *Illyricum*, and, reaching *Italy* in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of *Milan*; which city *Gallienus* immediately invested. This happened in the beginning of the year 268. the fifteenth of *Gallienus's* reign, when *Paternus* was consul the second time with *Marinianus* \*. All authors agree, that *Gallienus* was killed during this siege; but differ both as to the manner and authors of his death. The most probable opinion is, that *Marcianus*, who was returned from *Illyricum*, *Heracianus*, and *Cecrops*, a native of *Mauritania*, and commander of the *Dalmatian* cavalry, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and, alarming the camp in the dead of the night, as if *Aureolus* were rallying our with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his son *Gallienus*, and his two brothers, *Valerian* and *Egnatius*. The soldiers, hearing the emperor was dead, and suspecting he had been murdered, began to mutiny; but *Marcianus* distributing large sums among them, twenty pieces of gold a man (for *Gallienus* always carried immense treasures with him), the mutiny was appeased, and the whole army declared *Gallienus* a tyrant, and took the usual oaths to *Claudius*, whom the conspirators proposed to them, as the best qualified man in the whole empire, to sustain the name and dignity of a *Roman* emperor †. Such was the end of *Gallienus*, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, according to the most probable opinion, after he had reigned fifteen years, seven before, and eight after, the captivity of his father *Valerian*.

THE senate declared him a public enemy, ordered most of his friends, ministers, and relations, to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, and caused his name to be erased out of all public inscriptions. He was one of the most wicked princes mentioned in history, and is said to have equaled *Nero* in cruelty, and *Heligabalus* in lewdness. He passed his whole time in the company of the most infamous prostitutes in *Rome*, and, laying aside all care and thought of the public, suffered the *Roman* dominions to be over-run by the barbarians, and the empire to be rent in pieces by the many usurpers who

\* Gall. vit. p. 181.

† Ibid.

started up in his time, shewing no more concern for the loss of a province, to use the expression of *Trebellius Pollio*, than for that of an old garment. He exerted his cruelty chiefly against the soldiers, of whom he is said to have sometimes ordered three or four thousand to be put to death in one day. He excluded all senators from military employments, and would not even suffer any of that illustrious body to appear in the camp, or among the soldiers. Notwithstanding all his vices, he was a great encourager of learning, being himself well versed in all the branches of polite literature, especially in oratory and poetry. His historian tells us, that, on occasion of the marriage of his brother's son, he made an extemporary epithalamium, which far excelled those that were written at the same time, after many days study, by the best Greek and Latin poets then in Rome<sup>u</sup>. After his death, *Claudius* caused him, though universally abhorred both by the Gallienus senate and people, to be deified with the usual ceremonies. <sup>generally</sup> His body was, in all likelihood, conveyed by *Claudius's* or-<sup>abhorred,</sup> der to Rome; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* speaks of his tomb <sup>but deified.</sup> on the *Appian* way, about nine miles from the city<sup>w</sup>. Of the few writers, who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (M).

As

\* Gall. vit. p. 180.

w AMMIAN. p. 472.

(M) *Palfurius Sura* wrote the history of the reign of *Gallienus* (6); and this is all we know of him. *Cælestinus*, and *Mæonius Aphyanax*, quoted by some of the *Augustine* writers, are equally unknown. They all flourished under *Gallienus*; for of the transactions of his reign they speak, as of things happening in their time (7). *Vossius* ranks them among the Latin historians (8). *Suidas* mentions one *Epheorus* of *Cuma*, who wrote the history of *Galenus*, or rather, as others read, *Gallienus*, in twenty-seven books (9). *Vossius* places him among the Greek historians, and takes him to have been a native of *Cuma* in *Asia* (1). He

wrote other histories; but none of them have reached us (2). *Trebellius Pollio* quotes a passage out of one *Julius Aterianus*, much to the credit and reputation of *Victorinus*, who usurped the empire in *Gaul* (3). The same writer quotes another passage out of one *Gallus Antipater*, who wrote the history of *Aureolus*, and probably of the other tyrants: but he seems to have entertained a very bad opinion of him; for he calls him a slave to honours, and the disgrace of historians, though the passage he quotes, does not, in our opinion, deserve such a severe censure (4). Under *Gallienus* flourished likewise *Luperus* of *Berytus*, a cele-

(6) Gall. vit. p. 183. (7) Valer. vit. p. 175. Trig. tyrann. c. 11. p. 190.  
 (8) Voss. bist. Lat. p. 182. (9) Suid. p. 1111. (1) Voss. bist. Græc.  
 l. ii. c. 16. p. 240. (2) Idem, l. i. c. 7. p. 37. (3) Trig. tyrann.  
 c. 5. p. 187. (4) Claud. vit. p. 223.



As soon as the tumult, occasioned by the death of *Gallienus*, was appeased, the soldiers, with loud acclamations, proclaimed *Claudius* emperor. The news of what had happened at *Milan* reaching *Rome* on the twenty-fourth of *March*, the senate immediately assembled; and the letter which *Claudius* wrote to them being publicly read, they unanimously confirmed the election of the army, proclaimed *Claudius* emperor, and heaped upon him all the honours which had ever been conferred upon any prince, repeating forty times, *That they had always wished to have Claudius, or such a person as Claudius, for emperor* <sup>1</sup>.

His ex-  
traction  
and pre-  
ferments.

He was a native of *Illyricum*, born, according to some, in *Dardania*, according to others, in *Dalmatia*. Of his father and ancestors *Trebellius Pollio* owns that he knows but very little, though, after his accession to the empire, some flattering genealogists pretended to derive his pedigree from *Dardanus* and the *Trojans* <sup>2</sup>. On most medals he is stiled *M. Aurelius Claudius* <sup>3</sup>. He had no children, but two brothers, *Quintillus*, who succeeded him, and *Crispus*, the father of *Claudia*, who married *Eutropius*, and had by him *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*. The name of *Constantine* was, it seems, peculiar to the family of *Claudius*; for one of his sisters was called *Constantina*, a name hitherto never mentioned in history. The present emperor is, by all writers, even by *Zosimus*, an avowed enemy to *Constantine*, extolled as one of the best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. He was highly esteemed by the emperor *Valerian*, who first gave him the command of the fifth legion, and afterwards, at the request of the senate, appointed him general of all the troops in *Illyricum*, which comprehended *Thrace*, *Moesia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia*, and *Dacia*. The same emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and give him the command of the prætorian guards. *Gallienus* stood in great awe of him; and, being informed that *Claudius* disapproved of his conduct, he did all that lay in his power to attach him to his interest, sent him rich presents, and wrote to one *Venustus*, his particular friend, charging him, by all means, to gain *Claudius*, and remove from him all jealousies and suspicions <sup>4</sup>. In his letter he stiled *Claudius* his friend and kinsman. *Claudius* attended him in his wars against *Posthumius* in *Gaul*, and the

\* *Claud. vit.* c. 203.  
p. 117. *BIRAG.* p. 402.

† *Idem*, p. 206.  
\* *Claud. vit.* p. 207.

\* *GOLTZ.*

brated grammarian, who wrote was, in many things, preferred  
several grammatical pieces, and to *Herodian* (5).

(5) *Suid.* p. 58. *Voss. list. Græc.* l. ii. c. 16. p. 240.

*Heruli* in *Illyricum*; and was sent by him, after the revolt of *Aureolus*, to defend the city of *Ticinum* or *Pavia*. But, in the mean time, *Gallienus* being killed, he was, though, according to some writers, not privy to the conspiracy, proclaimed emperor <sup>b</sup>.

His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than *Aureolus* he attacked *Aureolus*, encamped at a small distance from *Asi-* defeated *lan*, utterly defeated the troops under his command, and took and killed the usurper himself prisoner. He designed to grant him his life; but the soldiers killed him without his orders (N). After the death of *Aureolus*, the troops that had served under him acknowledged *Claudius*, who, without loss of time, led them and the rest of his army against the *Germans*, who had broken into *Italy*, and were advanced as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Garda*, near *Verona*. There the emperor defeated *The Ger-* them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in mans de- pieces, obliged those, who outlived the general slaughter, to feated by save themselves by a precipitate flight into their own country, *Claudius*. and, returning to *Rome*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, passed the remaining part of the year in settling affairs there; which he did with great prudence and justice, redressing all grievances, and suppressing the many abuses and disorders which had prevailed in the late reign.

In the beginning of the following year he entered upon his second consulship, having *Paternus* for his colleague; and soon *He march-* after set out from *Rome* to make head against the *Goths*, and *es against* other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred the *Goths*, and twenty thousand fighting men, besides women, servants, and children, had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and committed *northern* every-where most dreadful ravages, laying waste whole *nations*; provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and sword. The emperor came up with them, as they were retiring, loaded with booty, through *Upper Moesia*.

As he was upon the point of engaging them, he wrote with his own hand the following letter to the senate: "I am, conscript fathers, in sight of the enemy, and ready to en-

<sup>b</sup> Claud. vit. p. 203.

(N) The emperor raised a monument to his memory, caused his body to be honourably interred, and ordered a bridge to be built over the *Adda*, at the place where he had been killed; which, from his name, he called *Pons Aureoli*, *The bridge of Aureolus*; whence the present village of *Pontirolo* on the *Adda*, between *Milan* and *Bergamu*, in all likelihood, took its name (6).

(6) *Trigint. tyrann. c. 10. p. 190.*

and gains  
a memora-  
ble victory  
over them.

“ gage them : they are three hundred and twenty thousand strong. If I overcome them, you will not, I hope, be ungrateful. If I should not be attended with success, you will remember, that I fight after the reign of *Gallianus*. The whole empire is quite spent and exhausted, partly by him, and partly by the many tyrants, who, during his reign, usurped the sovereignty, and laid waste our provinces. We want even shields, swords, and spears. The provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, the main strength of the empire, are in the hands of *Tetricus*. Our archers, to our great shame, are with-held from us by *Zenobia*. Whatever, therefore, we perform successfully in our present circumstances, must be accounted great.” But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, *Claudius* advanced boldly against the barbarians, and, after a long and obstinate dispute, gained one of the greatest victories mentioned in history ; for no fewer than three hundred thousand of the enemy were killed or taken prisoners. The emperor himself gave the following account of this memorable victory, in a letter, which he wrote after the battle to *Junius Bracchus*, governor of *Illyricum* : “ We have utterly defeated an army of three hundred and twenty thousand *Goths*, and destroyed their fleet, consisting of two thousand sail. The fields and shores are covered with swords, shields, and dead bodies. We have taken such numbers of captives, that, not to mention the men, two or three women will fall to the share of each soldier in our victorious army.” Among the prisoners were many princes, and persons of great distinction. All the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, who were employed to till the ground ; and every city could shew you, says *Pollio*, glorious monuments of the fortune and courage of the brave and invincible *Claudius* <sup>d</sup>. For this victory the emperor took the surname of *Gothicus* <sup>e</sup>.

Zenobia  
reduces  
Egypt.

WHILE *Claudius* was thus employed against the barbarians, *Zenobia*, having overcome *Probus*, who commanded some troops in *Egypt*, reduced that province, and, after a long siege, took, and utterly destroyed, *Bruchium*, the citadel of *Alexandria*. *Probus*, finding he could not, by any other means, escape falling into the hands of the victorious queen, dispatched himself with his own sword <sup>f</sup>. The following year, when *Antiochianus* and *Orphitus* were consuls, the emperor, having nothing to fear from the barbarians, resolved to march against *Zenobia*, who held all the provinces in the East ; but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army,

<sup>c</sup> Claud. vit. p. 204.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> GOLTZ. p. 118.

<sup>f</sup> Zos. p. 654, 655.

and made a dreadful havoc of his men. The emperor himself was, in the end, seized, and carried off by the raging distemper at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had reigned, according to the most probable opinion, two years, and one month <sup>g</sup>. In him centred, says *Trebellius Pollio*, the moderation of *Augustus*, the valour of *Trajan*, the piety of *Antoninus*, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him <sup>h</sup>. He may be truly said to have re-established, during his short, but glorious reign, the tottering empire, and to have restored it to its former lustre. The senate not only bestowed divine honours upon him after his death, but hung up in the place where they assembled, a shield of gold, on which was engraved his image. This shield was still to be seen in the reign of *Constantine the Great*. The people erected to him at their own expence two statues, one of gold ten feet high, which they placed by that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, and another of silver in the forum, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, and representing the emperor in his triumphal robes <sup>i</sup> (O).

The death of Claudius.

Year of the flood 2708.

Of Christ 270.

Of Rome 1018.

Extraordinary honours conferred on him by the senate and people of Rome.

UPON the death of *Claudius*, the senate and people of Rome proclaimed his brother *Quintillus* emperor, who was then at *Aquileia*, in which city he was murdered by his soldiers, after a short reign of seventeen days, for attempting to restore, with too much severity, the discipline of the primitive times. Thus *Trebellius Pollio* <sup>k</sup>. But *Zosimus* <sup>l</sup>, and *Zonaras* <sup>m</sup>, tell us, that *Quintillus*, hearing *Aurelian* had been acknowledged emperor by the army in *Pannonia*, and finding his own troops ready to revolt, by the advice of his friends, caused his veins to be opened, and, by that means, put an end to his life and reign. Most writers speak of him as one in every respect equal to his brother. Upon his death the senate readily confirmed the election of *Aurelian*, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus*. He was, according to most writers, a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, of a mean descent, but universally admired on account of his extraordinary strength and courage. He had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner under the emperors *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, and

His brother Quintillus proclaimed emperor; but dies soon after.

Aurelian raised to the empire. His extraordinary and pre-eminent merits.

<sup>g</sup> Zos. p. 654. EUSEB. chron. p. 138. GRUTER. p. 276.  
<sup>h</sup> Claud. vit. p. 203. <sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 208. <sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 206.  
<sup>l</sup> Zos. p. 654. <sup>m</sup> ZONAR. p. 239.

(O) *Claudius*, and not *Gallienus*, as *Spanhemius* pretends (7), was the last emperor, who assumed on his medals the titles of *high pontif*, and *tribune of the people* (8).

(7) *Spanh. l. viii. p. 699.* (8) *Birag. p. 402. Noris. de Licinii nummo, c. 3. p. 49.*

*Claudius*, in their wars with the barbarians, of whom he is said to have killed with his own hand forty-eight in one engagement, and in several others nine hundred and fifty; whence songs were made upon his exploits, and sung publicly by the youth on festival days. As there were two *Aurelians* at the same time in the army, and both tribunes, the soldiers used to distinguish the present *Aurelian* with the surname of *Manu ad ferrum*, that is, *Hand to the sword*; so ready was he on all occasions to draw his sword, and encounter the enemy. He was a most strict observer of the military discipline, and used to punish with the utmost severity the least neglect of duty, and the least injury offered by his soldiers to any of the inhabitants of the provinces, through which he marched. He was, when proclaimed emperor, commander in chief of the cavalry, to which post he had raised himself from the low station of a common soldier. From *Sirmium*, where he was saluted emperor by the whole army, after the death of *Claudius*, he hastened to *Rome*, and was received there, both by the senate and people, with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; but before he could settle affairs in the metropolis of the empire, he was obliged to return in great haste to *Pannonia*, the *Goths*, notwithstanding their late most dreadful overthrow, having anew broken into that province. *Aurelian* engaged them, and the battle lasted, without any considerable advantage on either side, till night, when the enemy repassed the *Danube*, and the next day sent ambassadors to sue for peace; which *Aurelian* readily granted them, being informed, that the *Alemanni*, the *Jutbongæ*, whose country bordered upon *Rætia*, and the *Marcomanni*, threatened to invade *Italy* itself, and were committing dreadful ravages and devastations in several parts.

Concludes  
a peace  
with the  
Goths.

He defeats  
several  
German  
nations;

AGAINST them therefore *Aurelian* led the flower of his army, and, meeting them in *Vindelicia*, which comprehended all the present *Bavaria*, and great part of *Suevia*, he put them to flight, and destroyed vast numbers of them, as they attempted to pass the *Danube*. Hereupon they sent ambassadors to the emperor, offering to renew their antient alliance with *Rome*, provided they were allowed to return unmolested into their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. The emperor, elated with his victory, would hearken to no terms; which threw the enemy into the utmost despair. After various consultations and debates among themselves, they resolved at length to enter *Italy*, since they could not return to their own country; and accordingly,

who nevertheless  
enter Italy,

<sup>a</sup> Aurel. vit. p. 210, 211.

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. p. 211.

finding the passes unguarded (for *Aurelian* apprehended no attempt of that nature), they advanced, before the emperor came up with them, as far as *Placentia*. There *Aurelian* attacked them; but, after having lost most of his troops, was put to flight, and utterly defeated. The barbarians, elated with so signal a victory, pursued their march, not doubting but they should be able to take *Rome* itself, as the *Gauls* had formerly done. But, in the mean time, *Aurelian*, having rallied his dispersed troops, and reinforced them with the legions quartered in *Illyricum*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, but are, in and put the emperor to flight: and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as escaped from this first battle, were slain in two others, one of which was fought near *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man <sup>P</sup> (P).

WHILE the emperor was preparing to return to *Rome*, news were brought him, that the *Vandals* had passed the *Danube*, under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes. This obliged him to hasten to the defence of the threatened provinces. The *Vandals* retired upon his approach; the emperor, however, pursued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him as hostages the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He incorporated two thousand of their best men in his army, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube*. *Aurelian*, having thus happily ended the wars with the *Goths*, *Germans*, and *Vandals*, returned to *Rome*, and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his first consulship, having for his colleague *Numerius Ceionius Virius Bassus*. As several disturbances had happened in *Rome* during his absence, he punished the authors of them with great severity, and such too as were accused of having blamed his conduct in the *German* war. *Trebellius Pollio* tells us, that though he was, in other respects, an excellent prince, he often suffered his passion to get the better of his reason, and punished, with excessive rigour, faults which an humane prince would have overlooked. He put several senators to death, upon the

<sup>P</sup> *Aurel. vit.* p. 215, 216. *DEXIPP. legat.* p. 7—11.  
<sup>1</sup> *DEXIPP. legat.* p. 12.

(P) To this day is to be seen by the inhabitants in memory of at *Pesaro*, a city about five miles the victory gained there by *Aurelian* over the *Germans* (9). from *Fano*, a monument erected

(9) *Gruter. p.* 276.

Aurelian  
estranges  
the minds  
of the se-  
nate and  
people  
with his  
severity.

deposition of a single witness; and often gave ear to the accusations of persons, who deserved no credit; which much lessened the reputation he had gained by his exploits in the field, and estranged from him the minds both of the senate and people (Q). This year, with the consent and approbation of the senate, he undertook the repairing the walls of the city, which he likewise extended; so that they were near fifty miles in compass. This great work was not accomplished till the latter end of the reign of *Probus*.

He  
marches  
against  
Zenobia.  
Year of  
the flood  
2710.  
Of Christ  
272.  
Of Rome  
1020.

Her ex-  
traction,  
conduct,  
and admi-  
nistration.

THE following year, when *Quietus* and *Voldumianus* were consuls, *Aurelian*, having settled affairs in *Pannonia*, *Italy*, and at *Rome*, left the city anew, and set out for the East, to make war upon the celebrated *Zenobia*, who, to the great disgrace of the empire, had held, for several years, most of the eastern provinces. This queen, one of the most illustrious women mentioned in history, is stiled on several medals *Septimia Zenobia*; whence some writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor *Septimius Severus*. She pretended to derive her pedigree from the *Cleopatra's* and *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, and her family was reckoned one of the most conspicuous in the East. She was well versed in all the branches of polite literature, understood thoroughly the *Egyptian*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages, and, in the knowledge of history, excelled most men of her time. She is even said to have compiled an abridgment of the *Egyptian* and *Oriental* histories, which was in great request among the learned. St. *Athanasius* writes, that she professed the *Jewish* religion, and is therein followed by *Abulfarajius*. She married the celebrated *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyra*, and afterwards partner in the empire with *Gallienus*. She had great share in the many signal victories gained by her husband over the *Persians*, and is said to have been no less courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs. Upon his death, she arrayed her three sons, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vhaballat*, in purple, caused them to be acknowledged by all the eastern provinces as joint emperors of *Rome*, and obli-

<sup>r</sup> Aurel. vit. p. 116.    <sup>s</sup> Aur. VICT. epit. Aurel. vit. p. 216.  
<sup>t</sup> Zos. p. 655.    <sup>u</sup> BIRAG. p. 385. SPANH. p. 937.    <sup>w</sup> Aur.  
vit. p. 219.    <sup>x</sup> ATHAN. solit. p. 857.    <sup>y</sup> ABUL. p. 81.

(Q) The emperor *Julian* any pretence to condemn the charges him with having put rich, being in great want of money to carry on the war, and many persons to death unjustly (1); and *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that he was glad of pay his troops (2).

(1) *Julian. Cæs. p. 16.*

(2) *Ammian. l. xxx. p. 431.*

ged them to conform to the *Roman* customs, and use not the *Greek*, which was spoken by other eastern princes, but the *Latin* tongue. As they were under age, she governed in their name, with the title of *queen of the East*, for the space of five, or, as others will have it, six years, discharging each duty of an excellent prince, and experienced commander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She shewed great wisdom in her counsels, was steady in her resolutions, kind and generous to persons of merit, but inexorable when severity was judged necessary. She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the *Persian* monarchs, and causing all those who approached her to fall prostrate before her, after the manner of the *Persian* court. She often appeared at the head of her troops, armed with an helmet, and arrayed with the imperial robes, harangued them, and marched with them several miles on foot, using an horse, and sometimes a chariot, when the marches were long, but seldom a litter. In imitation of the *Roman* emperors, she gave magnificent entertainments, not scrupling, on these occasions, to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the *Persian* and *Armenian* ambassadors, though otherwise very sober and temperate <sup>z</sup>.

In the reign of *Gallienus*, she defeated *Heracianus*, as we have related above; and, by his overthrow, remained in peace-<sup>Her exploits.</sup> able possession of all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, to which she added *Egypt*, while *Claudius* was taken up with the *Gothic* war. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, in the reign of *Aurelian*, she seized on great part of *Asia*, and attempted to reduce *Bithynia* <sup>a</sup>. *Aurelian*, desirous to put an end to her usurpation, ordered all his forces to assemble in *Illyricum*; and, setting out from *Rome* early in the spring of this year, 272. bent his march through *Thrace*, where he engaged, and put to flight, several barbarous nations, who had made irruptions into that province. He even passed the *Danube*, and in an engagement with *Caunabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, slew him, and five thousand of his men <sup>b</sup>. Having thus defeated the *Goths*, he pursued his march to *Byzantium*, and, crossing the *Bosporus*, entered *Bithynia*, which was held by *Zenobia*, according to *Vopiscus*, but immediately submitted. From *Bithynia* he advanced into *Cappadocia*, where the inhabitants of *Tyana* shut their gates against him; which so incensed *Aurelian*, that he swore he would not leave a dog alive in the place. His soldiers attacked it with great fury; but were, in their repeated assaults, repulsed with considerable loss by the in-<sup>Aurelian defeats the Goths, and kills one of their kings.</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Trigint. tyr. c. 29. p. 198.  
vit. p. 216.

<sup>a</sup> Zos. p. 655.

<sup>b</sup> Aur.



*Takes* inhabitants, till one of them, by name *Heraclammon*, betrayed *Tyana* in ed his country and fellow-citizens to the enemy (R).

*Cappado-* FROM *Tyana Aurelian* led his army strait to *Antioch*, de-  
*cia.* feated the troops of *Zenobia* in the neighbourhood of that  
*Zenobia's* city, and entered, as it were, in triumph, the metropolis of  
*army de-* *Syria*. This victory, however, cost him dear; for the *Pal-*  
*feated.* *myrenians* (so the troops of *Zenobia* are stiled by historians)

fought with incredible bravery, and the *Romans* owed the victory rather to art than valour; for, observing the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they betook themselves to flight; and, facing about unexpectedly, when they were quite spent with the long pursuit, put them easily in disorder, and gained a complete victory<sup>c</sup>. From *Antioch Aurelian* pursued his march to *Emesa*, whither *Zenobia* had retired with her army, consisting of seventy thousand men. Under her commanded one *Zabas* or *Zabdas*, a man of great courage and experience, who had signalized himself in the *Persian* wars in the time of *Odenatus*. After several skirmishes with various success, both armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Roman* horse were put to flight at the first onset; but their infantry, attacking the enemy both in the front and flanks, left naked

<sup>c</sup> Zos. p. 655.

(R) We are told by *Vopiscus*, that the ghost of the famous *Apollonius Tyaneus*, appearing to *Aurelian*, warned him not to destroy the place of his nativity; and that the emperor, moved by this apparition, would not suffer his soldiers to offer the least injury to the inhabitants, answering them, when they put him in mind of his vow, not to leave a dog alive in the place, That they might kill, if they pleased, all the dogs, provided they spared the inhabitants. This answer was received with great applause by the soldiers themselves, who were no less pleased, says *Vopiscus*, with the humour of their general, than if he had abandoned to them all the riches of that opulent city (3). *Hera-*

*clammon*, who betrayed the place, was the only person whom the emperor suffered to be put to death. Concerning him, he wrote the following letter to *Mallius Chilo*, who was, it seems, the emperor's particular friend: "I have taken *Tyana*, and suffered the person, by whose favour, and, as it were, good offices, I took it, to be cut in pieces by my soldiers. I have spared the rest; but could not endure such a traitor. Would he ever have been faithful to me, who betrayed his own country? He was rich, I own it; but his estate I have given to his children, that no one might accuse me, as if I had put him to death for the sake of his wealth (4)."

[3] *Aur. vit.* p. 217.

(4) *Ibid.*

and exposed by the departure of their cavalry, who were pursuing the Romans, obliged them, after a long and obstinate dispute, to give ground, and shelter themselves behind the walls of *Emesa*; which place, however, they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army, and withdrew with *Zenobia* to *Palmyra*, whither *Aurelian* pursued them close, though strangely harassed in his march by the Syrian robbers, who cut off great numbers of his men.

He immediately invested the place, hoping to carry it by repeated assaults; but all his efforts proving unsuccessful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The besieged, animated by the example of their queen, not only repulsed the aggressors with showers of arrows, darts, and stones, but rallied them from the walls, without sparing the emperor himself (S); who being, at length, quite tired out with the toils and fatigues of so long a siege, wrote a letter to *Zenobia*, exhorting her to surrender, and promising her her life. To this letter *Zenobia* returned the following answer:

"No man ever before you made such a demand. It is not by letters, but valour, that you must induce me to submit. You cannot but know, that *Cleopatra* chose rather to die, than live under *Augustus*, notwithstanding the mighty promises he made her. I expect daily the *Persians*, *Saracens*, and *Armenians*, who are all hastening to my relief; and what will then become of you, and your army, whom the robbers of *Syria* have put to flight? You will then lay aside that pride and presumption, with which you command me to surrender, as if you were the conqueror of the universe." *Aurelian*, piqued with this answer, immediately ordered a general assault; but was repulsed with great loss, and obliged to give over the attempt. However, he defeated, a few days after, the *Persians*, who were coming to the relief of the place; and partly by menaces, partly by promises, prevailed upon the *Armenians* and *Saracens* to join him against the queen, whom they were come to assist. *Zenobia*, finding

<sup>d</sup> Aur. vit. p. 218.

(S) *Aurelian* owned in one of his letters, that he had never engaged a more brave and resolute enemy; and, mentioning *Zenobia*, says, that she did not behave like a timorous woman, but fought with all the boldness of a man in despair. "It is incredible, adds he, what thick showers of arrows, darts, and

"stones, she discharges upon us; she harasses us night and day with fire from her engines, &c. However, I hope the gods, who have never yet failed to second our endeavours, will not, on this occasion, abandon the cause of the Roman people."

Zenobia  
taken, and  
brought to  
Aurelian  
Year of  
the flood  
2711  
Of Christ  
273  
Of Rome  
1021  
~~~~~

herself disappointed as to the succours which she had long expected, and despairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, resolved to withdraw privately from the city into *Perfia*, and there solicit in person more powerful supplies. Accordingly she set out in the dead of the night, with a small retinue, on fleet camels, carrying with her part of her jewels and treasures. But *Aurelian*, who was very watchful, having had timely notice of her flight, detached a party of horse after the fugitive queen; who, coming up with her as she was ready to cross the *Euphrates* in a boat, seized her, and carried her back to *Aurelian*, who, from that moment, began to look upon himself as the conqueror and sole lord of the East. When she was brought into his presence, he asked her, What had prompted her to take up arms against, and insult over, the emperors of *Rome*? To this question the queen replied, with no less intrepidity than address, That she looked upon him indeed, who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but, as for *Gallienus*, *Aureolus*, and such as resembled them, she had never thought them worthy of that name^e.

THE city of *Palmyra* still held out, and some were against submitting upon any terms whatsoever; but others sued for mercy, and, upon the emperor's promising to grant them their lives, opened their gates to the conqueror, who spared the inhabitants, but stripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed one *Sandarion* governor of the place, with five hundred archers, and other troops, under his command^f. After this, the emperor returned to *Emesa*, carrying with him the captive queen, whose death the soldiers demanded with loud clamours; but the emperor thought it beneath him to spill the blood of a woman, the more, because she had with great care defended the eastern provinces against the *Persians*, and other neighbouring nations, ready to seize them during the domestic disturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire^g (T).

The

^e Trigint. tyrann. c. 29 p. 199
^g Ibid

^f Aur. vit. p. 219.

(T) The emperor likewise spared *Vhaballat*, the queen's youngest son (5). As for the other two, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, *Pollio* tells us in one place, that it is uncertain whether they died a natural or violent death (6), and elsewhere, that they were led in triumph with the queen their mother (7). All writers agree, that *Aurelian* caused many per-

(5) Zof. p. 661. *Birag.* p. 385.
(7) *Iidem*, c. 23 p. 196.

(6) *Trig tyrann.* c. 26. p. 198.

The fame of this victory soon reached the most distant nations, and they all strove with solemn embassies, and rich presents, to gain the friendship of the conqueror of Zenobia (U). Aurelian, having thus recovered, and settled in peace, the eastern provinces, returned by Chalcodon and Byzantium into Europe, carrying with him his illustrious captive.

He defeated, on his march through Thrace, the Carpi, who had broken into that province; but at the same time he was informed, that the inhabitants of Palmyra had revolted, put the Roman governor and garison to the sword, and proclaimed a kinsman of Zenobia, named Achilleus, or, as Zosimus calls him, Antiochus, their sovereign. Upon this intelligence, the emperor, with great expedition, hastened back into Syria; and, arriving at Palmyra before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, he took the city without opposition, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition^b. He had not yet quitted the East, when news were brought him, that Egypt had revolted, and set up for emperor one Firmus, or rather Firmius, as he is stiled on such of his medals as have reached our timesⁱ. He was a native of Seleucia in Syria; but possessed an immense estate in Egypt, and carried on an advantageous trade with the Saracens, the Blemyes, a people of Ethiopia, and the inhabitants of India; for he used to boast, that, with his gains only upon paper and glue, he could maintain a whole army. Vopiscus relates wonderful things of his strength and appetite. He was

^b Aur. vit. p. 219.
P. 599.

ⁱ GOETZ. p. 119. SPANH. l. vii.

sons of distinction to be executed at Emesa for siding with Zenobia, and ordered others to be thrown overboard, when he crossed over from Chalcodon to Thrace. Among the former was the celebrated philosopher Longinus, of whom hereafter.

(U) Among these are mentioned the Blemyes, the Auxumites, the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, the Bactrians, Iberians, Abenians, Saracens, Armenians, Ethiopians, Indians, Persians, and even the Seres or Chinese. Hormisdas, or, as Eutychius calls him, Hormoz al Horri, who had suc-

ceeded his father Sapor in the kingdom of Persia, sent to the emperor, amongst other presents, a chariot covered all over with gold, silver, and precious stones of an inestimable value, and a scarlet mantle of such a lively colour, that the Romans had never seen any but what came infinitely short of it. Aurelian, and after him Probus and Dioclesian, taken with its extraordinary brightness and beauty, sent, but to no effect, persons into the East, on purpose to discover the art of dying to such an extraordinary perfection (8).

(8) Aur. vit. p. 218.

greatly attached to *Zenobia*, and, to keep up her party and interest, assumed the title of *Augustus*, made himself master of *Egypt*, and stopped the corn which it used to send yearly to *Rome*. *Aurelian* marched against him with that expedition which was peculiar to him; and, being attended with his usual success, overcame the usurper, stormed a strong-hold to which he fled, and, having taken him prisoner, caused him to be publicly executed ^k.

Gaul re-
duced.

Aurelian's
triumph.

HAVING thus suppressed all troubles in the East, he returned the second time to *Europe*, with a design to recover, and reunite to the empire, the provinces of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which were still held by *Tetricus*. This he easily compassed, *Tetricus* himself, no longer able to bear the continual disorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into *Gaul*^l. However, a battle was fought near *Chalons* on the *Marne*; during which, *Tetricus* voluntarily yielding to *Aurelian*, his troops, destitute of a leader, were cut in pieces. Thus was *Gaul*, after it had been held for the space of thirteen years by different tyrants, united anew to the empire. Towards the end of this year, when *Tacitus*, afterwards emperor, and *Placidianus*, were consuls, *Aurelian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received with the most magnificent triumph the city had ever beheld. There were four royal and stately chariots: the first, which had belonged to *Odenatus*, was intirely covered with silver, gold, and jewels; another, equally rich and magnificent, was a present to *Aurelian* from the king of *Persia*; the third was *Zenobia's* own chariot; and the fourth, which was drawn by four stags, had been taken by *Aurelian* from a *Gothic* prince. In the latter the emperor himself made his entry. These chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beasts from different countries. Next came eight hundred couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives of different nations, with their hands tied behind their backs, to wit, *Goths*, *Alans*, *Roxolans*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Suevians*, *Vandals*, *Alemans*, *Blemyes*, *Auxumites*, *Arabians*, *Eudæmonians*, *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Persians*, such of the *Palmyrenians* as had outlived the late slaughter, some *Egyptians* taken in the late rebellion of *Firminus*, and ten *Gothic* women, whom *Aurelian* had taken fighting in the habit of men. These were followed by *Tetricus* in a scarlet robe, and his son, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire. Next to them marched *Zenobia*, whose uncommon beauty, noble stature, and majestic mien, attracted the eyes

^k Aur. vit. p. 220. Zos. p. 661.
p. 119.

^l Tsig. tyrant. c. 23.

of the spectators, and seemed to eclipse the grandeur and lustre of the emperor himself. She was bound with chains of gold, which other persons bore up, appareled with the richest tissues and robes, and so loaded with pearls and precious stones, that she was often obliged to halt, being ready to sink under so great a burden. *Zenobia* was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the senate in a body, the people of *Rome*, with their various standards, and the victorious legions, horse and foot, in rich and splendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees, the symbol of victory, in their hands. The senate, however, in the midst of the public rejoicings, betrayed no small concern to see *Tetricus*, one of their own body, who had even been consul, led in triumph. In the capitol *Aurelian* sacrificed to *Jupiter* the four stags that had drawn his chariot, in compliance with a vow he had made, when he took them. From the capitol he went to the palace, attended by the senate, and such crowds of people, that the day was far spent before he could reach it. The next and several following days, he diverted the people with plays, races in the circus, shews of gladiators, combats of wild beasts, sea-fights in the *naumachia*, and all sorts of entertainments^m.

HE treated his illustrious captives with great humanity and kindness. To *Zenobia* he gave lands and possessions in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, sufficient to maintain her according to her rank. On that estate she lived, says *Trebellius Pollio*, like a Roman matron, with her children, that is, according to *Zonaras*, with her daughters, whom *Aurelian* took under his protection, and married to persons of the first quality in *Rome*ⁿ (W). The emperor shewed no less kindness to *Zenobia*, and her children;

^m Aur. vit. p. 220.
Zon. p. 240.

ⁿ Trigint. tyrann. c. 29. p. 198.

(W) The same writer adds, that *Aurelian* himself married one of them; which may perhaps be as true as what *Syncellus* had written before him, to wit, that the emperor gave *Zenobia* herself in marriage to an illustrious senator (9). Be that as it will, it is certain, that her descendents lived still at *Rome* in great splen-

dor about the latter end of the fourth century (1). *Baronius* takes the holy bishop of *Florence*, *Zenobius*, who was cotemporary with *St. Ambrose*, to have been of her family (2). As for her son *Vaballath*, he retired into *Armenia*, where *Aurelian* gave him, it seems, a small principality; for he coined money, and

(9) *Syncell.* p. 385.
ann. 274.

(1) *Hier. chron.*

(2) *Baron. ad*

and towards
Tetricus,
and his
son.

kindness to *Tetricus*, than to *Zenobia*. To make some amends for the injury he had done him, by leading him like a captive in triumph, he heaped many honours upon him, styling him his colleague, his fellow-foldier, and even honouring him sometimes with the title of emperor. He appointed him governor of *Lucania*, telling him pleasantly, that it was more to his reputation to govern a province of *Italy*, than to reign beyond the *Alps*°. He treated with the same humanity and good-nature young *Tetricus*, whom he had led in triumph with his father, suffering him to continue in the senate, and leaving his estate untouched, which he transmitted to his posterity, who lived at *Rome*, under the succeeding princes, in great splendor, esteemed and revered by persons of all ranks (X).

Several
regulations
made by
Aurelian.

Year of
the flood
2712.
Of Christ
274.
Of Rome
1022.



THE next consuls were, *Aurelian* the second time, and *G. Julius Capitolinus*. This year the emperor continued at *Rome*; and, being now diverted by no foreign or domestic wars, he applied himself wholly to the suppressing of several abuses which had prevailed in the time of *Gallienus*, and which *Claudius* had not been able to obviate during his short reign. He made several regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had estranged from him, in the beginning of his reign, with his cruelty, to which he had naturally a great bias. To the bounties of the emperors his predecessors, who had established funds for distributing bread and oil among the people, he added a certain portion of hogs-flesh to be given with the bread and oil; and increased the latter largess by the addition of an ounce to each pound. He even designed to establish a fund for distributing a certain quantity of wine among them; but was either prevented by death from putting his design in execution, or, as others write, diverted from it by the captain of the guards, who told him, that, if he allowed the populace wine, they would next expect geese and chickens P (Y). He appointed, that *Egypt* should supply the city

* EUTROP. AUR. VICT. epit.

P Aurel. vit. p. 225.

is filed on some of his coins, which are still to be seen, *Vhaballat* of *Armenia*, and on others, *Vhaballat king of the Verimi*, probably an obscure people of *Armenia* (3).

(X) In the house of the *Tetrici*, on mount *Cælius*, was still to be seen, in the time of *Con-*

stantine the Great, a most beautiful piece, representing in mosaic work the father and son delivering up a sceptre to *Aurelian*, and *Aurelian* restoring to them the senatorial robes, and vesting them with their former dignity.

(4).

(Y) When he left *Rome*, to

(3) *Birag.* p. 407. *Gulst.* p. 115, p. 196, 197.

(4) *Trig. tyrann.* c. 23, 24.

city of *Rome* yearly with a certain quantity of glass, paper, linen, and several other things, that were either the natural growth of, or manufactured in, that country^a. He caused wharfs to be built along the banks of the *Tiber*, and the channel of that river to be cleansed, and dug deeper.

BUT nothing more obliged persons of all ranks, than his generously remitting whatever was owing this year by private persons to the exchequer, and his publicly burning in the forum of *Trajan* all the papers, bonds, and registers, relating to such debts. At the same time he published an act of oblivion with respect to all crimes committed against the state to that day. From that time forward he punished with the utmost severity such as accused others, without being able to make good their charge^r. He enacted many wholesome laws, by which he is said to have purged *Rome* of all professed lewdness, irreligion, and wicked arts. Finding that eunuchs began to be sold at a very great rate, he fixed the number which each person might keep of such slaves, according to their different ranks. He enacted most severe laws against adultery, and punished with death one of his own domestics guilty of that crime. He would suffer none to keep women free-born for concubines. His domestics, freedmen, and slaves, he kept in great awe, causing them, as he was naturally inclined to cruelty, to be inhumanly beaten in his presence for the smallest faults, and delivering them up, when guilty of transgressing the laws, to the civil magistrates^s. He designed to forbid all tissue of gold, and gilding, pretending, that in nature there was as great a stock of gold, as of silver; and that the former metal, if such a prohibition should take place, would become as common as the latter. This prohibition, however, was not published by him, but by his successor *Tacitus*, who is supposed to have suggested it to him^t. About this time he built and consecrated a most magnificent temple to the *Sun*, of which frequent mention is made in history; and embellished it with most rich and costly ornaments, and with an infinite quantity of gold, pearls, and precious stones. It was one of

His generosity.

He builds a magnificent temple to the Sun.

^a Aurel. vit. p. 224.
p. 224.

^r Ibid. p. 222.

^s Ibid.

^t Ibid. & Tacit. vit. p. 230.

make war upon *Zenobia*, he promised to give to each man among the people a crown weighing two pounds, if he returned conqueror. The people thought he meant crowns of gold; but, when they challenged his promise, the

emperor caused loaves to be made of the finest flour in the form of crowns, each weighing two pounds; and distributed them daily among the people so long as he lived, as he frequently did money and cloaths.

the most stately and magnificent structures in *Rome*. The gold-vessels belonging to it weighed fifteen hundred pounds. He likewise enriched the capitol, and most of the temples in the city, with presents of great value sent him by foreign princes^a. He extended the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, increased their revenues, and established funds for the repairs of the temples, and the salaries of the inferior ministers.

A great sedition in Rome. TOWARDS the end of the year, a dangerous sedition was raised in *Rome* by the persons employed in the mint, who, having, by a notorious breach of trust, coined a great quantity of false money, to avoid the punishment due to their crime, joined in a body, and, under the conduct of one *Feliciſſimus*, formerly a slave, but appointed by *Aurelian* one of the receivers of the exchequer, raised such disturbances, that the emperor was obliged to order his troops to march against them, whom they received drawn up in battle-array on mount *Cælius*; killed seven thousand of them; but were in the end, though they fought with all the boldness of men in despair, overcome, and punished with the utmost severity, not to say cruelty. After this the emperor called in all the false coin, and gave true money in its room^w. Soon after this sedition, he put several senators to death, and likewise the son, or, as others will have it, the daughter, of his own sister,^u for faults not specified in history, but only said not to have deserved such a severe punishment^x.

Aurelian marches into Gaul, to appease some disturbances there. TOWARDS the close of this, or the very beginning of the following year, when *Aurelian* was consul the third time, with *Marcellinus*, some disturbances happened in *Gaul*, which obliged the emperor to quit *Rome*, and hasten thither. All we know of this expedition is, that *Gaul* was restored to its former tranquillity; and that the emperor, marching from that province into *Vindelicia*, obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption on that side, to repass the *Danube*^y (Z). From *Vindelicia* the emperor marched into *Illyricum*; and there find-

^a Aur. vit. p. 217, 222. Zos. p. 661. ^w Aur. vit. p. 222. Zos. p. 665. ^x Aur. vit. ibid. Aur. VICT. epit. ^y Aur. vit. p. 221. Zon. p. 240.

(Z) A modern writer (5) is of opinion, that the emperor, before he left *Gaul*, rebuilt the city of *Orleans*, which, at least ever since the fifth century, has been called by the Latin writers *Aureliani urbs*, and *urbs Aureliano-*

rum: its antient name was *Genabum* or *Cenabum*. *Gregory of Tours* tells us, that he likewise either built or fortified the city of *Dijon*, at present the capital of *Burgundy* (6).

(5) *Le Maître, antiq. d'Orleans*, c. 3. p. 9.

(6) *Greg. p. 172.*

ing the province of *Dacia* in the hands of the barbarians, who had seized it in the reign of *Gallienus*, he did not think it worth his while to recover a country, which, he was well apprised, he could not maintain in the midst of so many barbarous nations. He therefore withdrew the *Roman* troops from the few forts they still held beyond the *Danube*, and gave to the inhabitants, who had been driven out by the barbarians, part of *Moesia* and *Dardania* to settle in (A). He abandoned to the barbarians the province of Dacia.

FROM *Illyricum* the emperor marched into *Thrace*, with a design to pass the winter there, and early in the spring to cross over into *Asia*, and lead his army against the *Persians*, upon what provocation, history does not inform us. But, while he was wholly bent upon this war, death overtook him, and put a period to this, and his other vast designs. Historians give us the following account of his unhappy end : He suspected *Mnestheus*, one of his freedmen and secretaries, of some extortion, and had threatened to punish him. Hereupon *Mnestheus*, probably conscious to himself of the crime laid to his charge, and well acquainted with the emperor's cruel and inflexible temper, resolved to prevent his design. Accordingly, counterfeiting his master's hand, he wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers in the army, and, among the rest, his own ; and, shewing it to those whose names he had set down, told them, that he had found it in the emperor's closet ; that they were all doomed to destruction ; and that only by some desperate attempt they could avert their impending ruin. They all believed him, and, prompted partly by fear, partly by indignation, to see their services thus rewarded, took, without hesitation, the resolution suggested to them by *Mnestheus* ; and a few days after, as the army was marching to a place named *Cænophurium*, that is, the new castle, half-way between *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, they fell upon the emperor sword in hand, while he was attended only by a small guard, and dispatched him with many wounds (B). A conspiracy formed against him.

(A) Thus out of these two countries he formed a new province, called by some the *Aurelian Dacia*, by others *New Dacia*, to distinguish it from *Trajan's Dacia*, which lay beyond the *Danube*. The metropolis of this new province, which, according to *Sanson*, comprehended the most distant parts of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was *Sardica*, now

known to us by the name of *Sofia*, but called by the inhabitants *Tridixza* (7). The *Goths*, it seems, possessed themselves of the country which the emperor had abandoned.

(B) *Vopiscus* writes, that he fell by the hand of *Mucapor*, who, it seems, was a man of rank, since he is stiled general ; and a letter is still extant written to him

He is murdered.

Year of the flood 2713.

Of Christ 275.

have Of Rome 1023.

(7) *Aur. vit.* p. 222. *Lactanz. persec.* c. 9. p. 8. *Synell.* p. 385.

have been killed about the latter end of *January*; for his death was known at *Rome* on the third of *February* of this year 275. so that he had reigned five full years; and lived, according to the most probable opinion, sixty-three². His death did not remain unpunished; for the officers, who had killed him, finding, soon after his death, that they had been imposed upon by *Messius*, threw him to the wild beasts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceased emperor, in the place where he had been killed, the whole army solemnizing his obsequies with the utmost pomp and magnificence. All those who had had any hand in his death were either cut in pieces on the spot by the enraged soldiery, or afterwards executed under his successors *Tacitus* and *Probus*. His death was much lamented by the senate, who, at the request of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more by the people, whom he had obliged with more bounties and largesses than any of his predecessors had done.

His character.

AURELIAN is commonly stiled the restorer of the empire, which after the evils it had suffered by the captivity of *Valerian*, and indolence of *Gallienus*, began to revive under *Claudius*, and was by *Aurelian* restored to its former strength and lustre. He delivered *Italy* from the incursions of the *Alemanni*, rescued the East from the shameful yoke of a wonian, humbled the *Persians*, still elated with the captivity of *Valerian*, reunited *Gaul* to the empire, and restored to *Rome* *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, over-run and oppressed by the barbarians. His arms were dreaded, and his friendship courted, by the most distant nations. He was a prince of great bravery, prudence, and generosity; but, as his excessive cruelty overbalanced all his other good qualities, he is by *Vopiscus*, and most other writers, ranked not among the good, but the useful princes (C). Of the

² *Aur. vit.* p. 221. *Aur. Vict. epit.* *Zos.* p. 661.

by *Aurelian*, wherein the emperor gives him an account of the vigorous opposition he met with from *Zenobia* at the siege of *Palmyra* (8).

(C) Of *Aurelian*, *Vistor* the younger observes, that he appeared in public with a diadem on his head, which no emperor had dared to do, before him *Jornandes* writes, that *Dioclesian* was the first Roman emperor who

presumed to wear that royal ornament (9). But that he, and not *Vistor*, was mistaken, appears from one of the duke of *Arfeh*'s medals, on which *Aurelian* is represented with a crown on his head resembling our ducal crowns (1). The succeeding princes followed his example; but the diadem was not commonly worn till the time of *Constantine*.

(8) *Aur. vit.* p. 218.

(9) *Jorn. rep.* v. 23. p. 44.

(1) *Arfeh*-*ana numism.* *Crois ducis*, tab. 63. *Zwirwerp. ann.* 1604. *Spanhem. lib. viii.* p. 682, 683.

writers who flourished under this prince, we shall speak in our note (D).

As

(D) Under *Aurelian* flourished two celebrated philosophers, *Longinus* and *Amelius*. The former, named *Cassius Longinus*, and likewise *Dionysius*, which name is prefixed to his treatise on the sublime, is by most writers thought to have been a native of *Athens* (2). From *Papiscus* it appears, that he could not write in the *Syriac* tongue (3); and consequently, that he was not by birth a *Syrian*, as some have asserted. His family, it seems, came originally from that country (4); for his mother *Frontonides* was sister to *Fronto* of *Emesa* in *Phœnicia*, who taught rhetoric at *Athens* in the reign of *Severus*, published many works, and, dying in that city, bequeathed his estate to his nephew (5). *Longinus*, when he was yet very young, traveled with his father into several countries; which gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the great philosophers of those times. In one of his works, which *Porphyrius*, his epitomizer, has conveyed to us, he names several philosophers of different sects, among whom the most famous are *Plotinus*, his disciple *Amelius*, *Ammonius* a Christian philosopher, and one *Origenes*. *Longinus* was a long time the disciple of the two latter (6). He professed and taught the philosophy of *Plato*, and had the celebrated philosopher *Porphyrius* for his disciple, who tells

us, that he and some other philosophers were feasted at *Athens* by *Longinus*, on *Plato's* birthday (7). *Longinus* was not only a great philosopher, but the best critic and orator of his age, and so well versed in the various branches of literature, that he was commonly styled a *treasure of knowledge*, and a *living library* (8). He was a man, says *Eunapius*, of an extraordinary discernment in discovering beauties and faults in the writings of others, and therein surpassed all men (9). He was charged, says that writer, without telling us by whom, to write critical dissertations on the works of the ancients; and his judgment was preferred to what others had written on the same subject before him (1). He taught *Zenobia* the *Greek* tongue, espoused her cause with great warmth against *Aurelian*, and was supposed to have dictated the letter which that prince wrote to the emperor during the siege of *Palmyra*. That letter so provoked *Aurelian*, that, upon the reduction of the place, he caused the supposed author of it to be put to death; which he suffered with great firmness and intrepidity, comforting those who were affected with his misfortune. This base revenge reflected no small dishonour on *Aurelian* (2); for the loss of so great a man was looked upon as a public calamity.

(2) *Johns. l. iii. c. 14. p. 284.*
1088.

(3) *Idem ibid.*

par. evang. l. x. c. 3. p. 464.

Plot. vit. p. 13.

l. d. (2) Aur. vit. p. 219.

(3) *Aur. vit. p. 219.*

(6) *Plot. vit. p. 13.*

Plot. vit. p. 14.

(9) *Eunap. c. 2. p. 16, 17.*

Zof. l. x. p. 69.

(4) *Suid.*

(7) *Fujeb.*

(8) *Eunap. c. 2.*

(1) *Iacm*

As all the chief officers in the army had been concerned in the death of *Aurelian*; the soldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved,

ty (3). He left many works behind him, very useful, says *Zosimus* (4), to such as desire to be instructed in the sciences, and which were admired by all the world. He must have begun to write very early, if what *Porphyrius* asserted be true, to wit, that *Origen*, who died in 253. read with application his works (5). *Eusebius* quotes a passage out of one of his works, shewing the absurdity of the opinion of the Stoics concerning the soul (6). *Porphyrius* mentions a work of his upon vehemence, inscribed to *Porphyrius* himself, and to one *Cleodamus* (7); and the preface of another upon the Supreme Being, addressed to one *Marcellus*, wherein he confuted the opinions of *Plotinus* and *Amelius* (8), quoting a work which he had written against *Porphyrius* himself, for his having preferred the opinion of *Plotinus* to what he had learnt of him concerning ideas: in the same preface he made mention of a long letter, which he had written to *Amelius* against some particular sentiments of *Plotinus*, and upon *Plato's* opinion touching justice (9). *Porphyrius* gives us the abstract of a letter which *Longinus* wrote to him about the year 270. desiring him to send him the works of *Plotinus*, and to leave *Sicily*, where *Porphyrius* then was, and come to him in *Phanicia*. *Porphyrius*, adds, that, if

his affairs had allowed him to go thither, *Longinus* would have better understood the sentiments of *Plotinus*, and saved himself the trouble of confuting them (1). The same writer quotes three other works of *Longinus*, to wit, on principles, or first causes, on the love of antiquity, and on men of letters (2). *Suidas* mentions several philological pieces published by *Longinus* (3); but takes no notice of his treatise on the sublime, the only intire work of *Longinus* which has reached our times, and fully answers the great idea which the antients raise in us of its author. *Cecilius*, who flourished in the time of *Augustus*, wrote a treatise on the sublime; but contented himself only with shewing in what true sublimity consisted, without prescribing any rules leading us to the attainment of it, which is the chief subject of *Longinus's* treatise, handled in a manner worthy of so great a writer. Among the instances he alleges of those who have written in a stile truly sublime, and suitable to the greatness of their subject, he speaks of *Moses* thus: "The Jewish legislator, who was no common man, having filled his mind with sublime notions of the grandeur and power of God, expressed them, at the beginning of his laws, in a stile answering the mighty subject; God said, Let there be

(3) *Eunap.* c. 1. p. 17.

l. vi. c. 19.

ant. p. 10.

ant. p. 17.

l. p. 50.

(4) *Zos.* l. i. p. 659.

(6) *Idem*, *prop. evang.* l. xv. c. 20. p. 822.

(8) *Idem*, p. 13, 14.

(9) *Idem* *ibid.*

(5) *Idem*, p. 9.

Jefus. l. iii. c. 14. p. 284.

(5) *Euseb.*

(7) *Plot.*

(1) *Plot.*

(3) *Suid.*

beloved, not able to prevail upon themselves to name any of them in his room, wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the

"light, and there was light; Let the earth appear, and it was so (4)." *Longinus* inscribed this work to one *Posthumius Terentianus*, his intimate friend, and a man of letters, whom some writers take to be the same person with *Terentianus Maurus*, who published several works, some of which have reached our times. But of him we have spoken in the reign of *Domitian* (5); for he flourished, according to *Vossius*, under that prince.

Amelius, against whom *Longinus* wrote, was a philosopher of great note among the *Platonics* (6). *Suidas* says, he was of *Apamea*; but *Porphyrus* assures us, that he was born in *Ettruria*: perhaps his family came originally from *Apamea* in *Syria*, and settled in *Ettruria*. *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* supposes *Amelius* and *Gentilianus* to have been two distinct persons; and quotes, for that, *Porphyrus*, who tells us in express terms, that *Amelius* was likewise called *Gentilianus* (7). He was disciple to *Plotinus*, and greatly attached to him; for he lived twenty-four years with him at *Rome*, from the third year of *Philip* to the first of *Claudius*, that is, from the year 246. to the beginning of 269 (8). He had studied before under *Lyfimachus* a Stoic philosopher (9). He was at *Apamea* in *Syria* at the beginning of the

year 270. when *Plotinus* died. He was a very laborious man, and is said to have composed an hundred volumes, containing only what he had heard of *Plotinus* in the frequent conferences that philosopher had held with him, and others of the same sect (1). In the year 263. he had not yet published any thing of his own; but, before the death of *Plotinus*, he wrote forty books against magic, and the heretics called gnostics (2). He composed one in three days time, shewing in what chiefly the doctrine of *Plotinus* differed from that of *Numenes*. This piece he inscribed to *Porphyrus* by a letter, which is still extant (3). To him he likewise addressed some other works to clear up the difficulties he met with in the doctrine of *Plotinus*. *Amelius* and *Plotinus* were, in the opinion of *Longinus*, the only philosophers, who, in his time, published works worth perusing (4). The tenets of these two philosophers were the same; but *Amelius* explained them more (perhaps, too much) at large; and hence probably it was, that his works were greatly neglected and undervalued by the *Platonics* themselves about the latter-end of the following century (5). *Eusebius* (6), *Theodoret* (7), and *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* (8), produce a passage out of his works, wherein he quotes

(4) *Long. c. 8. p. 2.*

(5) *See before, p. 103, in the note*

(6) *Euseb.*

præp. l. xi. c. 13. p. 44.

(7) *Cyrl. in Jul. l. viii. c. 6. p. 283. Pl.*

vit. p. 5.

(8) *Plot. vit. p. 3. 6.*

(9) *Idem, p. 13.*

(1) *Idem,*

p. 3. (2) Idem, p. 10.

(3) *Idem, p. 11.*

(4) *Idem, p. 11.*

(5) *Euseb. præp. l. xi. c. 11. c. 9. p. 140.*

(6) *Idem, l. i.*

(7) *Idem,*

de const. Gæcc. off. p. 30.

(8) *Cyr. in Jul. l. viii. p. 283.*

The army the death of the emperor, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. When their letter was read, *Tacitus*, who was

the beginning of *St. John's* gospel. *Theodoret* calls him the chief of the school of *Porphyrius*, that is, of *Plotinus*, whose tenets were held by *Porphyrius* (9). *Suidas* writes, that *Porphyrius* was instructed by him in the principles of the *Platonic* philosophy (1). About the same time flourished one *Androclides*, author of a piece upon the sophists, who made extemporary speeches: in that work he mentions *Porphyrius*; whence *Suidas* concludes him to have flourished at the same time. He was the son of one *Syneſius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia* (2).

Some historians too flourished under *Aurelian*, to wit, *Calliſtrates* of *Tyre*, whom *Vopiscus* ſtiles the moſt learned of all the *Greek* hiſtorians of his time (3); and *Theoclius*, or *Theon*, of *Cbios*, as ſome critics conjecture (4). Both theſe hiſtorians wrote the life of *Aurelian*; but dwelt, it ſeems, too much on moſt trifling incidents (5). *Nicomachus*, another *Greek* hiſtorian, wrote at the ſame time; for *Vopiscus* tells us, that he copied from him the letter which *Zenobia* wrote to *Aurelian*; that *Zenobia* dictated it in the *Syrian* language; and that *Nicomachus* tranſlated it into *Greek*; in which language it was ſent to *Aurelian*, who had writ-ten to her in the ſame dialect (6). *Voffius* takes this to be the *Ni-*

comachus who tranſcribed, as we read in *Sidonius* (7), and corrected, the life of *Apollonius Tyanaus*, in confronting it with the original of *Philoſtratus* (8). *Aurelianus Feſticus*, a freedman of the emperor *Aurelian*, wrote the hiſtory of his reign, or at leaſt part of it, with the life of *Fir-mus*, who uſurped the title of emperor in *Egypt* (9). *Voffius* ranks him, *Cornelius Capitolinus*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Zeno-bia*, and *Gellius Fuſcus*, who wrote the life of *Tetricus* tyrant of *Gaul*, among the *Latin* writers, no doubt on account of their names; for *Vopiscus*, who quotes the two former, and wrote in the reign of *Conſtanti-ſus Chlo-rius*, tells us, that ſome *Greek*, but no *Latin*, author had undertaken, before him, to write the hiſtory of *Aurelian's* reign (1). *Erennius Dexippus*, by birth an *Athenian*, by profeſſion an orator, the ſon of another *Dexippus*, flouriſhed under *Aurelian*, and was reckoned one of the greateſt orators *Greece* had ever produced (2). His ſtile, ſays *Photius*, was grave and majeſtic; his words expreſſive, his phraſes proper, and well ſuited to the ſubject; ſo that he may be called a ſecond *Thucydi-des*; but in clearneſs he far excels the firſt (3). Though he was a man of letters, yet he fought with ſucceſs at the head of his countrymen againſt the *Goths*,

(9) *Theod.* p. 500.(3) *Vit. Aurel.* p. 209.(5) *Aurel. vit.* p. 210.

epiſt. 3. p. 214.

vit. p. 244.

rap. c. 2. p. 21.

(1) *Suid.* α. p. 198.(4) *Voff. Epiſt. Græc.* l. iv. c. 17. p. 485.(6) *Idem.* p. 218.(8) *Voff. ibid.* l. ii. c. 16. p. 214.(1) *Aurel. vit.* p. 209.(3) *Plot.* c. 32. p. 200.(2) *Idem.* α. p. 261

p. 485.

(7) *Sidon.* l. viii.(9) *Firm.*p. 659. *Eu*

was at that time prince of the senate, and voted the first, de- election of clared, that he was for referring the choice of a new emperor a new to the army, as the army had done to the senate : For what prince to disputes, said he, and disturbances will inevitably ensue, should the senate, not the army approve of the person whom we name ! The se- and the si- nate acquiesced to his proposal ; but the soldiers referred the nate to the choice a second and a third time to the senate, as the senate did army. to the soldiers ; so that the empire, by this reciprocal exchange of compliments, and commendable dispute between the senate and army, remained near eight months without an head, and nevertheless no usurper started up during that time ; no disturbances happened either at Rome, or in the provinces. But the barbarians in the mean time, taking advantage of the interregnum, began to put themselves in motion. The Germans, that is, the *Lyges*, the *Franks*, the *Burgundiones*, and the *Vandals*, broke into Gaul ; the *Goths* threatened *Illyricum* ; and every one expected, that the *Persians*, against whom *Aurelian* had declared war, would not continue long quiet. These things *Velius Cornificius Gordianus*, then consul, laid before the senate on the twenty-fifth of September ; and earnestly pressed them to proceed, without farther delay, to the election of a new prince. He concluded his speech by telling them, That the empire could no longer subsist without an head ; and that the army would either accept the prince whom they chose, or, rejecting him, choose another.

THERE had been some talk before of raising *Tacitus* to the empire, who thereupon had withdrawn into *Cumpania*, and

or *Heruli*, in the year 267 (4). He wrote the history of the Roman emperors from *Alexander to Claudius*, with no less conciseness, says *Capitolinus* (5), than sincerity ; whence he is often quoted by him, and *Trebellius Pollio*, who stile his history *the history of the times*. He wrote a separate history of the wars of the Romans with the *Scythians*, which he intituled *Scythica*. This *Ptoletius* preferred, for the elegance of stile, to all his other works (6). He likewise wrote, in four books,

the history of the successors of *Alexander the Great* (7). *Vossius* ascribes to him the book on *Aristotle's* categories, which has reached our times (8). But others maintain, that *Dexippus*, the author of that work, was disciple to *Iamblichus*, who flourished in the reign of *Julian the Apostate* (9). We ought perhaps to distinguish likewise *Dexippus*, the author of some comedies (1), from the historian, though *Vossius* confounds them (2).

(4) *Gallien. vit.* p. 181.

c. 82. p. 200.

l. iii. p. 299.

c. 16. p. 243.

(5) *Capit.* p. 150.

(7) *Idem ibid.* p. 201.

(1) *Suid.* p. 3516.

(5) *Capit.* p. 150.

(8) *Voss.* p. 243.

(2) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. i.

(6) *Ple*

(9) *John*

Tacitus
unanimous-
ly chosen by
the senate.

lived there two months in retirement ; but, being recalled by the senate, he was present at this meeting held on the 25th of September ; and, after the consul *Gordianus* had ended his speech, he rose up to deliver his opinion the first, as prince of the senate ; but, before he had uttered a single word, the whole assembly cried out with one voice, *We salute you, Tacitus, emperor : to you we commit the care of the state, and the world. Take the empire given you by the authority of the senate : your rank, your character, your past conduct, deserve it.* He attempted to excuse himself in regard of his great age (for he was then seventy-five) ; but they all cried out, That other emperors, advanced in years, had governed with great applause ; that they wanted not a soldier, but an emperor ; not a strong body, but a vigorous mind ; and that he had a brother, who would bear with him part of the burden. After this, was taken the suffrage of each senator in particular, when *Metius Falconius Nicomachus*, the eldest consular, after having in an elegant speech bestowed the highest encomiums upon *Tacitus*, enlarged in a very affecting manner on the many evils attending the administration of young and unexperienced princes ; and conjured *Tacitus*, by the love he bore his country, not to leave the empire to his sons, who were yet children, but to name for his successor a person, whom he judged equal to so great a trust, if the state were, by the immutable decrees of the *Fates*, deprived of him before his children attained to maturity of age. He added, that, to dispose of the senate, the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire, in the same manner as he disposed of his houses, lands, and slaves, was repugnant to the laws of justice and equity ; and that nothing would so much commend his name to all future ages, as to shew at his death, that he loved the republic above his family and issue. When *Metius* had ended his speech, the senators all to a man cried out, *Tacitus is emperor.* The decree was accordingly drawn up, vesting him with the sovereign power, and signed by all the senators, even by *Tacitus* himself. From the senate they all went to the field of *Mars*, where *Ælius Cæstianus*, then governor of *Rome*, declared to the soldiers and people assembled there, the election of *Tacitus*, which was received with the usual acclamations ^b.

THE present emperor, named on his coins *M. Claudius Tacitus*, but, by *Vopiscus*, *Aurelianus*, or *Aurelius Tacitus*, acknowledged *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated historian, for his kinsman ; and therefore, to secure his inimitable performance against the injuries of time, he ordered ten copies of it to be transcribed every year, and to be lodged in the public

^a Tacit. vit. p. 227 - 231.

^b Ibid.

libraries, and in the cabinets of the learned; but, notwithstanding his care, only a small part of what that excellent historian wrote, has reached our times. The emperor, as we have hinted above, was advanced in years; but had several children, who were very young. *Florianus*, named on the antient coins *M. Annius Florianus*, was only his uterine brother. All we know of his preferments is, that he had been *His pre-* consul, and was, at the time of his election, prince of the *ferments.* *nate.* He was a man of learning, of a mild temper, an enemy to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive *Romans*. When he was created emperor, he gave his immense estate to the public, allotting part of it for the repairing and beautifying the temples. What ready money he had by him, he distributed among the soldiers. He set at liberty all the slaves he had at *Rome*, and caused his house to be pulled down, in order to build public baths in the place where it stood. His temperance and regularity, his œconomy, and care of the public money, his impartiality in the administration of justice, are much commended by the authors of his life.

In the first speech he made to the senate, he declared, that he would transact nothing without their consent and authority; and then proposed the two following laws, which were received with great applause, and confirmed by a decree; to *Two of his* wit, That whoever should mix metals with a baser sort, should *laws.* forfeit his estate and life; that slaves should not be admitted as witnesses against their masters, even in cases of treason. In the same speech he desired the consulship for his brother *Florianus*; but the senate did not think fit to grant him his request; which he was so far from resenting, that, on the contrary, he seemed highly pleased with the liberty they had taken, saying, *I am glad they know him.* From the very beginning of his reign, he applied himself to the suppressing of several abuses which still prevailed in *Rome*. By one edict, he put down all the brothel-houses; by another, he ordered all the public baths to be shut up at sunset; and, by a third, prohibited all sorts of gold tissue and gilding. He respected the memory of the good emperors, and caused a temple to be built to their honour, and sacrifices to be offered to them on their several anniversaries. He had a particular regard to *Antoninian*, and prevailed upon the senate to decree him a statue of gold; to be set up in the capitol, and others of silver, to be placed in the senate, in the temple of the *Sun*, and in the square of *Trajan* &c. The senate, overjoyed for the recovery of their antient right of creating emperors, ordered public

^c Tacit. vit. p. 232.

processions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feasted their friends, and wrote letters to all the states and cities in alliance with *Rome*, acquainting them, that they were at length restored to their former authority; that the kings and princes of the barbarians were to apply to them; and that all appeals from the proconsuls were to be made, not to the emperor, or the captain of the guards, but to the governor of *Rome*, from whom they might appeal to the senate ^d.

Tacitus
marches
against the
barba-
rians, and
defeats
them.

THE new prince was scarce well settled in the empire, when news were brought him, that incredible multitudes of barbarians were advancing from the *Palus Maotis* through *Colchis*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian* to assist him in his intended expedition against the *Persians*. Tacitus immediately left *Rome*, and, arriving in *Thrace*, where he was received by the army with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, passed from thence over into *Asia*, defeated the barbarians, and obliged them to return into their own country ^e. The following year the emperor entered upon his second consulship, having *Emilianus* for his colleague; and, having passed the winter in *Cilicia*, was preparing to return to *Italy*, when he was, according to some writers,

His death.
Year of
the flood
2714.
Of Christ
276.
Of Rome
1024.

Florianus
assumes the
empire;
but is mur-
dered by
his own
men.

seized with a violent distemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life; but, according to others, killed by his own soldiers ^f. He died at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, or, as others write, at *Tiana* in *Cappadocia*, after a short reign of about six months. Upon his death, his brother *Florianus*, whom he had appointed captain of the guards, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowledged in all the provinces of *Europe* and *Africa*; but the legions quartered in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palæstine*, and *Egypt*, declared for *Probus*, whom Tacitus had appointed commander of all the forces in the east. Hereupon a civil war was kindled in the bowels of the empire, while the barbarians were ready to invade it on all sides. *Florianus* gained at first some advantages over his competitor; but, as the troops under his command were more addicted to *Probus* than to him, they began to mutiny; and, at the approach of *Probus*, who was resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, fell upon their own leader, cut him in pieces, after he had reigned about two months, and joined *Probus*. This happened in the neighbourhood of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*.

Probus
proclaimed
emperor.
The death of *Florianus* was no sooner known in *Europe* and *Africa*, than the armies every-where proclaimed *Probus* emperor, and the senate readily confirmed their election, ho-

^d Tacit. vit. p. 231, 232.
p. 662.

^f Tacit. vit. p. 230.

^e ZONAR. p. 240. Zos.

pouring the new emperor with the titles of *Augustus*, father of his country, high pontif, &c. and vesting him with the tribunitial and proconsular power; for they all entertained a great opinion of his justice, equity, moderation, &c. and looked upon him as a person in every respect qualified for the discharge of so great a trust: and truly, if *Vopiscus* is to be credited, he was one of the best and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. That writer prefers him to *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Alexander*, *Claudius*, nay, to *Augustus* himself. He was, says he, an excellent commander, an able statesman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in short, endowed with every good quality commendable in a prince.^a He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*. His father,^b by name *Maximus*, was, in his youth, by profession a gardener; but afterwards, lifting himself among the troops, he was raised to the post of tribune, and married a woman of rank, by whom he had one son, the present emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention in history. *Probus* entered into the army, when very young; and, having distinguished himself on many occasions under *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, and *Aurelian*, he was, by these princes, raised to the highest posts of the army, and employed, always with success, in the many wars which they waged with the barbarians.^c He was about forty-four years old, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, when preferred to the empire. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he left *Cilicia*, and returned to *Europe*.

He passed the winter in *Pannonia*, and, having there taken upon him his first consulship, and named *M. Aurelius Paulinus* for his colleague, he set out in the spring for *Gaul*, where the *Franks* and other *German* nations had committed dreadful ravages. He is said to have fought in that province many successful battles, to have killed near four hundred thousand of the barbarians, and to have obliged the rest to quit the booty they had taken, and save themselves by flight beyond the *Rhine*. Having thus restored *Gaul* to its former tranquillity, he passed the *Rhine* at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater success than any of his predecessors had ever done (E).

THE

^a Prob. vit. p. 233, 234. 241.^b Ibid. p. 235—237.

(E) This appears from the account which he himself transmitted to the senate in the following letter: "I return thanks to the immortal gods, conscript

fathers, who have given manifest tokens of their approving your choice in raising me to the empire. *Germany*, that wide and extensive country, is

THE following year the emperor entered upon his second consulship, having *Lupus* for his colleague; and, early in the

“ intirely subdued. Nine kings
 “ of different nations have thrown
 “ themselves prostrate at my feet,
 “ or rather yours. All the bar-
 “ barians now plow and sow
 “ for you, nay, even fight for
 “ you. Return, therefore, thanks
 “ to the gods for so signal a con-
 “ quest. Four hundred thousand
 “ of the enemy have been cut
 “ in pieces; sixteen thousand have
 “ been incorporated in our troops.
 “ We have recovered sixty great
 “ cities which they had taken,
 “ and delivered *Gaul* from the
 “ yoke under which it groaned.
 “ The crowns of gold, with
 “ which the cities of *Gaul* have
 “ presented me, I have trans-
 “ mitted to you, to be conse-
 “ crated, and, by your hands,
 “ offered to the great *Jupiter*,
 “ and to the other gods and god-
 “ desses. We have not only re-
 “ covered the booty which they
 “ had taken, but enriched our-
 “ selves with their spoils. The
 “ fields of *Gaul* are plowed with
 “ the cattle of the barbarians;
 “ their sheep are inclosed in our
 “ fold; and our magazines are
 “ filled with their corn: in short,
 “ we have left them nothing but
 “ the bare soil. I have had some
 “ thoughts of reducing *Germany*
 “ to a *Roman* province; but the
 “ republic, exhausted with so
 “ many wars, is not perhaps at
 “ present in a condition to main-
 “ tain the additional troops which
 “ must be raised for that purpose
 “ (3).” *Vopiscus* adds, that he
 “ drove the enemy beyond the *Elb*
 “ and the *Necker*, and built a great
 “ many forts in the country lying

between those rivers and the
Rhine, which he might have easily
 reduced to a *Roman* province;
 but did not think it advisable to
 burden the republic with new
 troops, which he must have raised,
 and left there, to keep those war-
 like nations in awe. *Zosimus* tells
 us, that one of the battles, which
 he fought with the *Logi*, a *Ger-*
man nation, probably the same
 people whom *Tacitus* calls *Lyges*,
 lasted two days, the armies being
 parted only by night; that the
 victory inclined sometimes to the
Romans, and sometimes to the
Germans, who fought with in-
 credible bravery; but that the
 former at length prevailed by
 the valour of *Probus*, and not
 only gave the enemy a total over-
 throw, but took their king, by
 name *Semnon*, prisoner, with his
 sons, and the flower of their no-
 bility; whom, however, the em-
 peror afterwards set at liberty,
 upon their restoring to him all
 the booty and prisoners they had
 taken (4). The same writer adds,
 that, in another engagement with
 the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on
 the banks of the *Rhine*, he took
 their king *Igillus* prisoner, with
 many others of those two na-
 tions, whom he transplanted into
Britain, where they proved very
 serviceable to the *Romans* upon
 all seditions and insurrections (5).
 They settled, perhaps, in *Gam-*
bridgehire; for *Gerwasus* *Wilbu-*
riensis mentions an old *vallum* in
 that county, which he calls *Van-*
delsburg, and says, it was the
 work of the *Vandals* (6).

(3) *Frish. vita* p. 279.

(4) *Z. f. l. i. p. 354.*

(5) *Idem ibid.* p. 365.

(6) *Vid. Conrad. Eborac.* p. 135. & *B. l. l. l. i. vii. p. 218.*

spring, set out from *Gaul*; and, bending his march through *Rhetia*, he arrived in *Illyricum*, whence the *Sarmatians*, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach, leaving their booty behind them: From *Illyricum* he pursued his march into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gothic* nations, sent by *The Goths* their respective states and princes to sue for peace, and court sue for his friendship ⁱ. Having thus settled peace and tranquillity in *peace*. all the provinces of *Europe*, he passed over into *Asia*; and, entering *Isauria*, which had revolted from *Rome*, as we have related above, after many dangerous conflicts with the *Isaurian* robbers, and *Palfurius* their leader, whom he took, and put to death, he intirely reduced that country, transplanted *Isauria* re- the inhabitants into distant provinces, and divided *Isauria* duced. among his veterans, upon condition that they should send their sons, as soon as they attained the age of eighteen, to serve in the army, lest, trusting to their rocks and mountains, they should follow the example of the antient inhabitants, and turn robbers ^k.

FROM *Isauria* the emperor marched into *Syria*, where he entered upon his third consulship, having *Paternus* for his colleague; and, early in the spring, led his army against the *Blemyes*, a barbarous nation, dwelling between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, who had made themselves masters of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* in *Thebais*, and struck terror into the neighbouring countries. *Probus* defeated them with great slaughter, recovered the *The Blemyes* above-mentioned cities, took a great number of the barbarians ^{de-} prisoners, and sent them to *Rome*, where their extraordinary ^{feated} figure, says *Vopiscus*, raised great admiration in the *Roman* people ^l (F). The king of *Persia*, *Varranes* II. alarmed at *The Per-* the fame of the victories gained by *Probus* over so fierce and ^{fians sue} warlike a nation, sent ambassadors to him, with rich presents, ^{for peace}. to sue for peace; but the emperor, not satisfied with their proposals, refused the presents, and sent back the deputies; which so terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with *Probus* upon his own terms ^m. The eastern provinces being thus settled in peace, the emperor returned to *Thrace*, where he allotted lands to one hundred thousand *Bastarnæ*, a *Scythian*

^k *Prob. vit.* p. 239.

^k *Ibid.*

^l *Ibid.*

^m *Ibid.*

(F) *Pliny* had described them (7). Some writers think, that many years before, as a people the shortness of their necks gave without heads, and having their rise to this fable. mouths and eyes in their breasts

(7) *Plin. l. v. c. 3.*

Probus
triumphs.

nation, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak hereafter. They all remained faithful to him; but the *Gepidæ*, *Futhungi*, and *Vandals*, to whom he allotted lands in the same province, revolted, while the emperor was engaged in domestic wars, which broke out the following year. From *Thrace* the emperor returned to *Rome*, and there triumphed over the *Germans* and *Blémyes* ⁿ, and diverted the people, for several days together, with all sorts of shews, combats, and entertainments.

Saturni-
nus re-
volts.

Year of
the flood
2718.

Of Christ
280.

Of Rome
1028.



AND now no foreign nation daring to attempt an invasion, peace reigned throughout the whole empire; but this general tranquillity was soon disturbed by domestic broils, which first broke out in the east, where *Sext. Julius Saturninus*, as he is stiled on the antient coins, was proclaimed emperor. He was, according to some, a native of *Mauritania*, according to others, of *Gaul*, and had distinguished himself in many wars; for he is said to have restored tranquillity to *Gaul*, to have recovered *Africa* from the *Moors*, and appeased the disturbances that had long prevailed in *Spain* ^o. The emperor *Aurelian* had appointed him commander of the troops quartered on the frontiers of the eastern provinces, and at the same time ordered him never to set foot in *Egypt*, fearing, says *Vopiscus*, as he was well acquainted with the ambitious temper of the *Gauls*, and the strange inclination of the *Egyptians* to novelty, lest he might be prompted by them to assume the sovereignty. Notwithstanding this prohibition, *Saturninus* being led by his curiosity to visit *Egypt*, he no sooner appeared at *Alexandria*, than he was, by that turbulent and restless people, proclaimed emperor. He declined at first that dignity, and, quitting *Alexandria*, returned in great haste to *Palæstine*; but afterwards apprehending, that what had already happened might give *Probus* no small umbrage, and occasion his ruin, he suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, shedding many tears amidst the acclamations of the soldiery and populace ^p. *Zonaras* writes, that *Probus*, who had a great kindness for him, not believing he had revolted, caused the person to be punished, who brought him the first news of his rebellion. He afterwards wrote several kind letters to him; but his soldiers threatening him with death, if he hearkened to, or complied with, the emperor's offers, he was forced to reject them. Hereupon *Probus* dispatched some troops against them, which, being joined by others in the east, engaged *Saturninus*, put him to flight, and obliged him to shelter himself in the citadel of *Apamea*, which they took by storm, and put the whole

He is over-
come and
killed.

ⁿ Prob. vit. p. 240. ^o Saturn. vit. p. 244. Zos. p. 663.
GOLTZ. p. 116. BIRAG. p. 309. ^p Sat. vit. p. 249.

garifon, together with *Saturninus*, to the sword. The emperor, who designed to pardon him, shewed no small concern for his death ¹.

THE following year, *Messala* and *Gratus* being consuls, *Proculus* two usurpers started up in *Gaul*, *Proculus* and *Bonosus*. The former was a native of *Albingaunum*, now *Albenga*, subject to the republic of *Genoa*. His ancestors had been famous robbers, and had, by their robberies, acquired immense wealth; for *Proculus* is said to have armed two thousand slaves of his own, when he revolted. In his youth he had been himself a robber; but, entering afterwards into the army, he had signalized himself by many noble exploits. He was tribune, and had the command of several legions, when he took upon him the title of emperor, prompted thereunto chiefly by his wife, called first *Viturgia*, and afterwards *Sampse*, a woman of great ambition, and a manly courage; and by the inhabitants of *Lions*, who had been treated with great severity by *Aurelian*, and apprehended the like treatment from *Probus*. He was proclaimed emperor at *Cologne*, and acknowledged, according to *Vopiscus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*. The same writer tells us, that he defeated the *Alemanni* in several battles; but was himself at last overcome by *Probus*, and forced to take refuge among the *Franks*, from whom he pretended to derive his origin. The *Franks* promised him their assistance; but, instead of performing their promise, they betrayed him to the emperor, by whom he was punished according to his deserts ².

Is betrayed by the Franks, and put to death.

Bonosus, or, as he is styled on the antient coins, *Q. Bonosus*, was descended of a *Spanish* family, but born in *Britain*. His father kept a public school, and taught children the first rudiments of the *Latin* tongue. The son entered early into the army, and raised himself, by degrees, from the low rank of a common soldier to the post of general, and was employed as such to guard the frontiers of *Rhetia*; but, having suffered the *Germans* to surprise and burn the *Roman* fleet on the *Rhine*, his dread of being punished for this neglect prompted him to assume the sovereignty, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. He maintained himself in that dignity longer than was expected, and fought several battles with *Probus*; but, being at length reduced to great straits, he chose rather to strangle himself, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror (*G*).

Bonosus proclaimed emperor. Is overcome, and lays violent hands on himself.

¹ Sat. vit. p. 249.

² Idem, p. 245—247.

(G) Authors observe of him, ten men, without being in the that he could drink as much as least disordered; and that, by drinking

How Probus employed his soldiers in time of peace.

THE following year the emperor entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Tiberianus* for his colleague. The whole empire now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; all domestic troubles were happily appeased, and foreign enemies awed by the fame of *Probus's* mighty achievements. However, that the troops might not abandon themselves to idleness, he took care to employ them in many useful works, saying, That, since they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the public. As *Hannibal* therefore, to find some employment for his soldiers, had formerly filled *Africa* with olive-trees planted by them, so *Probus*, for his valour stiled by many a second *Hannibal*, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of *Gaul*, *Pannonia*, and *Mæsia*, allowing, says *Vopiscus*, the *Gauls*, *Pannonians*, *Spaniards*, and *Britons*, full liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleased; which had been denied them ever since the time of *Domitian*¹. The emperor *Julian* writes, that *Probus*, during his short reign, either rebuilt or repaired seventy cities². As the city of *Sirmium*, the place of his nativity, stood in a low marshy ground, he employed great numbers of his soldiers in digging a canal to convey the waters into the sea. This

¹ Prob. vit. p. 240.

² JUL. Cæs. p. 17.

drinking with the ambassadors of the barbarians, he often discovered the secrets with which they were intrusted. *Vopiscus* tells us, that the emperor *Aurelian* married to him a princess of the royal blood of the *Goths*, by name *Hunila*, whom he had taken prisoner, that *Bonifus* might, by her means, become acquainted with the great men among the *Goths*, and discover, in drinking with them, their secret views and designs (8). *Hunila* was a woman of great wit, beauty, and virtue; and therefore *Probus*, upon the death of her husband, not only spared her, and the two sons she had by *Bonifus*, but settled an annual pension upon the mother, and suffered the children to enjoy their paternal estate (9). *Zosimus*

(1) and *Zonaras* (2) speak of the revolt of the governor of *Britain*, whom they do not name; and tell us, that the emperor complaining of him to a *Moor*, named *Victorinus*, upon whose recommendation he had preferred him to that government, the *Moor* begged and obtained leave to go into *Britain*, and try whether he could bring back his friend to a sense of his duty. Upon his arrival, he was received by the usurper with great demonstrations of kindness; which he requited by murdering his old friend in the night-time. His death put an end to the revolt in *Britain*. We are not told whether or no *Probus* approved of this treachery.

¹ 8. B. v. p. 247.
(2) Zonaras. p. 246.

² Ibid.

³ Zos. l. i. p. 663.

incensed them against him, and their rage was heightened by the apprehension they were under of being soon disbanded; for the emperor had said, That he hoped in a short time there would be no occasion for soldiers or armies. This they could not bear; and therefore the following year, when *Probus* was consul the fifth time with *Victorinus*, they attacked him with great fury, as he was marching from one town in *Illyricum* to another. The emperor had time to retire into an iron tower of an extraordinary height, which he himself had built, to observe from thence the soldiers, while they were at work. But thither the incensed multitude pursued him, and, having easily stormed the place, as it was defended by the prince alone, dispatched him with many wounds, after he had lived fifty, and reigned six years, and four months (H). He was, without all doubt, one of the best, as well as of the greatest princes, that ever reigned at Rome^w. After his death, his family withdrew from Rome, probably not to give umbrage to his successors, and settled in the neighbourhood of *Verona*^w. As for the few writers who flourished in his reign, we refer the reader to our note (I).

He is murdered by the mutinous soldiers.

UPON

^w Prob. vit. p. 241.^w Ibid.

(H) His death is ascribed by many to *Carus*, who succeeded him in the empire, and was then captain of the guards; but *Vopiscus* endeavours to clear him from that imputation. The whole army raised a stately monument to the honour of the deceased prince, with the following epigraph: *Here lies the emperor Probus, whose life and manners answered his name. He subdued all the barbarous nations, and conquered the tyrants who started up in his time.* The loss of so good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the senate and people of Rome, but by the barbarians themselves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and justice. His successors honoured his memory with all possible marks of respect and

esteem, ranking him among the gods, consecrating temples to his name, celebrating with great pomp his anniversary, &c.

(I) Under *Probus* flourished *Turdulus Gallicanus*, who wrote a kind of journal, often quoted by *Vopiscus* in his life of *Probus*, who styles the author of it a man of honour and sincerity (3). He likewise cites *M. Salvidienus*, from whom he copied the speech made by *Saturninus*, when he put on the purple, and assumed the title of emperor (4); which prompts us to believe, that *Salvidienus* wrote the history of that usurper. *Onesimus* published the life of *Probus*, done, according to *Vopiscus*, with great exactness (5), and likewise that of the emperor *Carus* (6). *Vossius* ranks them all three among the *Latin*

(3) Prob. vit. p. 233.
p. 246. & Car. vit. p. 250.

(4) Saturn. vit. p. 245.
(6) Idem ibid.

(5) Beros. vit.

Carus proclaimed emperor.

Year of the flood

2720.

Of Christ

282.

Of Rome

1030.

His extraction and preferences.

UPON the death of *Probus*, *Carus*, then captain of the prætorian guards, was, by the unanimous consent of the army, raised to the empire, as a person in every respect well qualified to succeed so good a prince, so great a warrior. The senate were well pleased with the election of *Carus*; but, dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his son *Carinus*, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the soldiery. However, apprehending the power of the army, and desirous to maintain the peace and tranquillity established by *Probus*, they at last acknowledged *Carus*, and conferred upon him the usual titles and honours *. Of his family and ancestors we know but very little. Some say, that he was by birth a *Roman*, but by descent an *Illyrican*; others, that he was born in *Illyricum*, but of *Carthaginian* parents. In a journal quoted by *Vopiscus*, he is stiled a native of *Milan* †. The two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, and several others, will have him to have been born in *Narbonne*. The emperor himself pretended, that his ancestors were originally *Romans* ‡. He raised himself, by degrees, to the chief employments in the state, both civil and military. He had been consul; for the consulship, which he took after his accession to the empire, is called his second consulship. *Probus*, after having employed him in most of his expeditions, appointed him captain of the guards, in which office he gained the affections of the soldiers to such a degree, that, upon the death of *Probus*, they all agreed to raise him to the empire in his room. That prince entertained a mighty opinion of the prudence, justice, and integrity of *Carus*; as appears from a letter quoted by *Vopiscus*, which he wrote to the senate in his behalf, desiring them to reward his eminent services, by erecting to him an equestrian statue, and building him an house at the public charge, for which the emperor himself promised to supply the necessary marble §.

* Car. vit. p. 243.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 249.

§ Ibid. p. 242.

historians (7); and mentions a Greek historian, by name *Onasimus*, a native of *Sparta* or *Cyprus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, under *Constantine*, and was both a sophist and historian. Perhaps *Onesimus* and *Onasimus* were one and the same person, there having passed but twenty-

four years between *Probus* and *Constantine*. *Suidas* ascribes to *Onasimus* several philological and other works (8). About the same time flourished another sophist, named likewise *Onasimus*; but who was a native of *Athens* (9).

(7) *Voss. bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 4. p. 184. ibid.*

(8) *Suid. p. 523.*

(9) *Idem*

CARUS was no sooner settled in the empire, than he gave *He creates* the title of *Cæsar* to his two sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, his two of whom the former was a youth intirely abandoned to all *sens* *Cæ-* manner of wickedness, and the latter endowed with every *sars*. good quality requisite in a prince. Some writers pretend, that at the same time he declared them his partners in the empire, giving them equal power and authority with himself; but, on the medals of this year 282. the first of *Carus's* reign, his two sons are only stiled *Cæsars* ^b. The *Sarmatians* no sooner heard of the death of *Probus*, than they broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, over-ran those countries, and threatened *Italy* itself. He ~~upon~~ *Carus*, drawing together his forces, marched against the barbarians; and coming, after several skirmishes, to a general engagement with them, cut sixteen *Defeats* thousand of them in pieces, took twenty thousand prisoners, *the Sar-* and obliged the rest to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and *matians*. retire into their own country; whither he would have pursued them, had he not been informed, that the *Persians* were ready to invade the eastern provinces with a mighty army, under the conduct of their king *Varranes II.* a warlike prince, who had lately signalized himself against the *Segetani*, and intirely reduced that brave and powerful people. Upon this intelligence, *Carus*, committing the care of the western provinces to his eldest son *Carinus*, and taking with him *Numerianus*, left *Thrace*, and, crossing over into *Asia*, marched strait into *Antioch*, and thence into *Mesopotamia*; which the *Persians*, who, it seems, had already seized that province, abandoned at his approach. From *Mesopotamia* he advanced *Gains* into *Persia*; laid waste the country far and wide; and, meet- *great ad-* ing with no opposition, as the *Persians* were then engaged in a civil war, he besieged and took the famous cities of *Seleucia* *over the* and *Ctesiphon*, with *Cache*, which was a place of great strength *Persians,* on the other side the *Tigris*, and, as it were, the citadel of *and takes* *Ctesiphon* ^c. For these conquests he took the surname of *Persicus*, which we read on most of his coins ^d. He was bent upon utterly ruining the *Persian* monarchy, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded in that great design, the *Persians* being then divided among themselves, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood *His death.* of *Ctesiphon*, while he was preparing to pursue his conquests beyond that city, which the *Romans*, as was pretended, were

^b BIRAG. p. 446.
orat. iv. p. 115.

^c CAR. vit. p. 250. GREG. NAZ.
^d BIRAG. p. 419. SPANH. l. v. p. 419.

by an ancient oracle forbidden to do (K). He reigned, according to the most probable opinion, a year, and four months. He was consul when he died, and had his son *Carinus* for his colleague in that dignity.

Numerianus
pro
claimed
emperor.

UPON the death of *Carus*, his son *Numerianus* was immediately saluted by the whole army with the title of emperor. As to his other son, *Carinus*, he was then in *Gaul*, and had been raised by his father to the sovereignty before he set out for the *Persian* war. *Numerianus*, grieved beyond expression for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire. As his eyes, weakened with the great quantity of tears he had shed, could not bear the light, he caused himself to be carried in a close litter. *Arrius Aper*, his father-in-law, and captain of the guards, who had free access to him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a design to raise himself to the empire. The body of the deceased prince he left in the litter, telling the soldiers, who wanted to see their emperor, that he could not endure the air, and driving in the mean time to gain them over to

He is murdered.

(K) *Junius Calpurnius*, one of the emperor's secretaries, gave the following account of his death, in a letter which he wrote to the governor of *Rome*: "While *Carus*, our truly dear prince, lay sick in his tent, a violent storm broke out, attended with dreadful flashes of lightning, and claps of thunder. Day was all on a sudden turned into night, and the air darkened to such a degree, that we could not discern one another. While we were under the utmost consternation, frightened and dismayed, after a clap of thunder more loud and terrible than all the rest, we heard one cry out, *The emperor is dead*. Soon after, his chamberlains, distracted with grief, set fire to his tent; which gave rise to the report, that he was killed with lightning; but it

" is certain, that he died of his illness." Thus one of his secretaries, whose letter *Vopiscus* produces, to confute those who ascribed the emperor's death to divine vengeance, for his attempting to extend his conquests beyond *Ctesiphon* (1). However, the two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, *Rufus*, *Festus*, *Apollinaris*, *Sidonius*, *St. Jerom*, *Eusebius*, *Georgius Syncellus*, and *Zonaras*, write, that he was killed, and his tent burnt, with lightning. He had begun the second year of his reign, and his death happened between the eighth of *December*, of this year 283 and the twelfth of *January*, of the year ensuing; for his name is prefixed to all the laws that were published till the eighth of *December*, and those of *Carinus* and *Numerianus* to a law dated the twelfth of *January*, of the year 284 (2).

(1) *C. vii. p. 256.*

(2) *Cyprian. p. 45. Cod. J. A. D. l. v. tit. 71. l. 7. p. 509. l. viii. tit. 56. p. 3. p. 14. Varif. de Dioclef. l. 1. p. 9.*

his own interest. The dead body was thus carried three days ; but, as it began in the end to be offensive to the smell, the crime was discovered sooner than *Aper* expected, and he immediately seized, no one doubting but he had been the author of the murder.

UPON the death of *Numerianus*, the army with one voice proclaimed *Dioclesian* emperor. Such was the unhappy end raised to of *Numerianus*, after he had reigned about eight months. He the empire. was killed near *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, as he was leading his army Year of the flood back into *Italy*. All the antients speak of him as a prince 2724 endowed with every good quality becoming a person of his rank (L). Some writers flourished in his time, of whom in Of Christ 284 our note (M). Of Rome 1032.

DIOCLE-

(L) He was an excellent orator, and is said to have once sent such an eloquent speech to the senate, that a statue was decreed him, to be set up in the *Ulpian* library, with this inscription, *To Numerianus Cæsar, the most eloquent orator of his age*. In poetry he far surpassed all the writers of his time, and left several pieces behind him, both in verse and prose, which were mightily extolled by the learned (3). He had often declaimed in public, and it was probably of him that *Calpurnius*, a celebrated poet of those times, said, That he diverted himself with pleading, while he was still in his mother's arms (4), that is, when he was very young. Both he and his father *Carus* were ranked among the gods, had temples and divine honours decreed them, &c. It appears from some medals, that the latter had impiously assumed the title of god before his death (5).

(M) *Vopiscus* tells us, that the life of *Carus* and his children

was written before the year 300. by *Fabius Cerialianus*, whose diligence and exactness he commends (†); and that of *Carinus* in particular, by *Fulvius Assianus*, whose scrupulous exactness, and too great care to omit nothing, rendered his work extremely tedious (6). *Ausilius Apollinaris* likewise wrote the life of *Carus*, probably in iambics; for he was a poet, and is said to have taken delight in that kind of verse (7). *Vossius* ranks these three among the *Latin* writers (8). A few eclogues, and part of a poem on the chase, by *M. Olympius Nemesianus*, have reached our times. He likewise wrote some pieces on fishing and navigation, and was highly esteemed in those days (9). He is supposed to have been a native of *Carthage*, where his works, in the time of *Hincmar*, were publicly read in the schools (1). He inscribed his poem on the chase to *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, after the death of their father; that is, after the year 284. He had not yet, at that

(3) *Num* 211 p 251.

(4) *Calp eclog* 1 v r 4.

(5) *Spart.*

l v p 419. (†) *Car* 101. p 249, 250

(6) *Ibid* p 254.

(7) *Ibid.*

p 251. (8) *Voss* *hist Lat* l ii c 4 p 124

(9) *Nemes.* p 508,

511 *Car* v l p 21.

(1) *Voss* *post Lat* p 53

His ex-
traction,
prefer-
ments, &c.

DIOCLESIAN was descended of a mean and obscure family in *Dalmatia*, being, according to some, the son of a notary ^a and of a slave, according to others: nay, *Victor* the younger tells us, that he was himself, in his youth, slave to a senator, named *Anulinus*, who afterwards gave him his liberty ^b. The name, both of his mother, and the place of his birth, was *Dioclea*; whence he was called *Diocles* till his accession to the empire, when he gave his name a *Latin* sound and termination, calling himself *Dioclesianus* ^c. He entered early into the army, and, by degrees, raised himself to the first military employments (N). *Dioclesian* served with great credit under *Probus*, who gave him the command of the troops quartered in *Moesia* ^d. He attended *Carus* in his expedition against the *Persians*, and distinguished himself in that war. *Syncellus* tells us, that he was raised by that prince to the consulship ^e. He had, at the time of *Numerianus*'s death, the command of the guards that attended the emperor's person, and were superior in rank to the prætorian guards, as we have observed above ^f. He was a great master of civil affairs, prompt at foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, naturally inclined to violent measures, but at the same time master of his temper; an enemy to all useless expenses, and a great encourager of learning, though from his youth he had been brought up in the camp, and had never

^a *VICT. epit.* p. 542.
p. 243.

^b *Idem* *ibid.*

^c *ZONAR.* tom. ii.
^d See before, p. 299.

time, been at court, nor seen *Rome* (2). Four other eclogues have reached our times, supposed to have been written by *T. Calpurnius*, or *Calpurnius*, a native of *Sicily*, and to have been inscribed to *Nemesianus*. In the first mention is made of declamations made by a prince, supposed to be *Numerianus*, almost in his infancy (3). *Scaliger* takes the sports that were exhibited by *Carinus* and *Numerianus* to be the subject of the last eclogue (4). Perhaps *Junius Calpurnius*, secretary to *Carus*, and the above-mentioned poet, were one and

the same person.

(N) We are told, that, while he yet served in an inferior post, a woman, by profession a *Druid*, in whose house he lodged, upbraiding him with covetousness, he answered her in jest, *I shall be more generous when I am emperor. You are joking*, *Diocles*, replied the *Druid*; but *I tell you in good earnest, that you will attain the empire after you have killed a boar*. This is supposed to have happened in the city of *Tongres*, in the present bishoprick of *Liege* (5).

(2) *Nemes.* cyn. ver. 64. p. 509, & ver. 77. 81. (3) *Calpur.* p. 501.
(4) *Scalig.* in *Euseb.* chron. p. 253. (5) *Car. vit.* p. 252.

applied himself to any study but that of the military art, in the knowledge of which he was equal to the famous commanders of antient times ^k. *Lactantius* charges him with cowardice, and says, that he avoided, as much as he well could, exposing his person to dangers ^l. He was, according to *Eutropius*, naturally covetous, and bent upon amassing riches by any means whatever ^m. By his wife *Prisfa* he had a daughter, named *Galeria Valeria*, who was married to *Maximinus Galerius*; but proved barren ⁿ (O).

Dioclesian, being, by the unanimous consent of the army, proclaimed emperor, in the manner we have related above, ascended the tribunal; and, after having harangued the soldiers, and solemnly declared, upon his oath, that he had been no-way accessory or privy to the death of *Numerianus*, he caused *Aper* to be brought before him, reproached him in bitter terms with the murder of his prince and son-in-law, and then, descending from the tribunal, drew his sword, *He puts* and buried it in his breast, saying, *You shall have the honour, Aper to* *Aper, to fall by an illustrious hand.* The new emperor *death.* would not have begun his reign with an action that favoured of cruelty, had it not been to fulfil the above-mentioned prophecy of the *Druid*, the word *aper* signifying in the *Latin* tongue a boar; whence, in seeing *Aper* fall, he cried out, *I have at length killed the fatal boar* (P). *Dioclesian* was proclaimed emperor at *Chalcedon*, on the seventeenth of *September*, of the year 284. which epoch is the more remarkable, as it is the beginning of a new æra, called, *The æra of Dio-* *The æra* *clesian*, and sometimes, *The æra of martyrs*, which for many of *Diocle-* *ages* obtained in the church, and is still in use amongst the *fian.* *Copts* in *Egypt*, the *Abyssines*, and some other *African* na-

^k Prob. vit. p. 241. Macrin. vit. p. 96. Carin. vit. p. 251.

^l LACT. persecut. c. 7. & 9. ^m EUTROP. p. 586. ⁿ LACT. *ibid.* p. 44. BIRAG. p. 444.

(O) Both the mother and daughter favoured, and, according to *Lactantius*, once professed, the Christian religion; for that writer reckons them among the first, who, terrified with the menaces of *Dioclesian*, defiled themselves with impure sacrifices (6).

(P) *Vopiscus* tells us, that, mindful of the prediction, he strove always in hunting to kill

the boars with his own hand; and adds, that, when he saw *Aurelianus*, *Tacitus*, *Probus*, *Carus*, and his two sons, raised to the empire before him, he used pleasantly to say before *Maximian*, and our historian's grandfather (for to these two alone he imparted the prophecy), *That he killed, but others enjoyed, the boar* (7).

(6) LACT. persecut. c. 15. p. 12, 13.

(7) CAR. vit. p. 252.

tions. The first year of this ~~year~~ begins with the Egyptian year, on the twenty-ninth of *August*, of 284 ^q.

DIOCLESIAN made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the twenty-seventh of *September*, of this year; and spent the remaining months in making the necessary preparations to oppose *Carinus*, who, hearing of his brother's death, and the assumption of *Dioclesian*, had left *Gaul*, and was hastening, at the head of a powerful army, into *Illyricum*. The following year *Carinus* took upon him his third consulship, having *Aristobulus*, his captain of the guards, for his colleague; and, arriving in *Venetia*, overcame there and slew one *Julianus*, governor of that province, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor ^p. Elated with this victory, he advanced into *Illyricum*, where he fought several battles with *Dioclesian*, whom he intirely defeated in a general engagement near *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæsia*; but, while he was pursuing the enemy, he was killed by some of his own men, stirred up against him by a tribune, whose wife he had debauched. Thus *Aurelius Victor* ^q. But *Eutropius* writes, that he was betrayed by his own army, and killed by *Dioclesian* ^r. Be that as it will, *Dioclesian*, seeing himself, by the death of his rival, become sole master of the empire, marched to *Rome*; and, having established his authority there, set out soon after for *Germany*, where he gained several advantages over the *Alemanni*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul*. The same year his generals fought with success against the inhabitants of *Britain*, who, it seems, had attempted to shake off the yoke. For these victories he assumed the surnames of *Germanicus* and *Britannicus*, as appears from an inscription dated the second year of his reign ^s. From *Germany* he returned through *Illyricum* into the East; for he was at *Sirmium* on the first day of the following year ^t, and at *Nicomedia* on the twenty-first of *January* ^u. The next consuls were *Junius Maximus* the second time, and *Vettius Aquilinus*.

Dioclesian takes Maximian legue, and partner in the empire. THIS year *Dioclesian* took *Maximian*, stiled on the ancient coins *M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus*, for his colleague, and partner in the empire. *Maximian* was born of obscure parents, in a village near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; but, entering early into the army, had signalized himself by many noble exploits, and was reckoned one of the best commanders of his time. All the ancients paint him as a man of a most

The death
of Carinus.

^q EUTYCH. p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. ^p AUR. VICT. epit. p. 524. ^q Idem ibid. ^r EUTROP. p. 585. ^s NORIS. de Dioclef. num. c. 4. p. 19, 20. ^t Cod. Justin. l. vi. tit. 21. leg. 6. p. 337. ^u Idem, tit. 9. leg. 3. p. 530.

cruel and savage temper, and addicted to all manner of wickedness; but, at the same time, extol his courage, his experience in military affairs, and his inviolable attachment to *Dioclesian*, with whom he had lived many years in great friendship. The emperor, therefore, who had no issue male, and reposed an intire confidence in *Maximian*, chose him for his partner in the empire, vested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus* (Q). *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that *Dioclesian* was induced to take *Maximian* for his partner in the empire, chiefly by the disturbances which happened this year in *Gaul*, where two commanders, *Aulus Pomponius Ælianus*, and *Cn. Salvius Amandus*, having assembled a great number of vagabonds, robbers, and peasants, caused themselves to be proclaimed emperors.

MAXIMIAN, leaving *Dioclesian* in *Nicomedia*, hastened into *Gaul*; and there, with the troops quartered in that province, defeated the rebels, and restored the province to its former tranquillity (R). While *Maximian* was employed against *Maximian*.

W AUR. VICT. p. 524.

(Q) Some authors write, that *Dioclesian* not only took him for his colleague in the sovereignty, but divided the empire with him, reserving to himself the eastern provinces, and leaving to *Maximian*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and the rest of the western countries (8). *Maximian* had by his wife *Galeria Valeria Eutropia*, by birth a Syrian, *Maxentius*, who usurped the empire at *Rome*, and *Faussta*, the wife of *Constantine the Great*. *Maxentius* was, by some, thought to have been a supposititious child (9). *Eutropia* had, by a former husband, a daughter, styled on the antient coins *Flavia Maximiana Thendora*, whom *Maximian* married to *Constantius Chlorus* (1), of whom hereafter.

(R) The revolted peasants

were called *Bacaudæ*, or *Bagaudæ*, the etymology of which appellation has puzzled the best antiquaries. *S. Maure des Fosses*, about three short miles from *Paris*, was formerly called the castle of the *Bagaudæ*, being built, according to a tradition which obtained in the seventh century, by *Julius Cæsar*, in the peninsula formed by the *Marne*, and fortified with a rampart and ditches, which defended the entry left open by the river. The *Bagaudæ* are said to have held out there a long time against *Maximian*, who at length made himself master of the castle, leveled it with the ground, and filled up the ditches; which, however, gave to the place its present name (2).

(8) *Noris. de Diocles. num. Lat. pers. c. 8. p. 8. Pagi, p. 157. epit. p. 542. Julian. orat. 1. p. 9. (1) Eutrop. p. 585. (2) Vide Du Cange glossar. med. & infim. Latinitat. p. 661, 662.*

the rebels in *Gaul*, *Dioclesian* was making great preparations in the East, in order to recover *Mesopotamia* from the *Per-
sians*, who, after the death of *Carinus*, had seized that pro-
vince. But *Varranes* II. at that time king of *Persia*, chose
rather to restore what he had taken from the *Romans*, than
to engage in a war, which, he apprehended, would prove long
and dangerous¹. Mention is made of some advantages gained
this year by *Dioclesian* over the *Saracens*². He was the last
day of this year at *Tiberias* in *Palæstine*, as appears from the
date of some laws in the code³. The following year 287.
Dioclesian entered upon his third consulship, and *Maximian*
upon his first. The former from *Palæstine* passed into *Panno-
nia*, as appears from the date of several laws enacted this
year⁴; but what called him into that province, or what he
performed there, we are no-where told. As for *Maximian*,
he was attacked in *Gaul* by the *Alemanni*, the *Butgundians*,
the *Heruli*, whom *Bucherius* places on the coasts of the *Bal-
tic* sea, and by several other barbarous nations; who were all
overcome by *Maximian*, and destroyed, either by the sword,
or by famine. *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric upon this prince,
tells us, perhaps not without some exaggeration, that of such
an immense multitude, not one was left alive to carry back
the news of their overthrow⁵.

He utterly
defeats
several
German
nations.

THE same year, *Carausius*, a native of *Gaul*, having, by
Maximian's orders, built a fleet at *Boulogne*, gained great
advantages over the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who began to infest
the seas with piracies; and, in several engagements by land,
made a dreadful havock of the *German* nations that had broke
into *Celtic Gaul*. However, as he kept, and applied to his
own use, the booty which he had taken from the barbarians,
instead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian* resolved
to put him to death; but *Carausius*, having timely notice of
his design, passed over into *Britain* with the fleet under his
command; and there taking upon him the title of emperor,
was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that island⁶.
He afterwards caused a great number of vessels to be built,
levied new forces, called the barbarians from the continent to
his assistance, and, by instructing them how to work their
ships, and fight by sea, maintained himself a long time in
possession of the island, in spite of the utmost efforts of *Maxi-
mian*.

Carausius
revolts,
and seizes
Britain.

¹ Panegy. orat. x. p. 125—132.

² Panegy. p. 132.

³ Cod. Just. l. iv. tit. 40. leg. 3. p. 311.

⁴ Cod. Just. l. v. tit.

42. leg. 3. p. 487.

⁵ Panegy. 10. p. 125

⁶ Eutrop.

p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524. Panegy. 8. p. 108.

THE following year *Maximian* was consul the second time, with *Januarius*. *Mamertinus*, his panegyrist, tells us, that on the first day of his consulship, news being brought to *Treves*, where he then was, that the barbarians had made an irruption into *Gaul*, and were but a small distance from that city, he immediately quitted his consular robes, put on his armour, and, mounting his horse, marched against the enemy, cut most of them in pieces, and the same day re-entered *Treves* in triumph^d. Soon after, he crossed the *Rhine*; and, entering *Germany*, laid waste the enemy's country, took a great number of captives, and returned to *Gaul* loaded with booty^e. These exploits struck such terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Atec* and *Genobaud*, submitted to him, desiring him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms^f. From an antient inscription it appears, that both *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* took the surnames of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, and *Germanicus*^g. *Mamertinus* speaks of some victories gained by *Maximian's* generals over a *fickle and deceitful nation*, meaning, no doubt, the *Franks*; for such was, at least in those times, the character of that people^h. *Dioclesian* likewise entered *Germany* this year on the side of *Rhetia*, and is said to have extended the bounds of the empire to the springs of the *Danube*ⁱ.

THE next year *Bassus* being consul the second time, with *Quintianus*, *Claudius Mamertinus* pronounced his famous panegyric on the emperor *Maximian* in the city of *Treves*, as is commonly believed, the emperor himself being present. As he was then assembling on the coast of *Gaul* the ships which he had caused to be built in several parts, with a design to attack *Carausius* in *Britain*, his panegyrist promises him certain victory over that rebel^k. But it happened quite otherwise; for *Carausius's* men, who had been trained to the sea-service, easily put to flight those who were sent against them, dispersed the emperor's fleet, and drove them on the coast of *Gaul*, where most of them were dashed in pieces. *Maximian*, to cover the disgrace of this defeat, gave out, that the sea had not proved favourable to him, and that he only put off the war to a more convenient season. But, in the mean time, *Britain* he began a treaty with *Carausius*, wherein it was concluded, given up that he should enjoy the government of *Britain*, as the more proper person, on account of his skill in sea-affairs, to defend

^d Panegy. p. 125.^e Ibid. p. 226.^f VALER. rer.

Francic. l. i. p. 11, 12.

^g Idem ibid.^h Paneg. 10. p. 127.ⁱ Idem, p. 126.^k Idem, p. 128.

Dioclesian
defeats the
Sarmatians.

the island against the invasions of the barbarians¹ (S). This was *Britain*, by treaty, given up to *Carausius*, who governed it, with the title of emperor, for the space of six or seven years, reckoning from this treaty, or, what seems most probable, from the time he first seized it. Our authors tell us, that he repaired and fortified the wall of *Severus*, and gained some advantages over the barbarians^m. The same year, *Dioclesian* gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, the *Vithungæ*, or, rather, *Futhungæ*, and the *Quadi*ⁿ. *Eumenius* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off; and the province of *Dacia*, which they had seized, reunited to the empire^o. For these victories, *Dioclesian* assumed the surname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from several antient coins and inscriptions^p.

The two
emperors
meet at
Milan.

THE next consuls were *Dioclesian* the fourth time, and *Maximian* the third. The former gained this year some considerable advantages over the *Saracens*^q; and then, leaving the eastern provinces, returned to *Illyricum*, and, from *Illyricum*, entered *Italy* by the *Alpes Juliæ* in the depth of winter. *Maximian* at the same time left *Gaul*; and, passing the *Alpes Cotticæ*, met *Dioclesian* at *Milan*; where the two emperors held several private conferences, the subject whereof is not mentioned by historians, and then returned to their respective armies (for they came attended only by a small guard); but were received in all the cities through which they passed, with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. The following year, *Tiberianus*, and *Dic*, the son, or rather grandson, as is conjectured, of the celebrated historian, being consuls, a bloody war broke out among the barbarians, both in the North, and in *Africa*. The *Goths*, having overcome the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, were intent upon utterly extirpating that rival nation; but the *Burgundians* were powerfully supported by the *Alani*, and the *Tervingæ*. Another *Gothic* nation, entering into a confederacy with the *Taifalæ*, made war upon the *Vandals*, and the *Gepidæ*. In *Africa* the *Blemyes* were at war with the

¹ EUTROP. p. 586. AUR. VICT. p. 525
Brit. p. 586. ALFORD. annal. Brit. p. 285.

p. 132, 133. ^o Paneg. 8. p. 105. 107

Dioclef. num. c. 4. p. 23. BIRAG. p. 426.

^m USSER. rer.

ⁿ Paneg. 11.

^p NORIS. de Dioclef.

^q Paneg. 11. p. 132.

(S) This agreement is marked hands, with this legend, *Concordia Augg* (3).
on all *Carausius*'s coins, which
represent two emperors shaking

(3) NORIS. de Dioclef. num. c. 4. p. 22, 23,

Ethiopians, and the *Moors* were engaged in a civil war. Neither was *Persia* exempt from civil disturbances, raised by *Hormisdas*, who, revolting from his brother *Varranes II.* endeavoured to drive him from the throne, and seize it for himself, being supported in his unjust pretensions by several *Persian* lords, and some foreign nations¹.

THE barbarians being thus diverted from making inroads into the empire, all the provinces subject to *Rome* enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity, which, however, was but short-lived; for the following year, 292. when *Annibalianus* and *Asclepiodotus* were consuls, the empire was in great danger of being torn in pieces by foreign as well as domestic enemies. Not to mention *Carausius*, who still held *Britain*, the *Persians*, delivered from their intestine broils, broke into *Mesopotamia*, and threatened *Syria*. The *Quinquegentiani*, perhaps so called, because they were *quinque gentes*, that is, *five sides*, nations, joined in confederacy against the *Romans*, over-ran *Africa*; *M. Aurelius Julianus* revolted in *Italy*, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; the same title was assumed at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* by *Achilleus*, styled on his coins *L. Epidius Achilleus*². The two emperors, alarmed at the danger which threatened the empire, and not thinking themselves alone able to oppose so many enemies at once, resolved to strengthen their interest with the assistance of others, and to name each of them a *Cæsar*, who should succeed them in the empire, and, jointly with them, defend the *Roman* dominions both against foreign invaders, and domestic usurpers. Pursuant to this resolution and agreement, *Dioclesian* chose *Maximinus Galerius*; and *Maximian*, *Constantius*, surnamed *Chlorus*; who were each of them vested with the tribunitian and proconsular power, and honoured with the titles of emperor, father of their country, high pontif, &c. which had hitherto been peculiar to the sovereign³. The two emperors, the better to cement the union between them and their *Cæsars*, obliged them to put away their wives, and marry others; upon which *Constantius* married *Theodora*, daughter-in law to *Maximian*; and *Galerius*, *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian*⁴ (T).

AFTER

11. p. 131—137. ² AUR. VICT. epit. p. 524.
EUTROP. p. 585. BIRAG. p. 430. GOLTZ. p. 122. ³ EUTROP.
p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. GRUT. p. 166. EUSEB. l. viii.
c. 17. p. 315. ⁴ VICT. ibid. EUTROP. p. 586.

(T) Some authors write, that in that dignity with great solemnity the first day of March both the *Cæsars* were named by *Dioclesian*, and by him inflated of this year 292. on a rising ground,

The empire divided into four parts. AFTER the nomination of the two *Cæsars*, the empire was divided into four parts: *Dioclesian* chose for himself the countries beyond the *Ægean* sea; *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were allotted to *Galerius*; *Italy* and *Africa*, with the adjacent islands, to *Maximian*; and *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*, with the flood *Mauritania Tingitana*, to *Constantius*.

2732. EACH of these princes governed the provinces that fell to their share with an absolute sway; but the other three paid great deference to *Dioclesian*, acknowledging themselves indebted to him for the power they enjoyed, and looking upon him as their common father. An intire union and concord reigned among them, each of them carefully avoiding to assume any superiority over the rest, or to give the least motive of jealousy or umbrage to his colleagues. From this time forward, the empire continued almost constantly divided; but, at the same time, each emperor was looked upon as master of the whole. Hence, to the laws, which any of them enacted, were always prefixed the names of his colleagues, and likewise to all the requests and petitions that were presented to them.

292. *Of Rome* This multiplicity of princes was attended with great inconveniences, and is therefore much exclaimed against by *Lactantius*, who ascribes it to the cowardice of *Dioclesian*, unwilling to expose his own person to danger. As each of the four sovereigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the same number of forces, as had been maintained by the state when governed only by one emperor, there were more soldiers to pay, than people to supply the necessary sums. Hence the taxes and imposts were increased beyond measure, the inhabitants in the several provinces reduced to beggary, the lands left untilld for want of hands, &c. In proportion as the people grew less able to pay the heavy taxes laid upon them, the number of the officers was increased to exact them by force. Thus was the empire greatly weakened, and almost quite ruined. *Italy* itself, which had hitherto only supplied with provisions the court, and the troops attending it, was obliged to pay the same tri-

The evils attending this division.

W EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315 VICT. p. 524. per f. c. 7. p. 6. Y Idem, p. 6—8.

Z LACT.

ground, about three miles from *Nicomedia*, where a pillar was afterwards erected, with a statue consecrated to *Jupiter* (4). But most writers suppose *Galerius* to have been chosen by *Dioclesian*, and *Constantius* by *Maximian*; and all agree, that *Galerius* was adopted by the former, and *Constantius* by the latter.

(4) Lact. perf. t. 19. p. 18. Chron. Alan. p. 640.

as the provinces; which reduced it, in process of time, to a deplorable condition ².

GALERIUS, whom *Dioclesian* named to the dignity of *Cæsar*, is stiled on most of his coins, *Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus*. He was born in a village near *Sardica*, the Birth, metropolis of *New Dacia*; his mother, by name *Romula*, education, having retired thither from *Old Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *pre-Danube*, while that country was over-run by the *Carpi. ments, &c.* *Galerius*, in honour of his mother, gave afterwards the name of *Romulianum* to the place of his nativity ³. As *Romula* *rises Cæsar.* was a professed enemy to the Christians, she inspired her son with the same hatred to them; which chiefly gave rise to the bloody persecution, which broke out in the latter end of *Dioclesian's* reign. *Galerius* was descended of an obscure family; for both he, and his sister's son *Maximinus*, whom he afterwards created *Cæsar*, are said to have been in their youth cow-herds; whence *Galerius* was nick-named *Armentarius*, from the Latin word *armentum*, signifying a drove of cattle. He was a person altogether illiterate; but nevertheless raised himself, from the mean condition of a common soldier, to the chief posts in the army, having given signal proofs of his valour and conduct under the emperors *Aurelian* and *Probus* ^(U). He had no children by *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian*; but a son, named *Candidianus*, by a concubine, and a daughter by his former wife, who was married to *Maxentius*, the son of *Maximian* ^c. Of *Constantius*, the other *Cæsar*, we shall speak in a more proper place. *Galerius* was no sooner created *Cæsar*, than he marched, with all the troops he could

² *Aur. Vict.* p. 524.

³ *Idem ibid. Eutrop.* p. 581.

^b *Vict. epit.* p. 543.

^c *Lact. perf.* p. 401. 44. 19. 16.

(U) *Lactantius* reckons him amongst the worst emperors, and speaks of him as one abandoned to all manner of wickedness, naturally inclined to cruelty, and a declared enemy to learning, and men of letters (5). The same writer adds, that in his words, in his actions, and even in his countenance, there was something shocking and offensive, apt to inspire those who approached him, rather with terror and aversion, than with esteem

or affection. *Aurelius Victor*, who seems to have been no way prejudiced against him, owns, that he was naturally of a fierce and savage temper, and that his rustic, haughty, and disobliging behaviour, drowned all his good qualities; for, according to that writer, he had excellent natural parts, and would have made a good figure on the throne, had the gifts of nature been improved by a polite and liberal education (6).

(5) *Lact. perf.* c. 9. p. 8.

(6) *Aur. Vict.* p. 526.

Pannonia
Secunda,
a new pro-
vince.

assemble, against the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the *Danube* and *Illyricum*; but performed nothing, either in this, or the three following years, against the enemies of *Rome*, which historians have judged worth transmitting to posterity. He caused several large forests to be grubbed up in *Lower Pannonia*, and a lake to be discharged into the *Danube*; by which means he gained a new province, which, from his wife's name, he stiled *Valeria*, lying between the *Danube* and the *Draw*, and known in future ages by the name of *Pannonia Secunda*. The chief cities of this new province were, *Mursa*, *Aquincum*, and *Valeria*^d. *Maximian* passed, this year, over into *Africa*; where he gained a complete victory over the *Quinquegentiani*, and reduced *Julianus* (who had taken upon him the title of emperor in *Italy*, as we have hinted above, and afterwards crossed over into *Africa*) to such streights, that he stabbed himself with his own sword^e.

Constantius takes
Gessoriacum.

CONSTANTIUS was no sooner vested with his new dignity, than he hastened into *Gaul*; and, arriving at *Gessoriacum*, now *Boulogne*, which was held by the troops of *Carausius*, invested the place, and blocked up the haven with huge beams driven into the ground at the entrance, and heaps of great stones like a rampart. The garison, being by this means prevented from returning into *Britain*, and deprived of all hopes of relief, submitted to *Constantius*, and were incorporated among his troops. The mole, which had continued firm for several days, was quite disjointed by the first tide after the surrender of the city, and broken to pieces^f. *Constantius*, notwithstanding the reduction of that important place, did not yet attempt the recovery of *Britain*, not thinking himself furnished with a sufficient number of ships for so great an undertaking. Where *Dioclesian* was this year, of what he performed, we are no-where told. The following year, *Dioclesian* being consul the fifth time, and *Maximian* the fourth, *Carausius* was treacherously murdered by *Allectus*, his bosom-friend, and prime minister; who thereupon usurped the government, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor^g. *Constantius*, while his fleet was preparing in the ports on the ocean for the *British* expedition, cleared *Batavia* of the *Franks*, who had seized on that country; and transplanted them, with their wives and children, into other parts of the empire, destitute of inhabitants, obliging them to till the

Carausius
murdered
by Al-
lectus, who
assumes
the go-
vernment
of Bri-
tain.

^d *AUR. VICT.* p. 525, 526. *BAUDRAN.* p. 303,
VICT. ibid.

^f *Panegy.* 7, 8. p. 93, 105.

VICT. p. 525. *EUTROP.* p. 586. *Panegy.* 8. p. 108.

^e *AUR.*

^g *AVR.*

ground, to pay tribute, and to supply, when required, a certain number of troops^b (W). Constantius drives the Franks out of Bavaria.

THE following year, when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were consuls, two strong castles were built by the latter on the *Danube*, in the country of the *Sarmatians*; the one over-against *Acincum*, or *Aquincum*, now *Strigonium*, or *Gran*, in *Lower Hungary*; the other opposite to *Bononia*, which stood between the *Draw* and *Save*, and is at present known by the name of *Bonnefer*. From the date of several laws, published this and the preceding year, it appears, that *Dioclesian* spent them both in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; which provinces belonged to *Galerius*, whom perhaps he was come to assist against the barbarians on the other side the *Danube*: in the same manner we shall see *Maximian* enter *Gaul* to defend that province against the incursions of the barbarians, while *Constan-*

^b Panegy. 1. 3. 7. 8. p. 3. 47. 93. 104. 106, 107.

(W) The emperor *Julian* tells us, that *Maximian* and *Constantius* not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, but built many forts on the frontiers, to prevent their making new irruptions; by which means the inhabitants long enjoyed a profound tranquillity (7). It was probably on account of his victories over the *Franks*, that *Constantius* assumed the title of *Germanicus*, which is given him in an inscription of the following year, 194. quoted by *Lactantius* (8). *Eumenius*, the panegyrist, tells us, that *Constantius* performed many remarkable exploits before he attempted the reduction of *Britain*; that he utterly exterminated several barbarous nations, extended the limits of the empire, restored many provinces, pillaged and laid waste *Germany* from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, and took the king of a very fierce and warlike nation prisoner (9). He restored to its

ancient splendor the city of *Augustodunum*, now *Autun*, which had been almost utterly ruined in the year 269. by *Tetricus*, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor *Claudius* into *Gaul*. The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay, even most of the houses belonging to private persons, were, at an immense charge, rebuilt by *Constantius*, who moreover embellished the city, in regard of its attachment to *Claudius*, his great-uncle, with magnificent aqueducts, supplied it with plenty of water, transplanted thither the most conspicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator *Eumenius*, who was himself a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and instructing their youth, and, in short, did all that lay in his power to raise *Autun* above all the other cities of *Gaul* (1).

(7) *Julian*. p. 12. p. 103. 107.

(8) *LaB. perf.* p. 356. (1) *Paneg.* 6. 8, 9. p. 85. 112. 114.

(9) *Paneg.* 3.

tius was employed in *Britain*. The next consuls were *The Carpi* and *Annulinus*. This year the *Carpi*, after having long maintained themselves in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Roman* emperors, were at length intirely reduced by *Galerius*, and by *Dioclesian* transplanted into the territories of the empire, chiefly into *Pannonia* ¹ (X). The following year, 296. *Dioclesian* being consul the sixth time, and *Constantius* the second, the latter, after three years preparations, undertook at length the reduction of *Britain*. But of the success that attended him in that expedition, we shall speak at large in the history of *Britain*.

Part of *CONSTANTIUS*, having settled affairs in *Britain*, returned to *Gaul*; and, transplanting great numbers of *Franks* into that province, peopled with them the countries of *Amiens*, *Beauvois*, *Troies*, and *Langres*, almost quite destitute of inhabitants, obliging the new-comers to cultivate the lands, to pay the usual tributes, and supply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops^k. The same year, *Dioclesian* recovered

Achilleus *overcome*, *Egypt* from *Achilleus*, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and held that province, according to his coins, for the space of near six years^l. *Dioclesian* marched against him this year in person, overcame him without much trouble, and punished him according to his deserts (Y).

THE

¹ Paneg. 8. p. 105. 107. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 16. p. 634. AUR. VICT. p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. AMMIAN. l. xxviii.

p. 357. ^k VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 15. BUCH. Belg. p. 227. Panegy. 7. p. 93. ^l GOLIZ. p. 121. BIRAG. p. 430.

(X) From an inscription of this year, we learn, that the emperors caused the walls of *Vitorodurum*, now *Wintherthur*, in the canton of *Zurich*, between *Zurich* and *Constance*, to be rebuilt. *Aurelius Proculus*, who commanded in the country of the *Sequani*, had the superintendency of the work. In that inscription, *Dioclesian* is stiled *imperator* the tenth time, and *Maximian* the eighth (2).

(Y) Thus *Aurelius Victor* (3). But *Eutropius* writes, that he sustained an eight months siege in *Alexandria* (4); and *Eusebius*, that great numbers were killed on both sides, during the siege (5). *Dioclesian* not only punished with death the ringleaders of the revolt, but filled *Egypt* with murders and proscriptions (6); and even gave up, according to *Orosius* (7), the city of *Alexandria* to be plundered by his greedy and

(2) Gruter. p. 166. Vals. not. Gall. p. 615. Ferrar. de ant. Italic. p. 372.
(3) Aur. Vict. p. 525. (4) Eutrop. p. 586. (5) Euseb. chron.
(6) Eutrop. p. 586. Johann. Antioch. p. 834. (7) Oros. l. vii. c. 25.
p. 215.

THE next consuls were *Maximianus* the fifth time, and *Galerius* the second. The former, quitting *Gaul* upon the return of *Constantius* from *Britain*, crossed over into *Africa*, subdued by cut in pieces the armies of the rebellious *Moors*, besieged their castles and strong-holds, drove them from their mountains and rocks, which they had hitherto deemed impregnable; and, having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and surrender at discretion, transplanted them into other countries^a. The same year,

The Moors
Maximi-
an.

Year of
the flood
2737.

Of Christ
297.

Of Rome
1095.

^a Panegy. 8. p. 105—108.

enraged soldiery. If what these authors write be true; we leave our readers to judge of the sincerity of *Eumenius*, who tells us, that *Dioclesian*, by his extraordinary clemency, restored tranquility to *Egypt* (8). Some writers observe, that he made a strict search after all the books of chemistry written formerly by the *Egyptians*, and caused them all to be publicly burnt, lest the *Egyptians*, enriched by that art, should be tempted to shake off the yoke anew (9). *Constantine*, the son of *Constantius*, attended *Dioclesian* in this war; for *Eusebius* tells us, that he saw him as he passed with the emperor thro' *Palestine* (1). The cities of *Coptos* and *Bafiris* in *Thebais*, having sided in this war with *Achilleus*, were by *Dioclesian* utterly ruined (2). *Zonaras* supposes these cities to have been destroyed by *Dioclesian*, some time before the revolt of *Achilleus*, for having attempted to shake off the Roman yoke (3). *Eumenius* tells us, that the victories gained by *Dioclesian* in *Egypt* struck terror into the *Indians* and *Ethiopians* (4). However, the empe-

ror was so far from taking any advantage of that consternation, and extending the limits of the empire on that side, that, on the contrary, he entered into a treaty with the *Nubians*, who used to make frequent inroads into the adjoining territory of *Oasis*, yielding to them a large country, as much, says *Procopius*, as a traveler could go through in seven days, on condition that they prevented the *Blémyes*, and other barbarians, from breaking into *Egypt* on the side of *Ethiopia*. The same writer adds, that *Dioclesian* caused a castle to be built in an island formed by the *Nile* in the neighbourhood of *Elephantis*, and a temple, in which sacrifices were offered, both by the *Roman* and *Nubian* priests, for the prosperity of both nations. By this means the emperor hoped to establish a good understanding between the *Romans* and those barbarians; and therefore called the castle *Philas*, that is, *friendship*. But neither the country he yielded to them, nor the pension which he engaged to pay yearly both to them and the *Blémyes*, and which was still paid in the time of *Jes-*

(3) Panegy. 9. p. 121.

(9) Suid. p. 741. *Yohann. Antioch.* p. 894.

(1) Euseb. *vit. Constant.* l. 1. c. 39. p. 417.

(2) Theopb. *abregegraph.*

p. 4. 6.

(3) Zonar. p. 243.

(4) Panegy. 8. p. 105.

Galerius
defeated by
NarSES
king of
Persia.

year, *NarSES* king of *Persia*, emulating the glory of *Sapor*, who had defeated the *Roman* armies, and taken the emperor himself prisoner, entered *Armenia* at the head of a mighty army; and, having without much trouble reduced that kingdom, advanced into *Mesopotamia*. *Dioclesian*, mindful of the misfortune that had befallen the unhappy *Valerian*, instead of marching against him in person, withdrew into *Egypt*, committing the whole management of that dangerous war to *Galerius*, whom he enjoined to leave *Illyricum* forthwith, and hasten into *Mesopotamia*, to oppose there the attempts of the *Persian* monarch. *Galerius* obeyed, flew to *Mesopotamia*, and, meeting the *Persians* between *Callinicum* and *Carrhae*, engaged their numerous army with the few troops he had with him. The battle lasted some hours; but in the end the *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were forced to give ground, and save themselves by flight. *Galerius* hastened to *Dioclesian*, to give him, by word of mouth, an account of the disaster, and advise with him about the most proper measures to prevent the evil consequences that might attend it. The emperor, who, at his arrival, was taking the air in the fields, received him with the greatest contempt imaginable, and suffered him, attired as he was with the purple, to walk one, or, as others write, several miles by his chariot. This affront, instead of disheartening him, inspired him with an eager desire of wiping off the disgrace of his late overthrow. Having therefore, with much difficulty, obtained leave of *Dioclesian* to raise a new army, he assembled all the troops in *Illyricum* and *Moesia*, made new levies, and in a short time returned with a considerable army, and entered *Armenia*. All authors agree, that *Galerius*, in this war, performed whatever could be expected from a brave soldier, and experienced commander: he even went in person, attended only by two horsemen, to reconnoitre the enemy, passing himself upon those who stopped him, for a deputy sent by the *Roman* emperor to the *Persian* monarch.

NarSES utterly
defeated in a
second battle
by Galerius.

HAVING thus viewed the enemy's camp and works, he attacked them so seasonably, and conducted the whole action with such prudence and address, that only with twenty-five thousand men he forced their intrenchments, though defended

ⁿ AUR. VICT. p. 525. JUL. ORAT. i. p. 31. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 27.

tinian, were sufficient to restrain the empire, when not awed by them from making inroads into the *Roman* troops (5).

(5) *Procop. bell. Pers. c. 19. p. 59. Olympiodor. p. 13.*

by

by an innumerable multitude, cut above twenty thousand of them in pieces, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom were the king's wives, sisters, and children both sons and daughters; and a great many persons of the first rank^o. *Galerius* treated the princesses with great respect, and would not suffer the least affront to be offered to them; which seemed so surprising to the *Persians*, that they owned themselves as much inferior to the *Romans* in chastity as in valour^p. *Eutropius* tells us, that *Licinius*, afterwards emperor, signalized himself on this occasion^q. *Narjes*, who was present at this battle, and, according to *Zonaras*, wounded in the beginning of the engagement, fled with the rest, and took shelter in the most remote deserts of his kingdom; whence he sent *Apharban*, one of his chief favourites, to conclude a peace with the *Romans* upon any terms. *Apharban*, in the most humble and submissive manner, intreated the conqueror not to destroy the *Persian* empire, but to use his victory with moderation; which, he said, would gain him greater reputation and fame, than the victory itself. As for the conditions of the peace, he left them intirely to him; and only begged in his master's name, that, mindful of the generosity which in all ages had been peculiar to the *Romans*, he would add to the obligations which he already owed him for treating his wives and children with such humanity, that of restoring them to their former condition. *Galerius* answered him, that it ill became the *Persians* to expect moderation in others, after they had in such an enormous manner, as was known to the whole world, abused their victory in treating their illustrious captive *Valerian* like the meanest of slaves, nay, worse than their beasts of burden. However, as it is beneath a *Roman*, added he, to retaliate such indignities, and we are taught to spare those who submit, and humble such as oppose us, let your master know, that he may perhaps soon have the pleasure of seeing the persons who are so dear to him^r.

The Persians sue for peace;

GALERIUS, having dismissed the *Persian* ambassador, hastened to *Dioclesian*, who received him at *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia* with all possible marks of honour and esteem. They held several conferences, the subject of which was, whether or no they should conclude a peace with the *Persians*, and upon what terms. We are told, that they might have easily reduced *Persia* to a *Roman* province, but that *Dioclesian* did not

^o EUTROP. p. 586. FESTUS, p. 553. LACT. persec. c. 9. p. 8. AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 245. ZONAR. p. 244. ^p PETR. PATRIC. in excerpt. de legat. p. 26, & 30. ^q EUTROP. ibid. ^r Idem ibid. PETR. PATRIC. legat. p. 26.

which is
granted
them, upon
their yield-
ing five
provinces
to the
Romans.

approve of it, for reasons, says *Aurelius Victor*, unknown to us *. *Sicorius Probus*, one of *Galerius's* secretaries, was therefore dispatched to *Narses*, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and soon after admitted him to an audience on the banks of the *Aprudis* in *Media*, in the presence only of *Apharban*, and two others. The terms proposed by *Probus* were, that *Narses* should yield to the *Romans* the five following provinces, *Intelene*, *Sophene*, *Arzacene*, *Carduene*, and *Zabdicene*; that the *Tigris* should be the boundary between the two empires; that *Nisibis* should be a common emporium to both nations; that the limits of *Armenia* should be extended to the castle of *Zintba* on the confines of *Media*; and, lastly, that the king of *Iberia* should receive the crown at the hands of the *Roman* emperor. *Narses* excepted against the article relating to *Nisibis*, but complied with the rest. Whereupon a peace was concluded, and the *Persian* king's wives and children sent back to him *. This peace proved very advantageous to the *Romans*, and lasted forty years, till the *Persians*, desirous to recover the provinces they had yielded, broke it in the latter end of *Constantine's* reign (Z).

Galerius
elated
with his
victory.

FOR these conquests, *Galerius* assumed the pompous titles of *Persicus*, *Armeniacus*, *Medicus*, and *Adiabanicus*, as if he had subdued all these nations; and became so elated with his victory, that *Dioclesian* began to take umbrage at his haughty behaviour, imagining, that he would not be much longer satisfied with the bare title of *Cæsar* *. The following year, *Anicius Faustus* being consul the second time with *Severus Galus*, *Dioclesian* built several forts and castles on the frontiers of the empire towards *Persia*; and surrounded with high walls, and strong towers, the castle of *Cercusum* in *Mesopotamia*, at the confluence of the *Aboras* and the *Euphrates* *. The next consuls were, *Dioclesian* the seventh time, and *Maximian* the sixth. This year the *Marcomanni* and *Bastarnæ* re-

* AUR. VICT. p. 525.

* PETR. PATRIC. legat. p. 29.

* EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. LACT. pers. c. 9. p. 9. AUR. VICT. p. 525.

* Panegy. p. 121. GRUT. p. 166, 167. AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 359.

(Z) The above-mentioned provinces lay towards the springs of the *Tigris*, and on the *Roman* side of that river; but were by the *Romans* commonly called the provinces beyond the *Tigris*, because they had been so called by the

Persians. Instead of *Intelene* and *Sophene*, we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus* *Maxene* and *Rebimene*: as to the names of the other three, there is no disagreement among authors.

ceived a great overthrow, and great numbers of their captives were transplanted into the *Roman* territories². From several laws it appears, that *Dioclesian* was this year, in the months of *January, February, April, and November*, at *Sirmium*, and on the fifth of *June* at *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* ¹. The following year, when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were consuls the third time, is quite barren of events.

THE next consuls were, *Titianus* the second time, and *Nepotianus*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be the father of *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, who usurped the empire fifty years after². This year *Constantius* gained a remarkable victory over the *Alemanni*, who, coming upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a small body of troops with him, obliged him to retire, and shelter himself within the walls of *Langres*. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered the city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and, falling upon the enemy, cut sixty thousand of them in pieces³ (A). *Dioclesian* was, as appears from the code⁴, on the fourth of *July*, at *Antioch* in *Syria*. The following year, when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were consuls the fourth time, a great dearth prevailed in most provinces of the empire, occasioned, says *Lactantius*⁵, by the avariciousness of *Dioclesian*, who, to obviate that evil, fixed the prices of all sorts of necessary provisions; but, the rates being too low, the traders, instead of exposing to sale, concealed their commodities: by which means the dearth was changed into a famine, which raged till the merchants were allowed to sell their commodities at their own prices (B). *Dioclesian* seems to

Constantius gains a signal victory over the Alemanni.

Year of the flood 2741. Of Christ 301. Of Rome 1099.

A great dearth in most provinces of the empire.

¹ AUR. VICTOR, p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. ² Cod. Just. l. ii. tit. 13. leg. 17. p. 201, &c. ³ ONUPH. p. 261. ⁴ ZONAR. p. 244. THEOPHAN. chronog. p. 5. Panegy. 7. p. 93. ⁵ Cod. Just. l. ii. tit. 28. leg. 25. p. 268. ⁶ LACT. perf. c. 7. p. 362.

(A) *Eumenius* mentions another victory gained this year by *Constantius* in the plains of *Vindonissa*, now *Vindisch*, in the canton of *Bern*, near the confluence of the *Aar* and the *Rus* (6). The same writer tells us, that a numerous army, consisting of different *German* nations, having rendezvoused in an island in the

Rhine, while that river was frozen over, were by a sudden thaw shut up there, and obliged to surrender at discretion to the *Romans*, who kept them blocked up with their fleet (7).

(B) The same thing happened in the reign of *Julian* surnamed *the Apostate*. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that

(6) *Panegy.* 7. p. 92. *Beudr.* p. 32. (7) *Panegy. ibid.*

The tenth
general
persecu-
tion.

to have passed this year partly in *Syria*, and partly at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, with *Galerius*^a. The next year *Dioclesian* entered upon his eighth, and *Maximian* upon his seventh consulship. *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* passed the winter at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, in consultations, not about the means of extending the empire, and securing it against the incursions of the barbarians, but concerning the most effectual methods of utterly extirpating the Christian religion, to which *Galerius* had imbibed, from his infancy, an irreconcilable hatred. He found means to inspire *Dioclesian* with the same fury, and, as we may call it, madness; the effect of which was the most bloody and dreadful persecution the church had yet suffered (C).

ABOUT

^a Cod. p. 240. 243.

Dioclesian gave this year to that city the *military bread* (8): what is meant thereby, we are not told. *Procopius* writes, that *Dioclesian* ordered two millions of bushels of corn to be yearly distributed among the inhabitants of that populous metropolis (9). Before the reign of *Dioclesian*, corn was given monthly to old and disabled persons; and, in the reign of *Constantine*, to the ecclesiastics (1).

(C) This persecution, which was the tenth and last general one, broke out on the twenty-third of *February* of this year 303. the nineteenth of *Dioclesian's* reign, and raged ten whole years with a fury hardly to be expressed, the Christians being every-where, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, dragged to execution, and tortured with the most exquisite torments, rage, cruelty, and hatred, could invent. Such numbers of Christians suffered death in all the provinces of the empire, that the tyrants, imagining they had compassed

their wicked intent, and intirely abolished Christianity, told the world in a pompous, but lying inscription, that they had extinguished the Christian name and superstition, and every-where restored the worship of the gods to its former purity and lustre. But the church triumphed over all the powers and artifices of men, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of tyranny, prevailed a few years after in the very metropolis of idolatry and superstition. During this persecution, *Albanus Verolamiensis*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, a citizen of *Isca Legionum*, now *Exeter*, and other champions of the faith, almost without number, suffered martyrdom in *Britain*. But to give an account of their sufferings, of their truly heroic firmness, and unshaken constancy, would be entrenching on the province of the ecclesiastic writers. Happy and glorious had hitherto been the reign of *Dioclesian*; but he no sooner began to imbrue his hands in the blood of the righteous, says *Eusebius*, than he felt

(8) *Chron. Alex.* p. 644. (9) *Procop. arcan. lib.* c. 26. p. 77. (1) *Euseb. h. viii. c. 21. p. 207. Evagr. p. 68. Aitharopol. p. 737.*

ABOUT this time, one *Eugenius* assumed the title of emperor in *Syria*. He commanded five hundred men in *Seleucia*, who, being employed in the day-time in cleansing the harbour of that city, and in the night in baking their own bread, to deliver themselves from that insupportable drudgery, agreed to revolt, and proclaim their leader emperor. *Eugenius*, who expected nothing less, refused at first the dignity offered him; but was at length prevailed upon, through fear, to accept it; for they threatened him with present death, if he refused to second their designs. Being therefore arrayed with a purple robe taken from the statue of one of the gods, he led his men strait to *Antioch*; which city he reached the same day in the close of the evening, and entered it without opposition, as there was no garison in the place, and the inhabitants were quite unapprised of his revolt; but, when he began to act as emperor, the whole city rose, and, falling upon the rebels, for the most part intoxicated with wine, with such arms as chance presented, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of *Eugenius* began and ended the same day.

Eugenius proclaimed emperor by a few soldiers;

who are all cut in pieces.

* LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411.

the effects of divine vengeance in the many calamities which soon overtook him (2). A few days after the issuing of the first edicts against the Christians, a fire broke out in the palace at *Nicomedia*, where *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* were lodged, and reduced part of it to ashes (3). *Eusebius* writes, that he could never know how that accident happened (4). *Constantine*, who was on the spot, ascribes it to lightning (5); and *Lactantius* assures us, that *Galerius* caused fire to be privately set to the palace, that he might lay the blame of it upon the Christians, and by that means incense *Dioclesian* still more against them, which he did accordingly (6). *Constantine* tells us (7), that *Dioclesian* was so disturbed with this accident, that thenceforth he constantly ima-

gined he saw lightning falling from heaven; which was in effect the beginning of that phrensy, which by *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* is ascribed to the malady, of which we shall speak presently. *Dioclesian's* terror and dismay were greatly increased by a second fire, which broke out in the palace fifteen days after the first, but was stopped before it had done any great mischief. However, it had the effect which was intended by the author of it, *Galerius*; for *Dioclesian*, ascribing it to the Christians, resolved to keep no measures with them; and *Galerius*, the more to exasperate him against them, withdrew from *Nicomedia* the same day, saying, that he was afraid of being burnt alive by the Christians (8).

* (2) *Euseb.* l. viii. c. 13. p. 308.

(3) *Lact. pers.* c. 14. p. 12. *Euseb.*

l. viii. c. 6. p. 297. (4) *Idem ibid.*

(5) *Const. orat. ad sanct. cæcumen.*

(6) *Lact. pers.* c. 14. p. 12. (7) *Constant. ibid.*

(8) *Lact. ibid.*

(2) *Euseb.* l. viii. c. 13. p. 308.

(3) *Lact. pers.* c. 14. p. 12. *Euseb.*

l. viii. c. 6. p. 297. (4) *Idem ibid.*

(5) *Const. orat. ad sanct. cæcumen.*

(6) *Lact. pers.* c. 14. p. 12. (7) *Constant. ibid.*

(8) *Lact. ibid.*

The cruelty of Dioclesian to the Antiochians ought rather to have rewarded than punished the Antiochians ; but on this occasion he betrayed that cruelty which was natural to him ; for, without any trial, without paying any regard to the usual forms of law, he commanded the chief magistrates of *Antioch* and *Seleucia* to be publicly executed, as if they had been all privy to the conspiracy ; which rendered him so odious to the *Syrians*, that they could not, without horror, hear his name mentioned ninety years after^f (D).

Dioclesian triumphs, and leaves Rome.

TOWARDS the close of the year, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, with their two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, repaired to *Rome* ; and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the senate had long since decreed them, and their many victories and conquests well deserved. As *Dioclesian*, both in his triumph, and the sports that followed it, shewed greater economy than was pleasing to the populace, they took thence occasion to rally him with great liberty ; which he not being able to bear, left the city soon after his triumph, and set out for *Ravenna* on the nineteenth of *December*. As the season was then both rainy and cold, he contracted a lingering distemper, which in a short time weakened him to such a degree, that he could neither walk nor stand. He entered upon his ninth consulship at *Ravenna*, having *Maximian*, the eighth time consul, for his colleague. In the beginning of the spring, he set out from *Ravenna*, and, passing through *Venetia* and *Illyricum*, carried always, contrary to his custom, in a litter, arrived at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of the autumn. As his distemper increased daily, on the thirteenth of *December* so deep a swoon seized him, that he was believed to have paid the last debt of mortality, and a report of his death was spread all over the city. However, he recovered his sight and voice ; but his head remained so affected, that thenceforth he frequently fell into fits, which quite deprived him of the use of his reason. Not being in a condition to appear abroad till the first of *March* of the following year, many persons believed he was dead ; but that his death was kept concealed till the arrival of *Galerius*, left the soldiers should, in the mean time, according to their custom, proclaim a new emperor^h. To dissipate this report, he shewed himself to the people of *Nicomedia* on the first of *March* ; but

^f *LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411.* ^g *LACT. persec. c. 17. p. 15. AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 131.* ^h *LACT. persec. ibid. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13.*

(D) Among the many persons who lost their lives on this occasion, *Libanius* names his paternal grandfather, and his grandfather's brother, whose estates were likewise confiscated (g).

(g) *Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411.*

there appeared such a change in his countenance, that many doubted whether it was the same person. Soon after, *Galerius* arrived, who had already threatened *Maximian* with a civil war, if he did not resign the empire; and was come into *Nicomedia* with a design to oblige *Dioclesian* likewise to resign the sovereignty, since he was no longer able to discharge the functions of the imperial dignity.

As *Dioclesian* did not yield to the reasons he alleged, but only offered to take both him and *Constantius* for his partners in the empire, *Galerius* told him plainly, that, if he did not resign of his own accord, he would force him to it. *Dioclesian*, frightened with these menaces, and well apprised, that *Galerius*, who had, for some time, been increasing his army with new levies, was in a condition to make good his word, yielded at length; and it was agreed, that *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* should resign the sovereignty, that *Constantius* and *Galerius* should, at the same time, be vested with it; and that, to preserve the form of government introduced by *Dioclesian*, two new *Cæsars* should be named. *Dioclesian* immediately dispatched an express to *Maximian*, who was then at *Milan*, acquainting him with what had passed at *Nicomedia*. He was no less unwilling, than his colleague, to part with the sovereignty; but nevertheless, to avoid a civil war, in which, he was well apprised, *Galerius* would prevail, he came into the same measures¹ (E). As two new *Cæsars* were to be chosen, *Dioclesian* proposed *Maxentius* the son of *Maximian*, and son-in-law of *Galerius*, and *Constantine* the son of *Constantius*; but *Galerius*, rejecting them, prevailed upon *Dioclesian* to *Maximian* name two others in their room, to wit, *Severus*, whom he had and *Seve-*

Galerius obliges him to renounce the empire.

¹ LACT. persec. c. 17. p. 15. & c. 18. p. 16.

(E) Such is the account which *Lactantius* gives us of the resignation of *Maximian* and *Dioclesian*, in a piece not long since recovered from darkness. *Constantine*, who was then at *Nicomedia*, and lodged in the same palace with *Dioclesian*, assures us, in a speech which he pronounced in public, that the emperor, thinking himself no longer able to govern, on account of the fits to which he was subject, resigned of his own accord (1); and the panegyrist, who wrote at that

time, mention his resignation as a shining instance of greatness, generosity, and an utter contempt of all human grandeur; nay, tells us, that both he and *Maximian* had agreed long before, and even bound themselves by a solemn oath in the capitol, to resign the sovereignty. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Dioclesian* quitted the government, and betook himself to a private life, that he might not be overwhelmed with the misfortunes that threatened the empire (2).

(1) *Constant. orat. c. 25.*

(2) *Aur. V. 3. p. 325.*

already

rus declared already sent to receive the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, and *Daia*, or *Daza*, his sister's son, to whom he had a little before given the name of *Maximin*. They were both greatly attached to *Galerius*, but neither of them any-ways qualified for such an high station.

Dioclesian HOWEVER, *Dioclesian* consented to their election; and, a few days after, on the first of *May* of the present year 305. the twenty-first of his reign, he resigned the empire in the presence of his court, and the army, divesting himself of the purple, and delivering it to *Maximin*, whom at the same time he declared *Cæsar*, together with *Severus*. This ceremony was performed in the same place where *Galerius* had been declared *Cæsar*, about three miles from *Nicomedia*. *Dioclesian*, before he divested himself of the purple, made an harangue to the soldiers, telling them, That, his infirmities obliging him to retire, he yielded the empire to *Constantius* and *Galerius*, who were more able, and better qualified, than he, to discharge so great a trust. When the ceremony was over, *Dioclesian* passed through *Nicomedia* with a small retinue, and, retiring to *Dalmatia*, his native country, chose the city of *Salona* for the place of his residence^k. The same day *Maximian*, quitting the purple at *Milan*, consigned it to *Severus*, as had been agreed on beforehand, declared *Constantius* and *Galerius* emperors, and then retired to *Lucania*, where we shall soon see him raising disturbances, with a design to resume the dignity which he had quitted.

Dioclesian As for *Dioclesian*, he passed the remainder of his life, that leads a re- is, near nine years, at a country-seat in the neighbourhood of tired life. *Salona*, on the spot where the city of *Spalato* was afterwards built. The ruins of the palace of *Dioclesian* are still to be seen there, and take up two-thirds of the town. It was, according to the description which *Constantius Porphyrogenitus* gives us of it, a most stately and magnificent building; and contained four temples, one of which is still intire, and the cathedral of *Spalato*. *Dioclesian* diverted himself, during his retirement, with cultivating a garden, saying often, *Now I live; now I see the beauty of the sun*. Some time after, when *Maximian* and others wrote to him to join them, and resume the empire, he returned them this answer; *I wish you would but come to Salona, that I might shew you the colworts, which I have planted with my own hands: I am sure you would never* His death. *thenceforth mention the empire to me*^l (F). He died, according

^k * LACT. perf. c. 18. p. 16, 17. VICT. epit. p. 543. ^l Idem, p. 542. EUTROP. p. 587.

(F) He was long honoured reigned after him, and looked upon him as their common father,

ing to *Aurelius Victor*^m, soon after the marriage of *Licinius*, which was celebrated in the *March* of the year 313. after having lived about eighty years, and reigned twenty, and some months. He was deified with the usual solemnities after his deathⁿ, probably by *Licinius*, or *Maximin II.* for *Constantine*, at the time of his death, professed the Christian religion. *Libanius* writes, that *Dioclesian* shewed himself in many, but *He shewed* not in all things, an excellent prince^o; and the emperor *Julian* commends him for having done many things that *many* proved very useful to the public^p. He enacted a great many *things an* wholesome laws, and was so far from countenancing inform- *excellent* ers, that he commanded them to be executed, when they could *prince.*

^m AUR. VICT. p. 542. ⁿ EUTROP. p. 586. EUSEB.
I. ix. c. 10. p. 364. ^o LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399. ^p JUL.
orat. i. p. 12.

ther, since to him they were indebted for their dignity. In an inscription of the year 306. both he and *Maximian* are stiled the *ancient emperors*, and the *fathers of the emperors* (3). In his time they consecrated the *thermæ*, or hot-baths, which he had begun at *Rome*, and consulted him in all affairs of great importance, paying great deference to his counsels. Thus *Galerius* invited him in the year 307. to *Carnus*, or *Carnuntum*, in *Pannonia*, to advise with him about the promotion of *Licinius* (4). However, several things happened afterwards, which gave him great concern and uneasiness: His daughter *Valeria*, refusing to marry *Maximin* after the death of her husband *Galerius* in the year 311. was by that prince treated in a barbarous manner, and banished. *Constantine* and *Licinius*, in the beginning of the year 313. espoused with great zeal the cause of the persecuted Christians, whom he and his colleague *Maxi-*

mian had attempted utterly to extirpate (5). *Victor* adds, that the two above-mentioned princes having been invited to the nuptials of *Licinius* with the sister of *Constantine*, and he excusing himself on account of his age, they wrote a threatening letter to him, as if he had been concerned in the disturbances raised by *Maxentius* (6). The same author adds; that the dread he was in of an ignominious death, prompted him to end his life with poison (7). *Theophanes* writes, that the senate had already issued a decree for his execution (8); and *Lactantius*, that, seeing himself, after a glorious reign of twenty years, ill used and despised, he resolved to put an end to his life, abstained from all food, and died of hunger, grief, and despair (9). In the chronicle of *Alexandria* we read, that he died of a dropsy (1); and in *Eusebius*, that he was consumed and worn out by a lingering distemper (2).

(3) P. Pagi, p. 148.
c. 41. p. 36.

(4) Laët. pers. c. 29. p. 26.

(5) Idem ibid.

(6) Vith. epit. p. 542.

(7) Idem ibid.

(8) Idem.

of b. chronogr. p. 8.

(9) Laët. pers. c. 42. p. 36.

(1) Euseb.

Alexand. p. 6, 6.

(2) Euseb. l. viii. c. 7. p. 317.

not make good their charge. He would not receive the accusation of one *Thaumafius* against his benefactor *Symmachus*, in whose house he had been brought up, and condemned another to banishment, for informing against his brother ⁹. He suppressed the officers called *frumentarii*, of whom *Casaubon* speaks much at large, without giving us any satisfactory reason why they were so called ¹ (G). *Dioclesian* encouraged and preferred persons of merit and virtue, discountenanced vice, managed the public money with great frugality, had much at heart the worship of the gods, and was, till seduced by *Galerius*, rather a friend than an enemy to the Christians, of whom he had, till the year 303. great numbers both in his court and army ².

His public buildings. He was greatly addicted to building, and embellished several cities of the empire, especially *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Milan*, and *Nicomedia*, with many stately edifices (H). But these buildings

⁹ Cod. Just. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 17. p. 111. & leg. 12. p. 810.
¹ CASAB. not. in SPART. p. 22. ² AUR. VICT. p. 525.
 LACT. perf. c. 10. p. 9.

(G) They were first established to give the emperor immediate notice of the disturbances that happened in the provinces; but, abusing their office, especially in the distant countries, they often extorted large sums from the inhabitants, by threatening to accuse them, if they did not comply with their unjust demands. However, no great benefit was reaped from their suppression; for those who were styled *agentes in rebus*, and *curiosi*, proved no less mischievous than the *frumentarii* (3).

(H) From the ruins of his *therme*, or public hot baths, which are still visited and admired by all travelers to *Rome*, we may judge of the grandeur and magnificence of that surprising fabric. Besides the bathing-places, in which three thousand persons

could conveniently bathe at a time, there were many other rooms and apartments; for the books which were lodged in *Trajan's* library were conveyed thither (4). The emperor *Constantius II.* when he came to *Rome*, in 358. admired nothing so much as *Dioclesian's* baths, which seemed rather a province, says *Ammianus*, with no small exaggeration, than a building (5). Part of these baths were by pope *Pius IV.* changed into a church, consecrated to the virgin *Mary*, under the title of *Santa Maria degli Angeli*. *Dioclesian* embellished with a great number of stately buildings many other cities, but above all *Nicomedia*, with a design of equaling it to *Rome*; for which purpose he spared no cost or labour, that might render the place either beautiful or conve-

(3) AUR. VICT. p. 524.
 VICT. EPIT. p. 525.

(4) EUSEB. CHRON. p. 244. PROB. VIT. p. 233.
 (5) AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71.

buildings proved very burdensome to the people, who were not only obliged to abandon their antient habitations, to make room for them, but moreover to furnish workmen, beasts of burden, and the necessary materials; by which means he ruined provinces, while he embellished the cities. If he happened not to like a building when it was quite finished, he caused it to be pulled down, though reared at an immense expence, and to be rebuilt upon a different plan, perhaps to pull it down a second and third time (1). We cannot help observing, before we close this chapter, that, though no reign was more remarkable, either for length, or variety of great events, than *Dioclesian's*, yet no prince's reign is less known; which seems the

They prove burdensome to the people.

* LACT. *pers.* c. 7. p. 7.

nient. He built there a circus, several basilics, a mint, an arsenal, a palace for his wife, and another for his daughter. Thus *Nicomedia* became the ordinary residence of the emperors, when the affairs of the empire called them into the East, till the removal of the imperial seat to *Constantinople* (6). We have spoken above of his magnificent palace or villa at *Spalato* in *Dalmatia*, in which province he likewise built the castle of *Dioclea*, in the village where he was born, the inhabitants whereof were called *Dioclesians* (7).

(1) *Lactantius* charges him with avarice, and with putting, under various false pretences, many persons to death, in order to seize their estates (8). *Eutropius* (9), *Zonaras* (1), and *Aurelius Victor* (2), tell us, that, to cover the meanness of his extraction, he affected extraordinary magnificence in his attire, caused those who approached him to fall prostrate at his feet, assumed the

titles of *Lord* and *God*, as *Caligula* and *Domitian* had done, and claimed divine worship. Hence *Spartian*, in addressing his works to him, uses this expression; *I lay them at the feet of your deity* (3). Other writers express themselves in the same stile, whether they direct their speech to him, or his colleagues, who, it seems, followed his example (4). *Dioclesian* took the name of *Jovius*, and *Maximian* that of *Hercules*, as if they had been descended from these pretended deities; and even obliged their successors to assume the same titles. Thus *Galerius* and *Maximin* added to their other titles that of *Jupiter* and *Jovius*, and *Constantius* the surname of *Hercules*, which he transmitted to *Licinius*, and his son *Constantine*; but they soon quitted them; for *Lactantius* tells us, that, in the year 320. the impious names of *Jupiter* and *Hercules* were abolished from off the face of the earth (5).

(6) *Lact. pers.* c. 7. 17. p. 7. 15.
imper. ad Rom. fil. p. 72.

etrop. p. 586.

(1) *Spart. vit. Per.* p. 13.
ibid. c. 52. c. 46.

(2) *Zonar.* p. 244.

(3) *Lact. pers.* c. 9. p. 9.

(4) *Paneg.* 10. p. 123.

(7) *Constan. Porphy. de administr.*

imper. ad Rom. fil. p. 72.

(8) *Lact. pers.* c. 9. p. 9.

(9) *Eutrop.* p. 586.

(2) *Aur. Vict.* p. 523.

(5) *Lact.*

more surprising to us, when we reflect on the great number of historians who flourished in his time. Many of them must, without all doubt, have written the history of his life, as we know they did those of his predecessors, which most of them inscribed to him : but no particular and distinct account of his reign has reached us ; nay, a chasm even in the history of *Zosimus*, from the death of *Carus* to the resignation of *Dioclesian*, has deprived us of what we might have learnt concerning him of that, as we may call him, second-hand historian. May we not ascribe this general loss of memoirs concerning him to divine vengeance, for his attempting utterly to abolish the holy scriptures ? This, at least, seems more probable to us, than what we read in a modern critic ; to wit, that the Christians, out of hatred to so cruel an enemy, suppressed all histories and memoirs relating to him*. Of the writers who flourished under *Dioclesian*, we shall speak in our note (K).

* *CASAUB.* not. in *SPART.* p. 201.

(K) *Claudius Eusebius*, secretary to *Dioclesian*, wrote, in four books, the history of the four princes *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Constantius*, and *Galerius* (6) ; and this is all we know of him. *Vossius* is of opinion, that *Asclepiodotus* wrote the history of *Dioclesian's* reign, because *Vopiscus* quotes him in relating some things concerning that prince (7) ; but, as *Asclepiodotus* was captain of the guards to *Constantius*, and well acquainted with the court, *Vopiscus* might have quoted him, as he often quotes his father and grandfather, who never committed any thing to writing. The *Augustine* writers, to wit, *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiscus*, all lived in the reign of *Dioclesian*, though some of them wrote under his successors. *Aelius Spartianus* wrote first the lives of all the emperors, from *Julius Cæsar* to *Adrian*, and afterwards re-

all the other emperors and *Cæsar*, and to inscribe the whole to *Dioclesian*, of whose family he seems to have been (8). The lives of the following princes pass under his name, to wit, of *Adrian*, of *Ælius Verus* his adopted son, of *Julian*, *Niger*, *Severus*, *Caracalla*, and *Geta*. Those of *Ælius Cæsar*, *Adrian*, *Julian*, *Severus*, and *Niger*, are inscribed to *Dioclesian* ; that of *Caracalla* has no dedication prefixed to it ; but the life of *Geta* is addressed to *Constantine*, already *Augustus*. What the author says in his address, gives us room to believe, that he had dedicated other lives to the same prince ; nay, *Salmasius* takes him to be the author of the lives of all the emperors to *Maximin I.* (9). This opinion we shall examine presently. *Vopiscus*, in the life of *Probus*, names *Julius Capitolinus* and *Aelius Lampridius* among the historians who had written before him (1). To the latter are generally ascribed

(7) *Voss. bisp. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 185.*

Salmas. not. in Spart. p. 242, 243.

(8) *Ver.*

(1) *Prob. vit.*

the lives of *Commodus*, of *Dia-
dumenus* the son of *Macrinus*, of
Heliogabalus, and *Alexander*. The
life of *Commodus* is inscribed to
Dioclesian; those of *Heliogabalus*
and *Alexander* to *Constantine*,
who desired the author, as he
tells us, to write the life of *He-
liogabalus*, and to address it to
him, as he had done several other
lives before (2). He adds, that
he designed to write the history
of *Alexander Severus*, and his
successors, to *Constantine*; name-
ly, of the *Gordians*, of *Aureli-
us Claudius*, *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*,
Licinius, *Severus*, *Alexander*, who
revolted in *Africa* in 308. and of
Maxentius. These princes were,
it seems, at that time all dead,
and consequently he could not
write this before the year 324.
He tells us elsewhere, that he
had written the lives of *M. Au-
relius* and *Macrinus* (3). In some
antient manuscripts, all the lives
that pass under the name of *Lam-
pridius*, are ascribed to *Spartian*;
and truly the lives said to have
been written by these two histo-
rians are in every respect so like,
that some learned critics have
taken them to have been done
by one writer, named *Ælius*
Lampridius Spartianus. *Casau-
bon* and *Vossius* are greatly in-
clined to this opinion (4); the
more because *Vopiscus* often quotes
Lampridius, and never *Spartian*.
On the other hand, *Salmasius*
takes them to be two distinct
writers (5). *Julius Capitolinus*
likewise undertook to write the
lives of all the emperors in so
many distinct and separate books,

as others had done before him;
but, upon second thoughts, to
avoid prolixity and repetitions, he
joined several lives together, of
such emperors especially as reign-
ed at the same time (6). Under
his name pass the lives of *T. An-
toninus*, *M. Aurelius*, *L. Verus*,
Pertinax, *Albinus*, *Macrinus*, the
two *Maximins*, the three *Gordi-
ans*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus*. The
history of *Titus Antoninus*, *M.
Aurelius*, *L. Verus*, and *Macri-
nus*, are dedicated to *Dioclesian*;
and that of the *Maximins*, of the
Gordians, and of *Albinus*, to *Con-
stantine*, for whose sake he under-
took the whole work (7). Per-
haps *Cornelius Capitolinus*, quoted
by *Trebellius Pollio* in his account
of *Zenobia* (8), and *Julius Capi-
tolinus*, are one and the same
person. Some manuscripts ascribe
to *Spartian* all the lives that pass
under the name of *Capitolinus*,
except those of the *Maximins*,
of the *Gordians*, and of *Maxi-
mus* and *Balbinus* (9). *Salmasius*
yields to the authority of the
manuscripts (1); but *Vossius* as-
serts, that the lives commonly
ascribed to *Capitolinus* were done
by him, and not by *Spartian* (2).
Vulcatius Gallicanus, a Roman
senator, undertook, in the reign
of *Dioclesian*, to write the lives
of all those who had enjoyed the
sovereignty, whether by right or
usurpation (3); but of all he
wrote, or designed to write, no-
thing has reached our times, ex-
cept his history of *Avidius Cus-
pius*, who revolted in the East
during the reign of *M. Aurelius*,
which is dedicated to *Dioclesian*.

(2) *Lampr.* p. 45, 101, 136, 113.
p. 99.

(4) *Casaub.* in *Spart.* p. 1.

(5) *Salmas.* in *Spart.* p. 66.

(7) *Capit.* p. 30, 39, 96, &c.

bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 5, p. 186.

c. 65, p. 13.

(3) *Cypri.* c. 1, p. 40, 41.

(3) *Commod.* vit. p. 45. *Diadum.* vit.

Voss. bist. Lat. l. ii. c. 7, p. 142, 193.

(6) *Gord.* vit. p. 151. *Maxim.* vit. p. 138.

(9) *Voss.*

(2) *Voss. bist. Lat.*

This life, too, *Salmafus* ascribes to *Spartian* (4). But the name of *Vulcatius*, which is no common name, has not, in the opinion of *Vossius* (5), been prefixed to it by chance, or mere caprice of the transcriber. *Valefius* takes the historian to be one and the same person with *Gallicanus*, who was consul with *Bassus* in the year 317.

Trebellius Pollio wrote the life of *Philip*, and of all the other princes, whether lawful emperors or usurpers, from his time to the reign of *Claudius*, and his brother *Quintillus* (6). He had begun, it seems, this work before the year 291. when *Tiberianus* was governor of *Rome* (7). Great part of this work has been long since lost. He likewise designed to write the life of *Aurelian*; which design if he ever put in execution, it was after *Vopiscus* had written on the same subject; for that writer glories in his being the first among the *Latins* who published the life of *Aurelian* (8). *Trebellius Pollio* seems to have been greatly attached to *Constantinus* the father of *Constantine* (9). *Vopiscus* thinks he overvalued some things, and was too minute and diffuse in others (1). His history of the *thirty tyrants* was published after the year 291. when *Constantius* was already *Cæsar*. He inscribed his work to some particular friend or friends, whom he does not name; but the life of *Claudius* he addresses to *Constantine*, and not to *Constantius*, as some have

imagined (2). *Vossius*, thinks his language and style not unworthy of praise, if compared with some of his cotemporary writers (3). Some ascribe to *Capitolinus* the lives that pass under the name of *Pollio*; but their opinion is rejected by the best critics (4). *Flavius Vopiscus* was a native of *Syracuse*, and seems to have been descended of a noble family; for his father and grandfather, whom he often quotes, lived in great intimacy with *Dioclesian*. He was induced to write the life of *Aurelian*, as he himself informs us, by *Junius Tiberianus* governor of *Rome* (5), in 291. or 292. but he did not publish it before *Constantius* was created *Cæsar* (6). He seems to have made some additions to it long after; for he takes notice of a saying of *Dioclesian* after his resignation, which, he says, he had learnt of his father (7). He wrote likewise the histories of *Tacitus*, and his brother *Florianus*, of *Probus*, of *Firmus*, and of some other usurpers. He was employed in writing the lives of *Carus* and his children, while *Galerius* was waging war with the *Persians* (8); that is, about the year 297. but he must have afterwards added several things to it; for he mentions the shews exhibited by *Dioclesian* in 300. and says, that "*Enfibenius*, who had been secretary to that prince, had written his life, and the lives of his three colleagues (9)." From which expression we may conclude, not only that *Enfibenius* was no long-

(4) *Salmaf. in Spart. p. 103.*

(5) *Aur. vit. p. 209, 242.*

(6) *Idem ibid. in not. p. 103.*

(7) *Idem ibid. (1) Aur. vit. ibid.*

(8) *Idem ibid. (4) Casaub. in Poll. p. 203.*

(9) *Idem, p. 223.*

(5) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. 3. c. 5. p. 187.*

(8) *Idem ibid.*

(2) *Voss. hist. Lat. c. 6. p. 190.*

(5) *Aur. vit. p. 209.*

(8) *Car. vit. p. 250.*

(9) *Idem,*

p. 224.

p. 254.

er his secretary, and consequently that *Dioclesian* was no longer emperor, but likewise that he, and his colleagues, were dead, since their lives were already written. The last of them died in 311. *Vopiscus* inscribed his works, not to the emperors, but to his friends. The life of *Firmus* is addressed to *Bassus*, and that of *Probus* to one *Celsus*, his intimate friend, perhaps *Herenius Celsus*, who aspired to the consulship (1), and was, according to *Casaubon* (2); governor of Egypt. *Vopiscus* was a great admirer of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and promises, in one place of his work, to write his life; but of such a performance no mention is made by any of the antients (3). These six writers, to wit, *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiscus*, are commonly known to the learned by the name of *historia Augusta scriptores*, though they are, in effect, rather biographers than historians, and take more care to inform us of the good and bad qualities of the emperors, of their birth, education, stature, mien, and even their diet, and the cloaths they wore, than to describe their wars, the laws they enacted, and the great revolutions that happened during their respective reigns. *Vopiscus*, in the opinion of the learned, far excels the rest, both as to his method and style; but, nevertheless, has many great faults, and is not to be compared with any of the antient *Latin* historians.

As for the other five, they betray great want of judgment in their choice, and of method in digesting what they had chosen. Of these six writers, *Capitolinus* is the most confused and injudicious; whence some have suspected, that the author of this collection might have mixed and blended together the relations of *Capitolinus*, *Spartian*, and some others (4). Their style is quite coarse and unpolished, their expressions uncouth, and sometimes hardly intelligible. *Vopiscus* writes, that *Lampridius* and *Capitolinus* minded rather truth than elegance in their narrations (5). *Pollio* owns his style to have nothing of the elegance of the antients (6). But, of the many historians, some say fifty and upwards, who have handled the same subject, only the above-mentioned six have reached us. *Tatius*, or *Statius Cyrillus*, was cotemporary with these six writers, and translated the lives of several emperors out of *Greek* into *Latin*. *Constantine* desired him to abridge them, and to join several lives together in one volume (7). His work has been long since lost. *Sotericus*, a poet and historian, flourished in the reign of *Dioclesian*, on whom he wrote a panegyric. He was a native of *Oasis* in *Libya*, and much esteemed by the learned men of his age. He left behind him several works, and, among the rest, the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus* (8); but only a small fragment of what he wrote has

(1) *Trig. tyrann. vit.* p. 195.
vit. p. 217.

(2) *Casaub.* in *Vopisc.* p. 13.

(3) *Casaub.* in *Vopisc.* p. 13.

(4) *Aut.* p. 234.

(5) *Trig. tyrann.* p. 184.

(6) *Max. vit.* p. 138.

(7) *Voss. bibl. Lut.* c. 7. p. 193.

(8) *Suid.* p. 784.

been conveyed to us by the scholiast of *Lycophron* (9).

But, of all the writers who flourished under *Dioclesian*, the most famous was the philosopher *Porphyrius*, born, as he himself writes, in the city of *Tyre*, or that neighbourhood; for he styles himself a *Tyrian* (1). *St. Jerom* gives him the surname of *Bataneotes* (2); whence some have believed him to have been a native of *Batanea*, a village in *Syria*, according to *Stephanus*, or rather in *Phœnicia*; for it stood within fifteen miles of *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*. Perhaps the family of *Porphyrius* came originally from *Tyre*, and thence he styled himself a *Tyrian*, though born in the village of *Batanea* (3). It is certain, that he passed part of his life in the neighbourhood of *Tyre* (4). *Baronius* maintains him to have been by religion a *Jew* (5) probably for no other reason, but because he supposed him to have been a native of *Batanea*; but in those days *Batanea* was inhabited not only by *Jews*, but likewise by *Greeks* and *Syrians*. It is true, he always spoke with great reverence of the God of the *Jews* (6); but, at the same time, he declared himself an open enemy to that people, as well as to the Christians (7). *St. Austin* styles him *Porphyrius the Sicilian* (8), probably on account of his having resided a long time in *Sicily*, and

publishing there several books against the Christians. He was descended of a good family. His ancestors were not *Greeks*, but *Syrians*, so far as we can judge from the name of his father, who was called *Malchus*; which name he himself bore in his youth: but, as the name of *Malchus* in the *Syriac* language signified king, *Longinus* advised him to exchange it for that of *Porphyrius*, which has some relation to royalty, the word *πορφύρεα* signifying in *Greek*, purple, which was peculiar to the emperors and *Cæsars*. However, he was, by some, still called *Malchus*; and *Longinus* himself gave him that name in addressing a work to him (9). He was born in the year 233. for he was thirty in the tenth year of the reign of *Gallienus* (1). *Socrates* writes, that at first he professed the Christian religion; but afterwards, upon his being beaten and abused by some Christians at *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*, out of revenge he not only renounced, but undertook to impugn, the religion which he had, till that time professed (2). *Holfstenius* likewise supposes him to have been once a Christian, and for that supposition quotes *St. Austin* (3); but that father only says, that *Porphyrius* had read the Scripture with great attention, but could not be reconciled to the humility of *Jesus* (4); from which

(9) *Voss. bist. Græc. l. ii. c. 16. p. 245.*
in Gal. par. prim. 156.

(1) *Plot. vit. p. 6.*

(2) *Hier.*

(3) *Jos. l. iii. c. 15. p. 286.*

(4) *Plot. vit.*

(5) *Baron. ad ann. 302.*

(6) *August. civit. Dei. l. xix. c. 27.*

(7) *Euseb. præp. evang. l. x. c. 9. p. 425.*

(8) *Aug. retract.*

l. ii. c. 11. p. 24.

(9) *Eunap. c. 11. p. 16.*

Plot. vit. p. 10.

(1) *Idem.*

(2) *Socr. l. iii. c. 3. p. 100.*

(3) *Porphyr. vit. c. 5. p. 19.*

(4) *Aug. civ. Dei. l. x. p. 118.*

words no one can conclude, that he ever professed the doctrine and humility of Jesus. While he was yet very young, he saw *Origen*, at that time in great credit among the Christians (5), not at *Alexandria*, as *Vincentius Lirinensis* writes (6) (for he had left that city in 231.), but either at *Cæsarea in Palaestina*, or at *Tyre*. *Porphyrius* came to *Rome* about the year 252. He was disciple to *Longinus*, under whom he studied at *Athens* the philosophy of *Plato*, and made such progress in his studies, that he soon became the honour and ornament of that school (7). Though he was one of the most dangerous and inveterate enemies the Christian religion ever had, yet this has not hindered the Christian writers from doing him justice, and bestowing upon him the praises he deserved. *Eusebius* ranks him among the most illustrious men, and eminent philosophers, that flourished at any time (8). *Cyrillus of Alexandria* extols his knowledge; and St. *Austin* styles him an extraordinary genius, and the most learned among philosophers (9). In the year 263. being then thirty, he passed from *Greece* to *Rome*, where he heard *Plotinus*, who taught there; and no sooner heard him, than, forgetting *Longinus*, and all the other philosophers, he addicted himself intirely to him (1). *Suidas* supposes him to have been likewise disciple to *Amelius* (2); but the

latter studied at the same time under *Plotinus*, so that he and *Porphyrius* were rather con-disciples (3). *Porphyrius*, indeed, might have learned many things of *Amelius*, who was eighteen years older than he, and been, in that sense, his disciple. He lived six years with *Plotinus*, and the fruit he reaped from his instructions was a profound melancholy, which, in the end, reduced him to such misery, that he resolved to destroy himself. *Plotinus*, suspecting his design from some words he dropped, prevailed upon him to divert his mind from such gloomy thoughts by traveling. He therefore took his leave of *Plotinus*, and, in the beginning of the year 268. the fifteenth of the reign of *Gallienus*, set out from *Rome*, and crossed over into *Sicily*. He landed near *Messana*, now *Messina*; but, without visiting that city, went strait to cape *Lilybeum*, to see one *Probus*, who was generally esteemed a man of great learning. He continued some days with *Probus*, without taking any food, or conversing with any one (4); but, in the end, got the better of his melancholy, and staid near two years at *Lilybeum*. While he was there, *Plotinus* died at *Rome*, about the beginning of the year 270. From *Sicily* *Porphyrius* seems to have passed into the East, to have staid some time at *Tyre*, and, returning from thence

(5) *Euseb. l. vi. c. 19. p. 220.*
præpar. evan. l. x. c. 3. p. 464.

Porphyr. vit. c. 1. p. 10, 11.
vit. p. 3. Eunap. c. ii. p. 17.

(4) *Idem, p. 4. Eunap. c. 2. p. 17, 18.*

(6) *Vinc. Lir. c. 23. p. 352.*
Eunap. c. 2. p. 16.

(9) *Aug. civ. Dei, c. 92. p. 120.*

(2) *Suid. p. 573, 193.*

(7) *Euseb.*

(8) *Euseb. ibid.*

(1) *Plot.*

(3) *Plot. vit. p. 3.*

to *Sicily*, to have crossed over from *Lilybaum* to *Africa*; and there visited the city of *Carthage* (5). From *Africa* he sailed back to *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* returned to *Rome*, where he applied himself to the study of eloquence, and even made some public speeches or declamations (6). He lived to a great age, says *Eunapius*; and *Porphyrius* himself, in his life of *Plotinus*, speaks of a thing that happened to him when he was sixty-eight; that is, in the year 299. or 300 (7). so that he not only lived to the reign of *Probus*, as *Eunapius* writes, but to that of *Dioclesian*, and perhaps longer: which confirms what we read in *St. Austin*; to wit, that he lived in the time that the princes of the earth, and the adorers of the infernal spirits, conspired to extirpate the Christian religion; and therefore could not persuade himself, that it had been given by God for a means of salvation; whereas he ought, continues *St. Austin*, to have looked upon that bloody persecution as an evident proof of the glory and invincible strength of the church (8). He died, according to *Eunapius* (9), at *Rome*. *St. Jerom* seems to have believed, that he was buried in *Sicily* (1). He had married a widow, by name *Marcella*, who had five children by a former husband. *Eunapius* tells us, that he married her with no other view but to bring up her

children with greater care, out of regard to their father, who was his particular friend (2). As the Christian writers upbraid him with no vices, we conclude him to have been, as to his life and manners, altogether blameless. *Eunapius* extols his eloquence, and the beauty of his stile and expressions (3). He was thoroughly versed in every branch of literature, excelled all men of his age in the knowledge of polite learning, arithmetic, geometry, and music (4); but shone chiefly in philosophy, his favourite science and study. Authors observe of him, that whereas other philosophers studied to conceal their sentiments with an affected obscurity, *Porphyrius* expressed himself in a manner adapted to the meanest capacities (5). He taught philosophy at *Rome*, both by word of mouth, and in writing. *Iamblicus*, a celebrated philosopher in those times, and *Theodorus* of *Asine* in *Peloponnesus*, a man in great repute among the pagans, were both his disciples (6); as likewise were, according to some writers, *Chrysaores*, *Nemercus*, and *Gedalus*, who inscribed some works to him (7). He was very communicative to those who desired to be informed and instructed, and kind to his disciples, whom on all occasions he was ready to assist to the utmost of his power. He applied himself, as most of the *Platonic* philosophers did in

(5) *Porphyr. vit. p. 2* — 12. *Plot. vit. p. 17.*
21. *Plot. vit. p. 16.* (7) *Idem ibid.*

c. 32. p. 120, 121. (9) *Eunap. c. 2. p. 21.*

p. 377. (2) *Eunap. c. 2. p. 11.*

(4) *Idem, p. 18, 19.*

Steph. p. 121.

(3) *Porphyr. vit. c. 5. p. 44. & 51, 53.*

(6) *Eunap. c. 2. p.*

(8) *Aug. civ. Dei, l. 2.*

(1) *Hier. in Enech.*

(3) *Idem, c. 2, 3. p. 19, 20.*

(6) *Plot. c. 242. p. 1057.*

those days, to the execrable study of magic, which he disguised with the plausible name of *theourgia*, or *divine operation* (8). He composed an infinite number of books upon different subjects, of which the reader will find a catalogue in the latter end of the dissertation which *Holstenius* published on the life and writings of that philosopher (9). We shall only take notice of such of his works as are still extant. A manuscript has reached our times on the quantity and measure of words, under the name of *Porphyrius*, whom *Holstenius* believes to have been the true author of it. To *Homer* is added, in several editions, a small work, containing thirty-two questions concerning that poet, done by *Porphyrius*, and looked upon by *Holstenius* as the beginning of an intricate comment, well known to the ancients. The same writer published in 1630. a piece, which he ascribes to *Porphyrius*, on the cave of the nymphs, described in the thirteenth book of the *Odyssey*: the reader will find there many difficulties cleared up touching the theology of the pagans. At the same time *Holstenius* published a fragment of *Porphyrius* on the river *Styx*; and several other fragments of that piece are to be found in *Stobæus*. *Porphyrius* often quotes there the heretic *Bardesanes*, and his disciples, who, he says, lived in the time of *Heliogabalus*. He wrote, in five books, the *curious*

history, or, as it is styled by others, *curious entertainments* (1). Out of the first book of this work, *Eusebius* quotes a long passage upon plagiarists, who copy from one another (2). Among his philosophical works, *Holstenius* takes, in the first place, notice of the introduction upon the *universals*, which he wrote while in *Sicily*, to explain to *Chrysostom*, his disciple, the *categories* of *Aristotle*. One *Ammonius* wrote a comment upon this work, which is still extant. Another work of *Porphyrius*, on *Aristotle's categories*, was first printed at *Paris* in 1543. Besides these two, he wrote a third on the same subject, in seven books, which he inscribed to *Gadalu*. This was in great part copied by *Iamblichus*, who likewise published a treatise on the *categories* longer than that of *Porphyrius* (3). In the latter end of the last century was published, at *Basle*, an introduction, written by *Porphyrius*, on *Ptolemy's* work, touching the force and influence of the stars; and several manuscripts of a comment by *Porphyrius* on another work of *Ptolemy*, treating of harmony and music, are still extant (4). His books, containing the lives and tenets of the philosophers, were well known to the ancients; but he brings them no lower than to *Plato's* time (5). The subject of the first book of this work was the life of *Pythagoras*, which *Holstenius* has published.

(8) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. x. c. 9. p. 111. *Euseb. præp. evang.* l. iv. c. 6. p. 143.
 (9) *Holsten. vit. Porpb.* c. 6. (1) *Vit. Porpb.* p. 46—49. (2) *Euseb. præp. evang.* l. x. c. 3. p. 464. (3) *Porpb. vit.* p. 51, 52. (4) *Iam.* p. 54, 55. (5) *Idem*, p. 56. *Euseb. præp.* p. 10.

but imperfect. The third contained the life of *Socrates*, of whom he speaks very contemptuously, having, as is supposed, compiled these lives with passages borrowed from the antients, and, among the rest, from *Aristoxenus*, a declared enemy to *Socrates* (6). The reader will find, in the second book of *Stobæus*, great part of a work done by *Porphyrius*, on *What it is in our power to do*, and inscribed by him to *Chrysæor* (7). The four books, which he wrote against eating of flesh, and the Latin translation of them by *Bernardus Felicianus*, are highly esteemed by *Holstenius*. These books are addressed to *Cassicius Firmus*, who had an estate at *Minturnæ*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and greatly admired, or rather adored, both *Plotinus* and his favourite disciple *Porphyrius* (8). *Eusebius* and *Theodoret* have made use of several passages in this work, in writing against the sacrifices of the gentiles (9). As in this work *Porphyrius* condemned the sacrifices, which the Jews were, by their law, commanded to offer to the true God, *Diodorus*, bishop of *Tarsus*, undertook to confute him as to that particular. *St. Austin* often quotes a treatise of *Porphyrius* on the return of the soul to God (1), divided into several books. This is, without all doubt, the treatise on the soul, which is often cited by *Eusebius*, and was divided into five books,

written by *Porphyrius* to confute *Boethius*, a celebrated peripatetic in the time of *Augustus* (2). *Porphyrius* published another work on the faculties of the soul, out of which a long passage has been conveyed to us by *Stobæus*. *Holstenius* has published several sentences, or sayings of *Porphyrius*, which make up part of a treatise intitled, *introduction to things intelligible*. *Eusebius* and *St. Austin* make frequent mention of a letter from *Porphyrius* to one *Anebon*, an Egyptian priest or prophet, containing several questions touching the nature of demons, the oracles, and magic. This letter was answered by *Iamblicus*, under the feigned name of *Abammon* (3). *Eusebius* and *Stobæus* quote several passages out of a book upon statues, wherein *Porphyrius* is supposed to have excused, in the best manner he could, the worship paid by the pagans to their idols (4). *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* has transcribed some passages out of another book of his, inscribed to *Nemercus*, upon *Divine Providence*. *Eusebius* and *St. Austin* speak frequently of a treatise intitled *philosophy founded upon oracles*, in all likelihood the same work with that which *Eusebius* elsewhere styles a collection of oracles. This work consisted at least of three books (5). *St. Austin* is of opinion, that most of the oracles related by *Porphyrius* in that treatise were feigned by himself (6).

(6) *Porphyr. vit. c. 7. p. 60.*(7) *Idem, p. 64.*(8) *Idem ibid.*(9) *Idem ibid.*(1) *Aug. civ. Dei, l. x. p. 9, &c.*(2) *Porph.**vit. p. 71, 72. Euseb. præp. evang. l. iii. c. 34.*(3) *Aug. civ. Dei, l. x.**c. 11. p. 112, &c. Euseb. ibid. l. xiv. c. 10. p. 741.*(4) *Eutrop. p. 75.**Euseb. ibid. l. iii. c. 9. p. 100.*(5) *Porph. vit. p. 78. Jansf. l. iii. c. 15.**p. 289.*(6) *Aug. civ. Dei, l. xix. c. 23. p. 253.*

He published, by the advice of *Plotinus*, a book against the heretics, called *gnostics*, to shew, that a treatise on magic, which they perused, and ascribed to *Zoroaster*, was a supposititious piece, and written by some of them (7). He published an incredible number of other books, which are mentioned by the antients, and have been long since intirely lost. But none of his works have rendered him so famous as that which he wrote against the Christians, to whom he bore an irreconcilable hatred, and whose religion he endeavoured to discredit with the blackest calumnies. He read with great attention the Scriptures, not to seek the truth, but to find arms wherewithal to impugn it, says *Theodoret* (8). He pretended to have discovered in the sacred books a great many contradictions, which were, it seems, the subject of his first book; for the whole work was divided into fifteen (9). He found the prophecies of *Daniel* so clearly and evidently fulfilled, that he employed great part of his twelfth book in endeavouring to shew, that the prophecies ascribed to *Daniel* had been published under his name by one who lived in the time of *Antiochus*, and wrote when the things supposed to have been foretold had already happened (1). As *Porphyrius* was a man of great learning, and highly esteemed by the pagans, many were by his writings diverted from embracing

the Christian religion, which, however, triumphed in the end over this, as it had done over all its other enemies. The emperor *Constantine*, after he had embraced the Christian religion, published some severe edicts, either against the person of *Porphyrius*, if he was still alive, which is not at all likely, or against his memory, and his writings, which he caused to be publicly burnt (2). Some authors think, that this punishment extended to all his writings; but *Constantine's* words need not to be taken in so general a sense (3). That prince, to shew his aversion to the *Arians*, ordered them to be called *Porphyrians* (4). The Christians did not fail to answer the ill-grounded calumnies, and sophistical reasonings, of their crafty and malicious enemy. The holy bishop *Methodius* confuted him in a very learned piece, which he published before the persecution of *Dioclesian*, in which he was crowned with martyrdom. Some are of opinion, that he wrote it during the persecution (5); but we can hardly persuade ourselves, that he was then at leisure to compose such a long and elaborate work, the bishops being, in times of persecution, wholly taken up in relieving, comforting, and encouraging, the distressed Christians under their care. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, a man of great learning and erudition, published, soon after *Methodius*, an answer to the calumnies of *Porphyrius*, in thirty

(7) *Plot. vit. p. 10.*(8) *Theodoret. de Græc. affect. l. vii. p. 288.*(9) *Euseb. l. vi. c. 19. p. 219. Porphyr. vit. c. 10. p. 81.*(1) *Hier. in**Dan. p. 567.*(2) *Socrat. l. i. c. 9. p. 32.*(3) *Idem ibid.*(4) *Idem**ibid. (5) P. Pagi, p. 302.*

books ; and *Apollinaris* wrote the same number of books against him about sixty years after *Eusebius*. But all these works, as well as that of *Porphyrius*, which they confuted, have been long since lost. *Julian the Apostate* borrowed from *Porphyrius* what he wrote against the Christian religion ; but he was fully answered by the pious and learned *Cyrillus of Alexandria*. *St. Jerome*, *St. Austin*, *Eusebius*, and *Theodoret*, make use of several passages out of *Porphyrius*, in confuting the calumnies of the pagans ; for that implacable ene-

my to the Christian religion, notwithstanding all his hatred and malice, could not help uttering many things, which redounded greatly to the honour of those, whom he intended to traduce and expose : hence the judicious observation of *Theodoret*, with which we shall close this note ; to wit, that “ as God obliged *Balaam* to “ bless his people, whom he “ was come with a design to “ curse, so he turned the tongue “ of *Porphyrius* against himself, “ and employed him as a means “ to destroy the falshood which “ he laboured to establish (6).”

(6) *Theodor. de curand. Græcor. aff. c. l. iii. p. 117.*

C H A P. XXV.

The Roman History, from the Resignation of Dioclesian, to the Removal of the Imperial Seat to Constantinople, by Constantine the Great.

UPON the resignation of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, the two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, were universally acknowledged emperors. Of the latter we have spoken above, and shall here give a succinct account of the birth, education, preferments, and qualities, of *Constantius*, the father of the great *Constantine*, to whom the Christian religion is so highly indebted. *Constantius*, stiled in the antient inscriptions *Flavius Valerius Constantius* (A), was the son of *Eutropius*, one of the chief lords of *Dardania* in *Upper Mœsia*, by *Claudia* the daughter of *Crispus*, brother to the emperor *Claudius* ^a; so that he was not, as some have stiled him, grandson ^b, but great-nephew, to that prince. He is commonly distinguished from other emperors of the same name by the surname of *Chlorus*, borrowed perhaps from the paleness of his countenance; for such is the import of that word in the *Greek* tongue. He was born, according to some writers ^c, on the thirty-first of *March*, of what year we know not, being only told, that, at the time of his death, which happened in 306. he was, or

Constantius and
Galerius
acknowledged emperors.
Year of the flood
2745.
Of Christ
305.
Of Rome
1103.
Extra Dig-
on and
prefer-
ments of
Constantius.

^a ZONAR. vit. Diocles. p. 243. AMMIAN. anonym. p. 471. SPON. p. 193. Claud. vit. not. SALMAS. p. 331. ^b Byzantinor. familiæ, p. 43. ^c BUCHER. de cæcl. p. 276.

(A) *Constantius* is sometimes called *Julius* by *Aurelius Victor*, to distinguish him from the other emperors of the same name (1). He probably assumed the name of *Valerius* when he was adopted by *Maximian*, who had borrowed it of *Dioclesian*. As for that of *Flavius*, it was, according to some authors (2), peculiar to the family of the emperor *Claudius* II. whose great nephew he was. In some inscriptions, *Constantius* is stiled the grandson of *Claudius*; and, in one, *Constantine* is called the grandson of *Claudius*, and the son of *Constantius* (3).

(1) *Aur. ViB.* p. 524.
ter, p. 283.

(2) *Vide Salmas. in Claud.* p. 331.

(3) *Gri*

at least seemed to be, very old^d. In his person, he was well shaped; and in his aspect there was something extremely gracious and pleasing^e. He was not so well versed in letters as in the military art, which he learnt under two great warriors, *Aurelian* and *Probus*^f. An ancient anonymous writer^g tells us, that he served some time in the guards, was afterwards made tribune, and at length appointed governor of *Dalmatia*. He signalized himself in war, and gained a great victory over the *Alemans in campis Vindonis*, that is, in the neighbourhood of *Windisch*, at present a small village in the canton of *Bern*, the same year that *Constantine* was born, that is, in 274^h. He was made governor of *Dalmatia* in the year 282. or 283. by *Carus*, who had even some thoughts of creating him *Cæsar*, in the room of his debauched and wicked son *Carinus*, whom he designed to deposeⁱ. *Dioclesian*, judging him well qualified for the sovereignty, agreed with *Maximian* to create him *Cæsar*, together with *Galerius*, on the first of *March* of the year 292. as we have related above. He received the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, who by that ceremony adopted him, and hence he is sometimes called by the name of *Hercules*^k, which *Maximian* had assumed. He took place of *Galerius*, though created *Cæsar* at the same time, on account of his more noble extraction^l. Upon his being made *Cæsar*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, fell to his share.

His excellent qualities.

WHEN he attained to the empire, he governed the same provinces with such justice, equity, and moderation, as gained him the hearts of his people, and made them look upon him rather as their common father, than their sovereign. He is extolled, not only by *Eusebius* and *Lactantius*, whose testimony might be suspected, but by all the pagan writers, as the most equitable, pious, prudent, humane, and generous prince, that ever swayed a sceptre^m. He was not solicitous, says *Eutropius*ⁿ, about enriching the exchequer, but pleased that his people should enjoy the fruit of their labour and industry. He was often heard to say, it was better the wealth of a country should circulate among the people, than be locked up in the

^d EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 18. & 9. p. 192.

^e PANEG. 5. p. 126. ^f AUR. VICT. p. 524. ^g PROB. vit. p. 241.

^h ANONYM. AMMIANO subjunctus, p. 471. ⁱ PANEG. 9. p. 192.

^j CAR. vit. p. 235.

^k PANEG. 4. p. 115.

^l LACTANT. perfec. c. 20. p. 18. ^m PANEGYR. 5. p. 126. ⁿ EUTROP. 6. p. 136, 137. 9. p. 192. 219. p. 587.

coffers of the prince. For fear of loading his people, he was extremely sparing in his diet, furniture, equipage, and retinue. When he entertained his friends, and the officers of his court, he was obliged to borrow plate for the use of his table. What *Eutropius* writes is confirmed by *Eusebius*, who relates the following remarkable story, passing over in silence, says he, many others no less remarkable, but generally known: As the moderation and mildness with which *Constantius* governed, were every-where mightily applauded, and it was generally said, that he had no money by him, being unwilling to raise any upon his people, *Dioclesian* sent persons on purpose to reproach him with his neglect of the public, and the poverty to which he was reduced by his own fault. *Constantius* heard these reproaches with patience; and, having persuaded those, who made them in *Dioclesian's* name, to stay a few days with him, he sent word to the most wealthy persons in the provinces, that he wanted money, and that they had now an opportunity of shewing whether or no they truly loved their prince. Upon this notice, every one strove who should be foremost in carrying to the exchequer all their gold, silver, and valuable effects; so that in a short time *Constantius*, from the poorest, became by far the most wealthy of all the four princes. He then invited the deputies of *Dioclesian* to visit his treasury, desiring them to make a faithful report to their master of the state in which they should find it. They obeyed; and, while they stood gazing on the mighty heaps of gold and silver, *Constantius* told them, that the wealth, which they beheld with astonishment, had long since belonged to him; but that he had left it, by way of depositum, in the hands of his people; adding, *That the richest and surest treasure of the prince was the love of his subjects*. The deputies were no sooner gone, than the generous prince sent for those who had assisted him in this exigency, commended their zeal, and returned to every one what they so readily brought into his treasure^o (B).

WHEN

^o EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13. 17. p. 309. 317. & vit. Constant. l. i. c. 13. p. 414.

(B) *Suidas* writes, that, for his he was surnamed *The poor* (4). conscript of riches and grandeur, *Libanius* too extols his tender and

(4) *Suid.* π p. 416.

*He fa-
vours the
Christians.*

WHEN *Dioclesian*, in the year 303. at the instigation of *Galerius*, began to persecute the church, he sent his bloody edicts to *Maximian* and *Constantius*, injoining them both to see them put in execution in their respective provinces. *Maximian* obeyed with great readiness and joy; and *Constantius*, that he might not seem to oppose his colleagues, suffered some churches to be pulled down; but was so far from encouraging that, or any other violence, that, on the contrary, he preserved the Christians, in his provinces, exempt from all the evils which they suffered in those of the others; insomuch that the church enjoyed under him a profound tranquillity, and intire liberty of worship P (C). Though he countenanced and

P EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13. 18. p. 309. 317. & Conf. vit. l. i. c. 13. p. 413. OPTAT. mil. l. i. p. 44. LACT. c. 15. p. 13.

paternal regard for the people, who were blessed with so good a prince; and adds, *No prince ever loved money less; no prince was ever more loved by his subjects* (5). *Eusebius* frequently commends the piety of *Constantius*; and not only tells us, that he was inclined to the true religion, but that he acknowledged only one God, the Supreme Being; that he had honoured him all his life, had consecrated to him his whole house, and condemned the many gods adored by the impious (6). This is in a manner telling us, that he was a Christian; and nevertheless, neither *Eusebius*, nor any other writer, affirms that, at least in express terms; nay, it appears from *Eusebius*, that he esteemed and countenanced, but never professed, the Christian religion.

(C) *Eusebius* relates of him the following memorable action: While his colleagues, says he, were persecuting the Christians with fire and sword, he politically pretended to persecute them too;

and declared to such officers of his household, and governors of provinces, as were Christians, that he left it to their choice either to sacrifice to the gods, and by that means maintain themselves in their employments, or to forfeit their places, and his favour, by continuing steady in their religion. When they had all declared, the emperor discovered his real sentiments; reproached, in most bitter terms, those who had renounced their religion; highly extolled the virtue and constancy of such as had despised the wealth and vanities of the world; dismissed with ignominy the former, saying, *That those, who had betrayed their God, would not scruple to betray their prince*; and, retaining the latter, trusted them with the guard of his person, and the whole management of public affairs, as persons on whose fidelity he could depend, and in whom he might repose an intire confidence (7). Thus he filled his palace, con-

(5) *Liban. orat. iii. p. 104. dij. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309.*

(6) *Euseb. vit. Conf. l. i. c. 13. & (7) Euseb. vit. Conf. l. i. c. 15. p. 415.*

and honoured the Christians, yet he never embraced himself (which is altogether surprising) the true religion; at least we are no-where told, that he did. By his first wife, *Helena*, *His issue.* he had but one child, to wit, *Constantine*, surnamed *the Great*, of whom, as well as of his mother, we shall speak hereafter. He was obliged, in the year 292. to divorce her, and marry *Flavia Maximiana Theodora*, daughter to the wife of *Maximian*, by a former husband. He had by her three sons, *Dalmatius*, or *Dematius*, *Julius Constantius*, and a third, named by some *Annibalianus*, and by others *Constantine*; and as many daughters, to wit, *Constantia*, *Anastasia*, and *Eutropia* ^q (D).

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the reign of *Constantius*, it will be necessary to give the reader a succinct account of the birth, education, and extraordinary qualities, of his son *Constantine*, whose actions are inseparably interwoven with those of his father. *Constantine*, styled in the ancient

^q *AUR. VICT. p. 524. EUTROP. p. 586. AMMIAN. p. 2. Byzan. famil. p. 44. GOLTZ. p. 125.*

tinues *Eusebius*, with the pious adorers of the true God, while the other princes exerted all their power to extirpate the Christian name; nay, many ministers of God daily offered up prayers and vows for the happiness and preservation of so good a prince in his very palace, which seemed rather a church, or oratory, than the habitation of an emperor (8).

(D) *Dalmatius*, who was honoured with the censorship, died before *Constantine*, and left two sons; to wit, *Dalmatius* the younger, who, after having been consul in 333. with *Zenophilus*, was created *Cæsar* on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of September in 335. and *Annibalianus*, king of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. *Julius Constantius* was consul with *Albinus* in 335. and killed with one of his brothers soon after the

death of *Constantine the Great*. He had by his first wife *Galla*, *Gallus Cæsar*, and another son, whose name is unknown; and, by his second wife, *Basilina*, *Julian*, surnamed *the Apostate*. *Valerius*, who calls the third son *Constantine*, takes him to have been consul in 327. with *Maximus*, whose colleague is styled in the fasti *Constantine*. As to *Constantius's* three daughters; *Constantia*, styled on the ancient coins *Fl. Valeria Constantia*, was married to *Licinius* in 513. *Anastasia* married *Bassianus*, who, at the instigation of *Licinius*, betrayed *Constantine* in 314. tho' he had then some thoughts of creating him *Cæsar*. *Eutropia* was mother to *Nepotianus*, who usurped the empire in 350. and is supposed to have been married to *Nepotianus*, who was consul in 301.

(8) *Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 17. p. 416.*

The birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his son Constantine, inscriptions, *C. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Constantinus* ^r, was born on the twenty-seventh of February, about the year 274. for, at his death, which happened on the twenty-second of May in 337. he was about sixty-four ^s (E).

CON-

Constantine.

^r GOLTZ. p. 126, 127.

^s BUCH. cycl. p. 276. Byzant. fam. p. 214. LACT. p. 411, 412. Anonym. p. 471.

(E) As for the place of his nativity, the anonymous writer of his life, published in 1636. by *Henricus Valefius*, and subjoined to the fifteen books of *Amianus Marcellinus*, *Stephanus* the geographer (9), *Julius Firmicus* (1), who, according to the best-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of *Constantine*, and *Cedrenus* (2), tell us, in express terms, that *Constantine* was born in the city of *Naissus* in *Dardania*, called also *Naisus* and *Nassus*, and now known by the name of *Nissa*. It is certain, that the father and ancestors of *Constantine* were natives of *Dardania*; that *Constantine* himself frequently resided at *Naissus*, as appears from the many laws which he enacted there; and that he ever shewed himself partial to that city, enriching it with many privileges, and embellishing it with a great number of stately edifices; whence it is stiled by *Stephanus*, *The birth-place and work of the emperor Constantine* (3). However, most modern writers of all nations, not excepting such as are most jealous of the glory of ours, do us the honour to acknowledge this great emperor, this deliverer of the church, as *Eusebius* stiles him, a native of *Britain*, some of them supposing him to have been born

in the city of *Colchester*, where *Coellus*, the father of *Helena*, reigned; others in *York*, where the *Roman* governors usually resided. We heartily wish, an opinion, which reflects so much glory on our island, were better grounded. But to speak our sentiments, unbiassed by any national prejudice or partiality, tho' we have had from abroad, and perused with great attention, the elaborate work, published at *Antwerp* in 1641. by the learned Jesuit father *Alford* on this subject, under the title of *Britannia illustrata*, yet we cannot say, that his arguments weigh down with us the above-mentioned authorities. The moderns have been led into this opinion by a passage in a panegyric pronounced before *Constantine*, wherein the orator, addressing the emperor, told him, that he had ennobled *Britain*, *illic oriendo*; which words equally import *by being born there*, and *by being there made emperor*. In the latter sense they are understood by *Lipsius* (4), and *Livineius* in his comments on those ancient panegyricists; but, by father *Alford*, and above seventy other authors of different nations, whom he quotes, in the former (5); nay, both he and *Baronius* (6) think the above-mentioned words

(9) *Steph. in Naiss.*

(1) *Jul. Fir. mathes. l. i. c. ult.*

(2) *Cedren.*

bisf. p. 221.

(3) *Steph. ibid.*

(4) *Lips. de mag. Rom. l. iv. c. ult.*

(5) *Vid. Alford. Britan. illustrat. p. 140—155.*

(6) *Baron. ad ann. 306.*

CONSTANTIUS had *Constantine* by the celebrated *Helena*, so much extolled, and not undeservedly, by all the Christian, especially the ecclesiastic writers (F).

can admit of no other sense. For *Constantine*, say they, was made *Cæsar* at *Rome*, and emperor at *Treves*: but that he was created *Cæsar* in *Britain*, that he was there first saluted *Augustus*, and consequently, that the words of the panegyrist may, and perhaps ought to be understood in the sense of *Lipsius* and *Livineius*, will evidently appear, in the sequel of this history, from *Libanius*, *Eusebius*, the emperor *Julian*, *Lactantius*, and *Eumenius*, whom we shall quote hereafter. *Aldhelmus*, who flourished in the seventh century, was the first who wrote in express terms, that *Constantine* was born in *Britain* (7): those who came after copied from him, and, as it generally happens, from one another; by which means that opinion universally prevailed. *Aldhelmus* probably held it upon the authority of some tradition, or was persuaded by the ambiguous passage of the above-mentioned panegyrist. *Eusebius*, who relates the most minute particulars of the life of *Constantine*, never once mentions (which is very surprising) the place of his nativity.

(F) Most modern authors, whether natives of this island, or foreigners, suppose her to have been the daughter of *Coellus*, a *British* king, and to have married *Constantius*, who was charmed with her beauty, when he first came into *Britain*, in the reign of *Aurelianus*. But this opinion is no better grounded, than the former relating to the birth-place of *Constantine*, there being a profound

silence among the antients, if we except *Nicephorus*, with respect to the country of this pious, as *Eusebius* styles her, and venerable princess. As for *Nicephorus*, he gravely tells us, that *Helena* was the daughter of an inn-keeper of *Drepanum* near *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*; that *Constantius*, being seized with a lustful desire, while he lodged in her father's house, as he passed through that place upon an embassy to the king of *Persia*, acquainted therewith his landlord, who, to oblige the *Roman* ambassador, offered him his daughter, a virgin in the flower of her age, and of extraordinary beauty; that *Constantius*, terrified that night with a dream, in which he saw the sun rising out of the western ocean, exhorted his landlord next morning to preserve his daughter from any further pollution, and earnestly recommended to him the child she should bring forth; that some time after, other *Roman* ambassadors, who happened to lodge in the same house, chiding young *Constantine*, the fruit of that amour, and the child highly resenting that freedom, the mother informed them whose son he was, and at the same time shewed them a purple robe, the gift of *Constantius*. The ambassadors, upon their return to *Italy*, acquainted *Constantius* with what had passed, who thereupon ordered *Constantine* and his mother to repair to *Rome*; but afterwards, not thinking them safe there, on account of the jealous

(7) *Bucher. de Belg. l. vi. c. 15. Aldhelm. de laude virg. c. 23.*

temper of his lawful wife *Theodora*, he sent *Constantine* to *Nicomedia*, to be brought up in the court of *Dioclesian*, where he was instructed in the sciences, and the truths of the Christian religion, which he embraced (8). Such is the account *Nicephorus* gives us of the condition of *Helena*, of the birth and education of *Constantine*; an account which contains, we may say, without exaggeration, as many notorious blunders as periods. But we shall, for the present, only take notice of two; the one in point of chronology, the other of history; which, with every judicious reader, will be a sufficient apology for our rejecting, as altogether fabulous, the narration of that historian, tho' highly applauded by *Lipſius* (9), and adopted by some modern writers of no mean character. To begin with the enormous anachronism contained in that account, it is evident from all the antients, that *Constantine*, at the time of his father's pretended embassy to the king of *Persia*, was twenty-nine, or at least twenty-seven, years old. For *Constantius* was sent into *Persia*, according to *Nicephorus* (1), after *Dioclesian* had begun to persecute the Christians; but his first edicts against them were published, as we read in *Eusebius* (2), who lived at that time, on the twenty-third of *February*, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is, according to all chronologers both antient and modern, in the 303d of the Christian æra. On the other hand, *Eusebius* (3),

Epiphanius (4), *St. Jerom* (5), *Vidtor* (6), *Nicephorus Constantopolitanus* (7), &c. agree, that *Constantine* died in 337. being then sixty-four, or, as some will have it, sixty-two; so that he must have been born in 274. or 272. and consequently was, at the time of his father's supposed embassy, twenty nine, or twenty-seven, years old. Besides, *Constantine* himself, in his oration annexed to the works of *Eusebius*, tells us, that he was with *Dioclesian* in the palace at *Nicomedia*, when the memorable fire broke out there, of which we have spoken above; and that accident happened, according to *Eusebius* (8), a few days after the publishing of the first edicts against the Christians. It is amazing that *Lipſius* should, with other chronologers, suppose *Constantine* to have been born about the year 272. and yet admit, as an unquestionable truth, the fable of *Nicephorus*, which utterly destroys that supposition. As to the Greek historian's mistake in point of his history, he tells us, that the *Persians* having made an irruption into the *Roman* dominions, and threatening the empire with a destructive war, *Constantius* was sent with the character of ambassador, to try whether he could, by any means, even by the offer of a pension, to be paid yearly to the *Persian* king, prevail upon him to desist from hostilities, and conclude a peace with the *Roman* emperors (9).

(8) *Niceph.* l. vii. c. 17, 18.

(1) *Niceph.* *ibid.*

l. iv. c. 52.

(6) *Vit.* in *Const.*

c. 7. p. 291.

(2) *Euseb. hist.* l. viii. c. 7.

(4) *Epiph.* lib. de *mens.*

(7) *Niceph.* *Const.* in *chronol.* c. 12.

(9) *Niceph.* l. vii. c. 17, 18.

(9) *Lipſ.* de *magnit. Rom.* l. iv. c. 17;

(3) *Euseb.* vit. *Const.*

(5) *Hier.* in *chron.*

(8) *Euseb.* l. viii.

There is evident from Eusebius (2), Ammianus (3), Zosimus (4), Hieronymus (5), Socrates (6), Sozomenus (7), &c. that the Persians had, at least six years before the time of this pretended embassy, been utterly overthrown by Galerius, and had purchased a peace of Dioclesian, by yielding up to him five provinces, as we have related above. This peace lasted, as the same writers assure us, for the space of forty years, that is, till the year 337. the last of Constantine's long reign. But after all, we must not imagine Nicephorus to have been the only writer who questioned the legitimacy of Constantine, the chastity of his mother Helena. For Zosimus writes, that she was not Constantine's lawful wife (8). The chronicle of Alexandria calls her son Constantine, in plain terms, a bastard child (9). St. Ambrose gives us room to think, that this was a current report or tradition in his time; and that he himself did not disbelieve it (1). The same thing is asserted in the Greek text of Eusebius's chronicle, published by Scaliger; and in that of St. Jerom, who has been followed by several eminent writers of a later date, namely, by Prosper, Cassiodorus, Aldhelmus bishop of the West Saxons, and the Venerable Bede, who, speaking of Helena, style her the concubine of Constantine. On the other hand, Eutropius (2), and both the *Widors* (3), tell us, that Constantine and Galerius were oblig-

ed, when treated *Cæsar*s, to divorce their former wives. Constantine therefore had a lawful wife before he married Theodora; and we are no-where told, that he had any besides her and Helena. Scaliger indeed pretends, that he was married to Minervina, the mother of Crispus, not apprised that Crispus was Constantine's son, and not his brother; a pretty considerable mistake in a critic. The anonymous author of Constantine's life, published by Valesius, writes in express terms, that Constantine divorced Helena to marry Theodora (4); and Eutropius, that Constantine was the fruit of an obscure, but lawful matrimony (5). At Naples is still extant an inscription, in which Helena is styled the wife of Constantine (6). In two others, to be seen in Gruter, she is distinguished with the title of Augusta, which was never given, as is well known, to a concubine. The ancient panegyrist supply us with presumptions, of equal strength with these authorities, in favour of Helena's marriage with Constantine. One of them (7), in an oration which he pronounced before Constantine on occasion of his marriage, addresses him thus: "You, O Constantine, make it your study to imitate the continence of your father; treading in his footsteps, you prefer in your early youth the ties of matrimony to an unrestrained liberty, that you may not be tempted to abandon your-

(1) Eutrop. p. 586. (2) Euseb. p. 170. (3) Ammian. p. 109. (4) Zosim. p. 144. (5) Aur. Vict. p. 526. (6) Sozom. p. 554. (7) Lamian. pers. 6. 9. p. 9. (8) Zos. l. ii. p. 672. (9) Chron. Al. p. 650. (1) Amb. div. 3. p. 123. (2) Eutrop. p. 586. (3) Aur. Vict. p. 524. Vict. ept. p. 542. (4) Anonym. p. 471. (5) Eutrop. p. 587. (6) Gruter. p. 1086. (7) Panegy. 5. p. 126.

"self to loose and unlawful amours." How preposterous and unreasonableness would this address have seemed, had *Constantine* been the fruit of an unlawful amour! By supposing *Helena* to have been the concubine, and not the wife, of *Constantius*, we at once turn the panegyric into a satire. For what can it be called but a satire, to cry up the continence of the father before a son, whose very birth is a proof of his incontinence; and to commend the son thus unlawfully begotten for imitating the continence of his father! *Helena* is styled, not only by the panegyricists, but historians, a most *pious*, *venerable*, *religious*, and *virtuous* woman; which epithets they would have hardly bestowed upon her, had she been *Constantius's* concubine, and not his wife: neither would *Constantine*, we conceive, have dignified her with the title of *Augusta*, had she not been his lawful mother. The emperor *Dioclesian* ever distinguished *Constantine* with particular marks of honour and esteem, whereof *Eusebius* tells us, he himself was an eye-witness (8); for he saw young *Constantine* on the emperor's right hand, as they passed together through *Palaestina*, either going to or returning from *Egypt*. He caused him to be brought up in the court with great care, took him with him whithersoever he went, and, in the year 305. when two new *Cæsars* were to be created, named him in the first place, no one, says *Eumenius*, calling in question the right which he had to that dignity, as the son of *Constan-*

tine (9). *Eusebius*, speaking of his father *Constantine* says, that at his death he left the empire to his son *Constantine*, whose birth-right it was (1). Illegitimate children were not, as is well known, thus treated and respected among the *Romans*. *Galerius* is said to have alleged several reasons to divert *Dioclesian* from naming *Constantine* to the dignity of *Cæsar* (2); but among these we do not find the least mention made of his birth, which, had it been unlawful, would have furnished him with a stronger and far more plausible reason, than any he produced. Nay, we can by no means imagine, that *Dioclesian* would have ever thought of preferring *Constantine*, had he only been *Constantius's* natural son, to that prince's lawful children by *Theodora*, for whom both he, and his colleague *Maximian*, had cogent motives to interest themselves. These arguments are of such weight with us, that, notwithstanding the above-mentioned authorities, we cannot entertain the least doubt of *Constantine's* legitimacy, unbiassed as we are by any prejudice or partiality with respect either to him or his mother *Helena*. As for *Helena's* country and parentage, no writer before the seventh century mentions either: those who flourished after that time commonly suppose her to have been a native of this island, and the daughter of a king, whom they call *Coelus* or *Coellus*. This opinion, grounded, as we conjecture, upon tradition, or perhaps the authority of some historian, whose works have not reached our

(8) *Euseb. vit. Const. c. 15. p. 601.*
Feb. vit. Const. l. 1. c. 19. p. 417.

(9) *Panegy. 9. p. 191, 192.*
Laët. pers. c. 18. p. 16.

(1) *Euseb.*

When *Constantine* was created *Cæsar* in 292. and sent into Gaul, *Dionysius* kept *Constantine* as an hostage, caused him to be brought up in the court with great care, and raised him, long before the year 303. to the rank of a tribune¹. He already appeared capable of any degree of fortune, however elevated: The loveliness of his countenance, blended with a certain air of majesty; the taints of his person, extremely well shaped and regular; his life without blame or reproach; his generosity, good nature, affability, and obliging behaviour, towards persons of all ranks, gained him the affections both of the people and soldiery to such a degree, that no one knew him, who did not wish to see him one day emperor, and was not ready to contribute, so far as lay in his power, to his preferment² (3).

Constantine's excellent qualities.

He signalized himself in war, and served with great reputation under *Dioctian* and *Galerius*, in their wars with the *Germans*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and *Persians*³. He often grappled with the enemy hand to hand⁴, and gave such proofs of his valour as raised some jealousy in the other princes⁵. All authors, pagans as well as *Christians*, agree in extolling, with the highest encomiums, his sobriety, continence, and the abhorrence he shewed from his early youth to unlawful pleasures⁶. He never violated the laws of chastity, says an ancient panegyrist⁷; but subjected himself, when yet a youth, to the ties of matrimony, that he might not be tempted to sully himself with any kind of

His courage and valour.

His singularity and continence.

¹ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 12. p. 415. LACT. perf. c. 18. p. 17.
² EUSEB. ibid. l. i. c. 19. p. 417. Panegy. 5. p. 125. ³ EUSEB. ibid. p. 589. ⁴ THEOPH. p. 6. ⁵ EUSEB. ibid. p. 418.
⁶ EUSEB. ibid. Panegy. 7. p. 175. & 5. p. 126. ⁷ Panegy. 6. p. 137.

times, obtained pretty early here, and produced the many churches and monuments, which were erected throughout *Britain* to her honour.

(G) The anonymous writer of his life says, that he had no great learning (3): and truly learning could not then be much in request, since none of the four princes who governed were men of letters. However, both *Eusebius* (4) and *Aurelius Victor* (5) assure us, that *Constantine* was

well versed in most branches of literature; that he was a generous encourager of learning; that after he was raised to the empire, he spent much of his time in reading; that he composed, and pronounced in public, several orations; and, that the many laws which he published, were all drawn up by himself. One of his orations has reached us, and is subjoined to the ecclesiastical history of *Eusebius* (6).

(3) Anonym. p. 471. (4) Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 19. p. 418. (5) Aur. Vict. p. 524. (6) Orat. Const. ad sanctos. cæsum, p. 567.

Severus
and Maxi-
minus de-
clared Cæ-
sars.

lewdness or impurity. He married to his first wife *Minervina*, of whose parentage and condition no mention is made by the antients; and had by her *Crispus*, who must have been born about the 300. for, twenty years after he signalized himself in the wars against the *Franks* and *Licinii*. *Dioclesian*, before he resigned the empire, was for appointing *Constantine*, and *Mauritius*, the son of *Maximian*, Cæsars. But their election was opposed by *Galerius*, who at length prevailed upon the emperor to name in their room *Severus* and *Maximinus*, who he knew would be intirely ruled by him, and blindly obey his orders (H).

Matters

(H) The former was a native of *Illyricum*, descended of an obscure family, abandoned to all manner of vices, and in every respect unequal to so great a charge. The latter was born in the same country, and no less meanly than the other; for tho' he was nephew to *Galerius*, being his sister's son, yet in his youth he had followed the mean calling of a shepherd; and he proved, after his preferment, no less vicious than his colleague. He was yet a youth, and half barbarian, unknown to the emperors, and quite unacquainted with state-affairs, when *Galerius*, who had taken him a little before from his flocks, named him to *Dioclesian* for the dignity of Cæsar (7). The emperor, terrified with the menaces of *Galerius*, consented, much against his will, to the promotion both of *Severus* and *Maximinus*; and on the day appointed for his resignation, after having declared in a great assembly, that he yielded the empire to *Constantius* and *Galerius*, who were more capable than he of bearing so great a weight, added, not without betraying some concern and reluctance, *I am likewise to name two new Cæsars*,

and these are *Severus* and *Maximinus*. The whole assembly was greatly surprised to hear these two names, and began to ask one another whether *Constantine* had changed his? Their surprize was doubled, when they heard *Galerius* command *Constantine* to descend from the throne on which he sat with *Dioclesian*; and saw unexpectedly a young barbarian, who stood behind it, step forth and receive the purple at the hands of the emperor. The numerous multitude was struck with amazement. Every one asked, who *Maximin* was? whence he came? for what demerit *Constantine* had been excluded from a post, to which he had so just a claim? but no one dared to oppose his promotion (8). This happened at *Nicomedia*; and on the same day, that is, on the first of May of the year 305. *Maximian* resigned the empire at *Milan* to *Constantius*, and declared *Severus* Cæsar. *Galerius* excluded *Constantine*, with a view of becoming soon sole master of the empire; for he was well apprised, that *Constantine*, who was subject to many infirmities, and quite worn out, could not live long;

(7) *Last. pers.* c. 19. p. 17. *Aur. Vict.* p. 525. *Ensch. l. ix. c. 9.*
perj. c. 19 p. 17, 18.

(8) *Last.*

and

Maximus being thus settled, the empire was divided between *Constantius* and *Galerius*. To the share of the former fell *Gaul, Italy, Africa, Spain, and Britain*; the latter had *Illyricum, Pannonia, Thracia, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Judaea, Syria*, and all the eastern provinces. *Constantius* yielded to *Severus*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as did *Galerius*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, to his nephew *Maximin*^b. *Severus*, who was created *Cæsar*, to govern under *Constantius*, is always named before *Maximin*, who governed under *Galerius*^c. As *Severus* was indebted to *Galerius* alone for his promotion, that prince expected he should obey him even against *Constantius* himself^d. However, it is certain, that notwithstanding the implacable hatred which *Galerius* had to the *Christians*, the persecution ceased both in *Italy*, and the other western provinces, soon after *Constantius* was declared emperor^e.

In the mean time, *Constantine* continued at *Nicomedia*, in the heart of the provinces belonging to *Galerius*, who would not, though earnestly intreated by his father *Constantius*, during a dangerous malady, with which he was seized, suffer him to depart; but pretending a great affection to him, kept him by way of hostage^f. *Victor* the younger tells us, that he kept him with him at *Rome*^g; but it is certain, that *Galerius* never came to that city^h. As the extraordinary qualities of that prince *Galerius* gave the emperor great umbrage, he only waited some opportunity of destroying him; but not daring, through fear of the soldiery, by whom *Constantine* was greatly beloved, to make any open attempt, he had recourse to treachery, and exposed him, under various specious pretences, to many dangers; from which he was happily delivered by the watchful providence of God, whose church he was to free from the persecution with

^b EUTROP. p. 587. AUR. VICT. p. 525. ZOS. l. ii. p. 672.

^c Vide SPON. p. 192.

^d LACT. perf. c. 18. 20. p. 17---19.

^e EUSEB. de marty. Palæstin.

^f LACT. perf. p. 406.

^g VICT.

p. 525.

^h LACT. perf. c. 27 p. 25.

and besides, he hoped easily to get the ascendant over him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper. But he dreaded *Constantine*, on account of his courage, his experience in war, his address, and other extraordinary qualities; and therefore resolved to keep him in a private

condition, and allow him no share in the government, that it might not be in the young prince's power to defeat his vast designs (9). As for the two new *Cæsars*, he looked upon them as his own creatures, and persons to be governed in every thing by him.

which it had been cruelly oppressed for the space of near three hundred years (1).

THE following year, *Constantine* and *Galerius* being both consuls the sixth time, the latter, finding he could no longer detain *Constantine* without openly breaking with his colleagues, gave him at length leave to depart, and signed a warrant for the officers of the post to supply him with the necessary horses and chariots. This warrant he delivered to him in the evening; but at the same time ordered him not to make use of it till the next morning, when he designed to give him his final instructions. In the mean time, he dispatched an express to *Severus*, injoining him, by all means, to stop *Constantine*, and prevent his arrival in the provinces governed by his father. That the express might reach *Italy* before *Constantine*, he did not rise that day, contrary to his custom, till noon, when he sent for *Constantine*. But he had set out the night before, as soon as *Galerius* had withdrawn; and traveling with all possible speed, for several stages, hamstrung or killed the horses which he did not make use of, that no one might pursue nor stop him while he crossed the provinces of *Galerius*, and *Italy*, where *Severus* ruled. This precaution saved him; for next morning, *Galerius*, being informed, that he had set out the night before, flew into a violent passion, and ordered several messengers to make what haste

Constantine escaped from Galerius to his father.

¹ LACT. c. 24. p. 22. EUSEB. CONST. vit. l. i. c. 20.

(1) *Praxagoras*, a pagan author, who compiled in two books the history of the first emperors, and wrote, according to *Vossius*, in the time of *Constantine*, or his children, tells us, that *Galerius* often encouraged him to enter the lists with wild beasts, on which occasion he once killed a lion of extraordinary fierceness and size (1). The same thing is related by *Zonaras*, who adds, that *Galerius*, in the *Sarmatian* war, observing one of the chiefs of the barbarians, who surpassed all the others in stature, and the fierceness of his looks, ordered *Constantine* to engage him, which he did accordingly with great

resolution and intrepidity, overcame him, and, throwing him to the ground, dragged him by the hair to the emperor's presence, and laid him at his feet (2). On another occasion, *Galerius*, who sought his destruction, having ordered him to cross a marsh at the head of some troops, he entered it the first on horseback; and, being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the sword, and gained a complete victory (3). This too happened in *Galerius's* war with the *Sarmatians*, which we must place in this, or in the beginning of the next year

(1) *Plot.* c. 67. p. 64. *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 17. (2) *Zonar. vit. Diocles.* p. 246. (3) *Arrian. anonym.* p. 471.

they could after him; but he was told, that *Constantine* had disabled all the post-horses; which transported him to such a degree, that, through grief and rage, he could scarce forbear bursting into tears * (K).

CONSTANTIUS died at *Tork* on the twenty-fifth of *July* in *The death* 306. the fourth year of the persecution of *Dioclesian*, according of *Constantius* to *St. Jerom*¹; and the sixteenth, or rather fiftenth, of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæsar*, that is, from the year 292. for he had enjoyed that dignity thirteen years and two months, and the empire one year, and near three months^m. He died in his palace, surrounded by his children, and his body was with the utmost pomp and magnificence interred by his son *Constantine* (L). After his death, he was

* *EUSEB.* p. 418. *AMMIAN.* anonym. p. 471. *LACT.* p. 21. *Zos.* l. ii. p. 672. *AUR. VICT.* p. 525. ¹ *HIER.* chron. ^m *AUR. VICT.* p. 526. *EUSEB.* chron. *GOLTZ.* p. 124. *EUTROP.* p. 587. *Panegy.* 9. p. 194.

(K) *Eusebius*, *Lactantius*, and several historians, tell us, that *Constantine*, arriving in *Britain*, found his father at the point of death; but therein they must certainly be mistaken, since *Eumenius*, in the panegyric which he pronounced before *Constantine* a few years after, writes, that he arrived while his father was weighing anchor with a design to pass over into *Britain* (4). With him agrees the anonymous writer, published by *Valesius*, who says, that *Constantine* found his father at *Gisfordiacum*, or *Boulogne* (5). He attended him into *Britain*, where he was going to make war, says *Eumenius* (6), upon the *Caledonians* and *Picts*. The latter people, now first mentioned in history, inhabited *Scotland*; but were thought, says *Bede*, to have come from *Scythia*, that is, according to the learned *L'her*, from *Scandinavia*, or some

other northern country (7). *Constantine*, in the last days of his life, overcame the *Picts*, as the anonymous author quoted above informs us (8), being assisted in this war, as we read in *Aurilius Victor* (9), by *Eroc*, or, as others style him, *Crocus*, king of the *Alemans*.

(L) Some pretend, that he was buried at a place called *Carr Segint*, and by some *Carr Cuseint*, that is, the city of *Constantius* or *Constantine* (1). In 1283. a body was found at a small distance from that place, which *Edward I.* who reigned then, caused to be removed to a church, believing it to be the body of *Constantius*. This was not agreeable to the canons. Not long before, as some persons were digging in a place at *Tork*, where *Constantius* was supposed to have been buried, they discovered a lamp that was still burning (2).

(4) *Panegy.* 9. p. 194. (5) *Ammian.* anonym. p. 473. (6) *Pan.* 31. 9. p. 194. (7) *Vide Uffer. Brit. ecclæs. antiquit.* p. 581, 578, 579. (8) *Idem* p. 471. (9) *Vict. epit.* p. 943. (1) *Uffer. ecclæs. Brit. antiq.* p. 60. (2) *Alford. ann. ad ann. 306.*

H. be-
queaths
the empire
to Con-
stantine.

Who is sa-
luted Au-
gustus by
the sol-
diers.

Year of
the flood
2-46.

Of Chr.
306.

Of Rome
1104

Galerius
grants
him only
the title
of Cæsar.

ranked among the gods, as appears from several ancient coins, and among the rest from one of his brother-in-law *Constantine*, who bequeathed the empire to his son *Constantine* ², who declared he would not accept it without the consent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and last will of his father. But the soldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, impatient of delays, proclaimed him emperor the same day in which his father died, and, the first time he appeared in public, saluted him with the title of *Au- gustus*, and forced him to accept the purple, knowing him, says *Zosimus*, a writer no-way biased in his favour, to be truly worthy of the empire, and promising themselves great things from his generosity ³. Thus was *Constantine* first declared emperor in *Britain*, the same day in which his father died; that is, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of the year 306. which, in an ancient calendar, is marked as the first day of his reign ⁴ (M). He afterwards sent his image to the other emperors, adorned, according to custom, with the marks of the imperial dignity. *Galerius* was long in suspense whether or no he should receive it; nay, transported with rage, he was upon the point of condemning both the image, and the messenger who brought it, to the flames; but his friends remonstrating, that such an affront would give rise to a civil war, in which the soldiery would in all likelihood abandon him, and side with *Constantine*, he was prevailed upon to receive his image, and to send him the purple, that he might at least seem to hold his authority of him ⁵. However, he gave him only the title of *Cæsar*, and created *Severus* emperor, whose provinces, to wit, *Italy* and *Africa*, he governed with as absolute a sway as his own, oppressing them with endless taxes, and practising unheard-of cruelties upon such as were not in a condition to comply with his unjust demands.

THIS occasioned great disturbances in all the cities of *Italy*, but especially in *Rome*; which *Maxentius* laying hold of, caused

² BIRAO. p. 440. ³ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 21. p. 418.
JULIAN. orat. 1. p. 13. LACT. perf. c. 24. p. 21. Panegy. 5. p.
127. & 9. p. 194. ⁴ ZOS. l. ii. p. 67. ⁵ BUCH. cycl. p. 286.
⁶ LACT. perf. c. 25. p. 22. ZOS. l. ii. p. 672.

(M) *Laſtantiuſ* tells us in ex-
prefs terms, that, upon his fa-
ther's death, he took the title of
Au-guſtus (3); and *Eusebius* (4),
that he performed his father's
at tributes clad in purple; Which
is a plain proof, that he took, in
Britain at least, the title of *Cæ-*
ſar, which however thoſe muſt
deny, who maintain him to have
been born in *Britain*, as we have
observed above.

(3) Lact. perf. c. 24, 25. p. 23. (4) Euseb. Conf. vit. l. i. c. 22. p. 419.

himself

himself to be proclaimed emperor by the dissatisfied soldiery and Maxentius' people. *Maximian* was, or at least passed for, the son of *Maximianus*; for *some* writers tell us, that he was a supposititious child; and that his mother, before her death, owned she had imposed him upon her husband to gain his affection. However that be, he was quite destitute of every commendable quality, proud, arrogant, cruel, ill-shaped, or rather deformed in his person, abandoned to all manner of vices, and universally abhorred, not only by his father's friends, but by his father himself, and much more by *Galerius*, whose daughter he had married. He had highly complained of *Galerius*, for excluding him in the year 305. from the dignity of *Cæsar*; but when he heard that *Constantine* had been raised to that high station, and saw his image publicly exposed in *Rome*, transported with rage, he resolved at all events to do himself justice; and accordingly, having with large promises gained over the few prætorian guards that were then in *Rome*, and some of their officers, namely, *Lucianus*, *Marcellus*, and *Marcellinus*, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor on the twenty-eighth of *October* of this year 306. and was acknowledged as such by the *Roman* people, who hoped, by his means, to deliver themselves from the insupportable tyranny of *Galerius*. The news of his revolt no sooner reached the East, where *Galerius* then was, than he dispatched a messenger to *Severus*, injoining him to hasten with all his forces to *Rome*, to surprise and suppress at once this new usurper. On the other hand, *Maxentius* had recourse to his father *Maximian*, who, either with a view to resume the empire, which he had quitted much against his will, or to support his son, hastened to *Rome*, and thence wrote to *Dioclesian*, exhorting him to abandon his solitude, and remount the throne. *Dioclesian*, taken with the sweets and tranquillity of a private and retired life, returned him the answer which we have related above. But *Maximian* *Maximian*, instead of following his example, suffered himself to be declared emperor a second time by the senate and people of *Rome*; and receiving the purple at the hands of his son, was universally acknowledged for his colleague in the empire. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that his lust of reigning, and desire of supporting his son in his claim to the empire, prompted him to quit his solitude, and resume the authority which he had unwillingly abdicated.

WHILE these things passed at *Rome*, *Constantine* was busied in visiting the provinces under his care, to wit, *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*, and defending them against the barbarians. His father

* *VICT* epit p 543. *LACT* perf c. 18 p 16, 17. *ZOS.* l ii. p. 672. *EUTHOP* p 587. *EUSAB.* vit. *CONST.* p. 498. *PANEGYR.* 5. p. 131. * *AUL VICT.* p 526.

The
Franks
break
into Gaul,
but are
overcome
by Con-
stantine.
His seve-
rity to-
wards the
captives.

Constantinus had no sooner left *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Picts* in *Britain*, than the *Franks*, forgetful of their oaths, had invaded *Gaul*, and committed these dreadful ravages. Against them therefore *Constantine* marched at the head of a powerful army, overcame them in a pitched battle; and, having taken two of their kings prisoners, *Alaric* and *Gaisius*, or *Regisus*, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts in the magnificent shews which he afterwards exhibited ^u. He thought himself obliged, says the panegyrist ^w, to renew the severity of the ancient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to restrain, with the fear of punishment, a perfidious people, who made no account of the most sacred ties that awed other nations. *Eusebius* writes, that he treated in like manner the kings of the *Alamans*, who, it seems, were in confederacy with the *Franks*, and fell into his hands in this war ^x. After this victory he passed the *Rhine*, and entering the country of the *Bructerians*, when least expected, made a dreadful havoc of that people, and took a great many prisoners, whom he likewise condemned to be devoured by the wild beasts ^y. He repaired all the forts on the *Rhine*, placed numerous garisons in them, kept there a powerful fleet, and by that means struck such terror into the *Franks* and other *German* nations, that none of them dared to approach that river ^z (N).

^u Paneg. 9. p. 190, 197. 5. 127 7. 163.

^w Idem, 5 p. 126.

^x EUTROP. p. 587.

^y Paneg. 3. p. 197.

^z Idem, p. 198.

(N) He even undertook to build a bridge over the *Rhine* (5), and accomplished, according to *Baudrand* (6), that great work; for he tells us, that it stood till the year 955. when it was broken down by bishop *Berno's* orders. But *Falefius* (7) writes, that it was never finished, supposing, we imagine (for he alleges no proof in favour of his opinion), that such a memorable work would have been more famous in history, had it ever been executed. *Bucherius* writes, that *Constantine* to defend this bridge, built, or repaired, the castle of *Durtz* on the *Rhine*, over-against *Cologne* (8).

Be that as it will, *Constantine*, in memory of his victory over the *Franks*, appointed solemn sports, called from them *Iudi Francici*, to be annually celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth (9). Notwithstanding the severity he exerted towards the enemy, *Laëtantius* (1) and *Eusebius* (2) assure us, that he governed his subjects with extraordinary mildness and moderation; that to all he shewed himself kind, affable, benevolent, and good natured; that he made it his chief study to render those happy who lived under his administration, &c.

(5) Paneg. 3. p. 197.
(8) *Bech. Hist. Belg. l. vii. c. 7.*
c. 24 p. 77

(6) *Baudr. p. 197.*

(9) *Falerius p. 58.*
(7) *Idem Conf. l. 3. c. 2, p. 420.*

(1) *Franc. p. 18.*
(2) *Laëtantius pers.*

THE following year *Severus* and *Maximinus* were created consuls by *Galerius*, and acknowledged as such, in all the provinces of the empire, except those that obeyed *Maximinus*, where *Maximian* caused himself to be declared consul the ninth time. This is what we look upon as most probable; for the confusion which appears this year 307. in the consular tables, was the natural consequence of that which prevailed in the empire. *Constantine* was likewise consul this year, having, as we conjecture, been substituted in the room of *Severus*, who was killed before the year expired. Many writers, to avoid the confusion occasioned by such a number of consuls, have chosen to date this with the consuls of the preceding year, whereas we have not yet had any instance, but shall have frequently in succeeding times. This year *Severus*, in compliance with the orders he had received from *Galerius*, left *Milan*, and marched towards *Rome*, to drive from thence the usurper *Maximinus*. He had with him a powerful army; but consisting of troops which two years before had belonged to *Maximian*, the father of *Maxentius*, they were easily gained over by the latter, with *Amulius*, who commanded them in quality of captain of the guards. Hence *Severus* no sooner approached *Rome*, with a design to besiege it, than they abandoned him, and joined his rival. Hereupon *Severus*, with a small body of troops that remained faithful to him, betook himself to flight, bending his route towards *Milan*; but being closely pursued by *Maximian*, who met him at the head of some troops which he had raised in *Campania*, and was leading to *Rome*, he was obliged to shut himself up in *Ravenna*; which *Maximian* immediately invested. The place was well fortified, and supplied with great store of provisions; so that it might have easily held out till relieved by *Galerius*: but *Severus*, distrusting his own men, and relying upon the mighty promises and solemn oaths of *Maximian*, yielded up the place to him, and the purple with which he had been invested about a year and nine months before^a. *Maximian*, unmindful of his oaths, carried him captive to *Rome*; and after having kept him some time confined to a place on the *Appian* way, about thirty miles from the city, called *Tres Tabernæ*, or the *Three Inns*, he caused him to be there put to death. The only favour he could obtain was that of dying by having his veins opened. His body was interred in the tomb of *Gallenus*, about eight or nine miles from *Rome*^b. He left a son behind him, named *Severianus*, who was put to death by *Licinius* in 313^c.

^a AUR. VICT. p. 525. ZOS. l. ii. p. 673. EUTROP. p. 587. Anonym. p. 471. HIER. chron. LACT. perf. c. 26. p. 24. ^b VICT. epit. p. 542. ZOS. l. ii. p. 673, &c. ^c LACT. perf. c. 50. p. 45.

MAXIMIAN, well apprised that *Galerius* would not suffer the death of *Severus* to pass unrevenged, resolved to strengthen himself with the alliance of *Constantine*, who, having conquered the *Franks*, enjoyed at that time a profound peace and tranquillity, and was wholly bent on promoting the happiness and welfare of his people. Having therefore fortified *Rome* with many new works, and put it in a condition of sustaining a long siege, he left *Italy*, and went to confer with *Constantine* in *Gaul*, where he persuaded him to marry his daughter *Fausta*, and at the same time changed the title of *Cæsar*, with which he had contented himself hitherto, as appears from several medals ^d, and from a panegyric pronounced on occasion of his nuptials ^e, into that of *Augustus*. *Constantine* is generally thought to have been declared emperor on the thirty-first of *March* of this year 307 (O).

Constantine marries *Fausta* the daughter of *Maximian*, and is by him declared emperor.

WHILE *Maximian* was in *Gaul* with *Constantine*, *Galerius* entered *Italy* with a powerful army; but not sufficient, as he approached found by experience, to besiege *Rome*; for, as he had never seen *Rome* the great capital of the empire, he imagined to be only some-
with a de- what larger than *Antioch*, and some other cities of the East. He threatened to lay it in ruins, to put all the inhabitants to the
sign to be- sword, and utterly to extirpate the senate; but when he ap-
siege it; proached that immense metropolis, and viewed its fortifications,

Year of the flood

2747. ^d GOLTZ. p. 126. BIRAG. p. 459. BYZANT. fam. p. 15. ^e Pa-
Of Christ negyr. 5. p. 127.

307.
Of Rome

1105.

(O) *Fausta*, whom he married, is stiled in the antient inscriptions *Flavia Maximiana Fausta* (3). *Lactantius* calls her *Maximian's* second daughter (4). Perhaps he looked upon *Theodora*, his wife's daughter, as his own; for we find no mention made of any other daughter of *Maximian*. She was born and brought up in *Rome* (5). The emperor *Julian* commends her modesty, and blameless conduct (6). *Minervina Constantine's* first wife, by whom he had *Crispus*, must have been dead at this time; for he is not said to have divorced her. By *Fausta* he had, besides *Con-*

stantius, who is the best known of all his children, *Constantine* his eldest son, *Constans* his youngest, and two daughters, *Constantina* and *Constantia*, or rather *Constantina*, who was married, first to *Annibalianus*, and afterwards to *Gallus Cæsar*, her cousin-germans, and *Helena*, the wife of the emperor *Julian* (7). The wife of *Gallus* is stiled on an antient coin *Flavia Julia Constantina Augusta* (8). *Galerius* did not grant the title of *Augustus* to *Constantine*, till about a year after, when he was obliged to bestow it on *Maximin* (9).

(3) Goltz. p. 128.

(4) Lact. c. 27. p. 25.

(5) Idem ibid.

(6) Ju-

lian. orat. i. p. 9.

(7) Vide anonym. p. 3. & Byz. fam. p. 46, 47.

(8) Spanh.

p. 640.

(9) Lact. pers. c. 32. p. 29.

despairing

despairing to be able to carry it by assault, and not having with him a sufficient number of troops to invest it, he retired to *Interamna*, now *Terni*, and thence sent *Licinius* and *Probus* to exhort *Maxentius*, in his name, to demand the empire of his father-in-law, and not usurp it by force of arms^f. But *Maxentius*, having found means to gain underhand some of *Galerius*'s legions, was so far from hearkening to the deputies, that he would have marched out against *Galerius*, if he, distrusting his troops, and dreading the fate of *Severus*, had not hastened back into his own dominions. In his retreat he laid waste the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from pursuing him, and allowed his soldiers to commit unheard-of disorders and cruelties^g. *Maximian*, who was still in *Gaul*, being informed of the precipitous retreat of *Galerius*, did all that lay in his power to persuade *Constantine* to pursue him; but finding that prince noway inclined to engage in so dangerous a war, he repassed the *Alps*, and returned to *Rome*, where he reigned some time jointly with his son, but was less respected, and not so readily obeyed, as he.

THIS piqued him to such a degree, that, divesting himself of Maximian's paternal affection, he resolved to deprive *Maxentius* of the empire, not doubting but the troops that had abandoned *Severus*, as they had formerly belonged to him, would favour his attempt. Having therefore endeavoured underhand to estrange them from his son, he assembled both the people and soldiery; and, after a long descant upon the evils and misfortunes of the times, he turned unexpectedly to his son, who sat on the throne or tribunal with him, reproached him as the sole author of the present calamities, and after many bitter and virulent investives, stripped him of his purple robes, and tore them in pieces. *Maxentius*, leaping from the throne, implored the protection of the soldiery, who, being moved with his tears, but more with his promises, received him in their arms, loaded *Maximian* with injuries, and threatened him with present death^h. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Maximian*, to appease the soldiery, told them, that he was not in earnest, but had made use of that artifice to try whether or no they were sincerely attached to his son; but no one believing him, he thought it advisable to leave *Rome*, and accordingly hastened back into *Gaul*, where he complained to *Constantine*, that his son had driven him from *Rome*. But *Constantine*, seeming to be much affected with his complaints, about the month of *November* he repaired to *Galerius*, the declared enemy of his son, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs,

^f LACT. perf. c. 27. p. 25. Pan. 6. p. 136. Anonym. p. 472.

^g LACT. Anonym. ibid.

^h Panegyn. 6. p. 136. EUTROP. p. 687. Zos. l. ii. p. 674.

but in reality to watch an opportunity of dispatching him, and seizing his provinces ¹. But no favourable occasion offered of putting in execution his wicked purpose (P). On this occasion *Maximian*, in a private conference with his ancient colleague, did all that lay in his power to prevail upon him to resume the empire, and deliver the people of *Rome* from so many tyrants ². *Victor* the younger writes, that *Galerius* himself pressed *Dioclesian* to re-ascend the throne ³; which to us seems altogether improbable. Be that as it will, *Dioclesian* found such delights in a retired life, that he would hearken to no proposals of that nature. *Lactantius* assures us, that the design of *Maximian* was to reinstate *Dioclesian* and himself in the empire, and destroy the rest one after another, his own son not excepted ⁴. Some writers, and *Eutropius* among the rest ⁵, seem to have believed, that *Maximian* only pretended to be at variance with his son, the better to deceive the other princes, and compass their ruin; but, instead of that, he was obliged to authorize with his presence the promotion of *Licinius*, whom *Galerius* created emperor in the room of *Severus*, on the eleventh of *November* of this year 307.

Licinius created emperor.

His extraction and character.

LICINIUS was a native of *New Dacia*, which lay on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and was, ever since the reign of *Aurelian*, accounted one of the provinces of *Illyricum*. He pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor *Philp*, but was in reality sprung from a family quite mean and ignoble ⁶. His education was suitable to his birth; for he was brought up without the least knowledge of letters; nay, he was not ashamed to declare himself an open enemy to learning, calling the sciences the pest and bane of the state ⁷. He was naturally of a cruel, violent and haughty temper ⁸, and addicted, even in his old age, to the most infamous debaucheries ⁹. His insatiable avarice prompted him, when raised to the empire, to fill his coffers by the most unjust, tyrannical and iniquitous methods ¹⁰. How-

¹ LACT. perf. c. 29. p. 26. EUTROP. p. 687. * Zos. i. ii. p. 673. ² VICT. epit. p. 542. ³ LACT. perf. c. 43. p. 37. ⁴ EUTROP. p. 587. ⁵ Anonym. p. 473. Gord. vit. p. 165. VICT. epit. p. 543. ⁶ VICT. ibid. ⁷ EUSEB. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. ⁸ VICT. epit. p. 544. ⁹ EUSEB. p. 396, 397. Anonym. p. 474.

(P) *Galerius* was not then at *Carnuntum* in *Gaul*, now *Chartres*, as we read in *Zosimus* (1) but at *Carnuntum*, or *Carnus*, on the *Danube* in *Pannonia*, with *Dioclesian*, whom he had invited thither to authorize with his presence the election of *Licinius*, whom he intended to create emperor in the room of *Severus*.

(1) Zos. l. ii. p. 673.

ever, he was a brave and experienced officer, kept the soldiers to their duty, punished the least transgressions with the utmost severity, and by that means revived in the army the discipline of the antient Romans. In the year 323. he was, according to *Victor* the younger, "about sixty" (Q). However, in 323. he married *Constantia*, the sister of *Constantine*, and had children by her^u. *Galerius* and he had lived in great intimacy ever since they first entered into the army; and the emperor, reposing an intire confidence in him, had, in all his expeditions, after he had attained to the dignity of *Cæsar*, suffered himself to be wholly governed by his counsels. The memorable victory which *Galerius* gained over the *Persians*, was in great measure owing to the valour and conduct of *Licinius*^w. *Galerius* seems at first to have given him only the provinces of *Pannonia* and *Rhetia*; but at the same time he promised to put him in possession of those that were held by *Maxentius*, as soon as he had driven out that usurper^z. Thus was the empire ruled at once by six *The empire* princes, to wit, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Licinius*, *Maximin*, *Con-* governed
stantine, and *Maxentius*. at once by
six princes.

THE following year *Maximian* was consul the tenth time, and *Galerius* the seventh; but at *Rome* the year was dated by the consuls who should be named, *Maxentius*, who reigned there, refusing to acknowledge the consulship either of *Galerius* or his father *Maximian*. This continued till the twentieth of *April*, *Maxentius* when *Maxentius* caused himself to be declared consul, with his^{us and his} son *Romulus*, styled on the antient coins *M. Aurelius Romulus*, son *Romulus* *Maxentius* gave him the title of *Cæsar* and emperor, created him^{lus consuls} consul the following year, and ranked him among the gods after his death, which happened during his second consulship^z, being drowned, it seems, in the *Tiber*^a. While the disturbances and changes, which we have mentioned above, happened in the west, *Maximin* enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity in the east, which he governed with the title only of *Cæsar*. But when he understood, that *Licinius* had been declared emperor, he pressed *Galerius* to raise him too to the same rank. The emperor could

¹ EUTROP. p. 587. VICT. epit. p. 543. ^u LACT. pers. c. 20. p. 19. ^w EUTROP. p. 587. ^z ZOS. l. ii. p. 674. LACT. pers. p. 424. ^y BUCH. cycl. p. 238. IDAT. BIRAG. p. 450, 452. ^a Vide NORIS. de Dioclef. num. ^a Paneg. 6. p. 146.

(Q) *Eusebius* speaks of him as one at that time worn out with age, (2); and *Lactantius* tells us, that *Galerius* did not create him *Cæsar* in 305. because he was ashamed to call him his son, but chose to raise him to the empire at once, and stile him his brother (3).

(2) *Euseb. l. x. c. 8. p. 397.*

(3) *Lact pers. c. 32. p. 29.*

not be prevailed upon to grant him his request, but, to content him, contrived a new title, appointing, that he and *Constantine* should, for the future, be styled *illi Augustorum*, sons of emperors; which title is still to be seen on some of his and *Constantine's* coins^b. *Maximian* pretended to be satisfied with this new mark of distinction, but in the mean time caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his army; and in the letter which he wrote on that occasion to *Galerius*, assured him, that the troops had, without his consent or co-operation, saluted him *Augustus*^c. This gave *Galerius* great uneasiness; but nevertheless, as he did not think it advisable to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had usurped, he confirmed it, and at the same time granted it to *Constantine*, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor through the provinces of the empire^d.

THIS year *Maximian*, thinking himself neglected by *Galerius*, left *Illyricum*, and privately withdrew to *Constantine* in *Gaul*, with a design to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to dispatch him, and cause himself to be acknowledged emperor by his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple the second time, declaring, that, in imitation of *Dioclesian*, he would lead a retired life, and no longer concern himself with public affairs. *Constantine* received him with the greatest marks of honour and esteem, assigned him an apartment in his own palace, and commanded all his subjects to pay the same obedience to the orders of his father-in-law, as to his own. But the restless and turbulent spirit of *Maximian* did not suffer him long to enjoy so happy a situation. *Constantine* was then busied in building a bridge over the *Rhine*; which great undertaking struck the neighbouring nations with such terror, that they sent ambassadors to sue for peace, offering to deliver up some of their chiefs as hostages and pledges of their sincerity. However, some *Franks* still continued in arms; and against these *Maximian* advised *Constantine* to march with a small body of forces, and leave the rest at *Arelatum*, now *Arles*.

HIS design was to make himself master of *Constantine's* forces, and seize his provinces, if any misfortune should befall him, as there was room to believe there might, seeing he was attended only by a small army. *Constantine*, not suspecting the least treachery, followed the advice of his father-in-law, who marched part of the way with him, and then returned to *Arles*, where the emperor had left the flower of his troops. When he thought him engaged in the enemy's country, he all on a sudden resumed the purple the third time, made himself master of the palace,

^b BIRAG p 446 LACT. p. 23 EUSEB. p 310. ^c LACT. pers. p. 433. ^d Idem ibid. c 43 p 36. c. 44 p 38.

seized on the treasures there, distributed great part of them among the soldiers who were present, and wrote to those who were absent letters filled with most bitter invectives against *Constantine*, inviting them, with mighty promises, to follow the example of the troops at *Arles*^c. *Constantine* was no sooner informed of what had passed, than he led back his army by land from the *Rhine* to *Chalons*, where he embarked his forces on the *Sône*; and landing them unexpectedly at *Arles*, surprised *Maximian*, before he was in a condition to oppose him. The soldiers who had declared for *Maximian*, awed with the presence of their lawful commander, returned to their duty, a small number excepted, who being seduced by the presents and promises of the usurper, fled with him to *Marseilles*, and shut themselves up in that city. *Constantine* pursued them close, and arriving before the place, would have carried it by assault, had not his scaling-ladders unluckily proved too short. This obliged him to sound the retreat; *He is taken* but, in the mean time, some of the inhabitants having opened prison^{er}; one of the gates to *Constantine's* men, they entered the city, but used seized on the usurper while he was uttering from the walls bitter invectives against the emperor, and carried him to *Constantine*; *clemency* who, after having reproached him with his treachery and ambition, and obliged him to quit the purple, not only granted him his life, but suffered him, through an excess of clemency and good-nature, to continue with him in the same palace^f.

WHILE these things passed in *Gaul*, the troops in *Africa* revolting from *Maxentius*, who was acknowledged there, declared for *Alexander*, who commanded them in quality of lieutenant, emperor, and with the usual ceremonies gave him the purple at *Carthage*^g. He was descended of an ignoble and mean family in *Phrygia*^h, or, as *Aurelius Victor* will have it, in *Pannonia*ⁱ. All authors paint him as one in every respect unequal to so great a charge, being advanced in years, and quite destitute of vigour, prudence, and courage. Besides, his troops consisted chiefly of new levies, unacquainted with the military discipline, and for the most part without arms. However, as he had a *Maxentius* for his rival, he maintained his usurped authority for the space of three years at least, some of his *Greek* coins, which have reached us, being dated the fourth year of his reign^k. One *Nigrinianus*, who is represented on some antient medals with rays round his head, and the title of *divus* or *deified*, is by most antiquaries thought to have been the son of *Alexander*^l.

^c LACT. p. 26. Panegy. 9. p. 199, 200. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. VALES. rer. Franc. p. 21.

^f Panegy. 9. p. 200, 201, 202. LACT. perf. c. 29. p. 27. ^g Zos. l. ii. p. 675. VICT. epit. p. 542.

^h Zos. & VICT. ibid. ⁱ AUR. VICT. p. 525. ^k GOLTZ. p. 125. ^l BIRAC. p. 445

THE following year 309. *Maxentius* took upon him his second consulship at *Rome*, having his son *Romulus* for his colleague ^m (R). This year *Eumenius*, as is commonly believed, pronounced his panegyric on *Constantine*, in a city which stood on a great river that falls into the *Rhine* above *Cologne* ⁿ; that is, according to most interpreters, in *Treves*, which stood then, as it still does, on the *Moselle*, the river plainly pointed at in the above-mentioned description. The panegyrist tells us, that *Constantine* was then busied in repairing the walls of that city, which had been ruined, and in building there a great circus, a large square, basilics, and a magnificent palace for the administration of justice. He extols the generosity of the good-natured emperor, the effects whereof had been felt in all the places through which he had passed; and therefore he intreats him to visit the city of *Autun*, where the orator himself was born, and at that time taught rhetoric. In the close of his speech, he recommends to the emperor his five children, and all his disciples, some of whom already enjoyed the first employments in the state ^o. The following year *Andronius* and *Probus* were named consuls by *Galerius*; but were not acknowledged as such at *Rome*, where *Maxentius* took upon him that dignity the third time without a colleague. In the consular tables this year is dated as the preceding, ^p thus; *the second year after the tenth and seventh consulship* ^p.

THIS year *Maximian*, no longer able to lead a private and retired life, resolved, at all events, to attempt the recovery of his former condition; but being well apprised, that all his efforts would prove unsuccessful, so long as *Constantine* lived, he determined, in the first place, to murder him; and, in order to compass this wicked purpose, had recourse to his daughter *Fausta*, the wife of *Constantine*, using his utmost endeavours, and all manner of caresses and intreaties, to prevail upon her to betray her husband, and leave the door of the bed-chamber open; which she promised to do, but immediately revealed the whole to *Constantine*, who, unwilling to condemn his father-in-law without some undeniable proof of his guilt, placed one

Maximian
attempts
to murder
Constantine.

^m Buch. cycl. p. 238. Ouyph. in fast. p. 263. ⁿ Panegy. 9. p. 198. ^o Idem, p. 190, &c. ^p Buch. p. 238. & 249
IDEM PROP. &c.

(R) There were, it seems, no other consuls in the other parts of the empire; for this year is commonly distinguished by the consuls of the preceding year thus, *the year after the tenth and seventh consulship*, to wit, of *Maximian* and *Galerius*. Some, however, are of opinion, that *Licinius* was this year consul for the first time; and it is past all doubt, that he was consul before the death of *Galerius*.

night

night an eunuch in his bed, and left the door of the chamber open. *Maximian* did not fail to lay hold of the opportunity, and entering the room about midnight, killed the eunuch, crying out, as he retired, *Constantine is dead; I am emperor.* But *Constantine*, appearing that instant, attended by a numerous guard, stopped him, and shewed him the body of the eunuch. *He is dead.* It is easier to conceive than express the terror and dismay that seized him, when he found himself thus convicted of the most detestable treachery imaginable, without being able either to excuse or deny it. As he had been chiefly prompted to this excess of wickedness by the mild treatment which he had hitherto met with, and still promised himself, from *Constantine*, that prince thought himself obliged, in his own defence, to put an end to the life and crimes of such an ambitious, implacable, and treacherous enemy. The only favour he granted him *He desired* was the choice of his death, and he chose of all deaths the most infamous and disgraceful, which was hanging ⁹. Such was the unhappy, but deserved end of *Maximian*, after having reigned with great glory, at least twenty years, and lived, according to *Victor* the younger ¹, about sixty (S). *Constantine* caused all his statues to be pulled down, his images to be torn in pieces, and his inscriptions erased, not sparing even such as were common to him with *Dialetian* ².

THE same year *Galerius* was seized with a most dreadful

⁹ LACT. perf. c. 30. p. 27. EUTROP. p. 587. ZOS. l. ii. p. 674. VICT. epit. p. 542. ¹ Idem ibid. ² LACT. perf. c. 33. p. 30.

(S) Some authors write, that *Maximian* died at *Marseilles*, confounding, perhaps, his death with what happened to him there in 308. as *Zosimus* confounds it with that of *Maximin II.* in telling us, that he died a natural death at *Tarsus* (4). In an ancient chronicle, quoted by *Du Chesne* (5), we are told, that about the year 1054. his body was discovered at *Marseilles* in a leaden coffin, inclosed in a tomb of white marble, so well embalmed, that it was still intire,

and appeared fresh. The author of the chronicle writes, that he learnt this of those who had seen the body; and adds, that *Raimbaud*, archbishop of *Arles*, persuaded the inhabitants to throw the carcase of such an unmerciful persecutor of the church into the sea, with the coffin, tomb, and whatever else was found with it. *St. Ambrose* had written long before, that *Maximian* was buried in a most beautiful tomb of marble (6).

(4) *Zos.* l. ii. p. 674. *epist.* lvi. p. 321.

(5) *Du Chesne* p. 641.

(6) *Ambrose*.

Galerius is seized with a dreadful distemper, an incurable ulcer in his privy parts (T). This year *Constantine* waged war with the *Alemans*, the *Bructerians*, *Cheruscans*, *Chamovians*, and several other German nations; who, after having attacked the *Romans* in separate bodies, joined in the end all their forces, and formed a very numerous and powerful army¹. *Constantine*, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured in disguise into the midst of their army, pretending to be a deputy sent to them by the emperor. As he found, that not caring to engage him, they designed to separate, which would have rendered the war more tedious, he assured them, that the emperor was not then with his army; which they no sooner understood, than they dismissed the pretended deputy, and, without loss of time, marched with all their forces against the enemy. *Constantine* received them at the head of his army, put them to the rout at the first onset, and made a dreadful slaughter of them in their flight^u (U).

Constantine overcomes several German nations.

¹ Panegyry. 7. p. 163—165.

^u Idem, p. 104.

THE

(T) *Lactantius* (7) and *Eusebius* (8) describe at length the miserable condition to which he was reduced; and tell us, that, besides the inexpressible torments, with which he was racked night and day, without the least respite, such an insufferable stench issued out of his body, as infected not only the palace, but the whole city. The distemper increased daily, in spite of all the art and skill of the best physicians and surgeons: his thighs putrefied by degrees, his belly was consumed, his bowels laid open, and the whole mass of his blood corrupted. Notwithstanding all the care that could be used, he was devoured alive with infinite swarms of worms and vermin. No longer able to bear such unrelenting torments, he often attempted to lay violent hands on himself, and caused some of his physicians to be put to death, because their remedies proved

ineffectual. He had recourse to *Apollo*, to *Æsculapius*, and all his gods, but to no effect; nay, the remedies which *Apollo*, or rather some impostor in his name, prescribed to him, served only to aggravate his raging distemper. He languished in this painful and, beyond expression, miserable condition, a whole year, and upwards, suffering every minute all the agonies of death (9). The pagan, as well as christian writers, take notice of this unaccountable malady of *Galerius* (1). The latter ascribe it to divine vengeance, as he had been the chief author of the persecution and unheard-of cruelties suffered by the *Christians*.

(U) It was perhaps on account of this victory, that he took the title of *Maximus*, which we find on some of his medals struck this year 310. the fifth of his reign (2). *Eusebius* tells us, that after he had driven out of

(7) *Lact. pers. c. 33. p. 30.*

(8) *Idem ibid. Lact. c. 33.*

(9) *Aur. Vict. epit. p. 323. Z. p. 674.*

(1) *B. ag. p. 462.*

(8) *Euseb. l. viii. c. 16. p. 514, 515.*

(2) *Aur. Vict. epit. p. 323. Z. p. 674.*

THE next consuls were *Galerius* the eighth time, and *Maximinus* the second; but *Maxentius* refusing to acknowledge them, *Rome* was without consuls till the month of *September*, when *Rufinus* and *Eusebius Volusianus* were honoured with that dignity ^w. As the distemper of *Galerius* grew daily more raging and violent, he began at length to ascribe it to the just vengeance of heaven, for his cruelties to the innocent Christians, and immediately published an edict, ordering a stop to be put to the *Galerius* persecution. This edict was enacted in the name of three ^{puts a stop} emperors, to wit, *Galerius*, *Constantine*, and *Licinius*. *Maxen-* to the per-
tius was looked upon by *Galerius* as an enemy, and had never ^{secution} been acknowledged by him; and, as for *Maximin*, he either would not agree with the rest to put a stop to the persecution, or his name has been, through a mistake of the transcribers, omitted in the edict, as that of *Licinius* has been left out in most editions of *Eusebius*, and even in the *Latin* translation by *Rufinus*. The edict was dated the twentieth year of the reign of *Galerius*, and, consequently, must have been drawn up after the first of *March* of this year 311. It was publicly set up at *Nicomedia* on the thirtieth of *April*, and the following month his death ^{His death} was known there; for he died, according to the most probable ^{Year of} opinion, at *Sardua*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*, now known the flood
by the name of *Sofia*, or, as the inhabitants stile it, *Triadizza* ^a. 2751.
Galerius had reigned, reckoning from the time he had been ^{Of Chr.} created *Cæsar*, nineteen years, two months, and some days. 311.
He had been emperor six years, and a few days; for we find ^{Of Rome} some of his coins dated the seventh year of his reign ^y. Before he expired, he earnestly recommended to *Licinius* his wife *Val-* 1109.
laria, the daughter of *Dioclesian*, and *Candilianus* his natural son ⁱ; which shews, that *Licinius* was present when he died. He was buried in the same city where he was born, and afterwards deified with the usual ceremonies ^a.

MAXIMIN was no sooner informed of the death of *Galerius*, than he hastened from the East, where he then was, with a design to seize on his provinces, and entering *Bithynia*, made himself master of all the countries beyond the *Propontis*. On

^w LACT. perf. c. 35. p. 31. BUCH. cycl. p. 238. ^x LACT. perf. c. 35. p. 31. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. ^y PAGI, p. 311. ^z LACT. c. 35, 50. p. 32, 44. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. ^a VICT. epit. p. 543. BIRAG. p. 444. EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364.

Gaul, or intirely subdued, the barbarians bordering on the *Rhine* and the ocean, he passed over into *Britain*, and there re-duced such of the inhabitants as had not yet submitted to him (4). But of this expedition no mention is made by the panegyrist.

(3) *Euseb. vit. Constant. l. i. c. 25. p. 42c.*

Licinius
and Maxi-
min divide
his pro-
vinces.

Valeria
vehemently
abused by
Maximin.

the other hand, *Licinius*, having drawn together his forces, marched to oppose him; and the two armies encamped over-against each other, the one on the coast of *Asia*, and the other of *Europe*. However, they came at length to an agreement; and in a private interview, which they had in the streights of *Chalcedon*, they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, which they confirmed with the most solemn oaths^b: *Maximin* remained master of *Bithynia*, and *Licinius* of *Thrace*, the streights of *Chalcedon* being the common boundary between the two empires^c. *Valeria*, the widow of *Galerius*, though earnestly recommended by him at the point of death to *Licinius*, chose to withdraw into the dominions of *Maximin*, with her mother *Prisca*, the wife of *Diocletian*, *Candidianus* the natural son of *Galerius*, and *Severianus* the son of *Severus*, put to death by *Maximin* in 307. *Maximin* treated *Valeria* for some with the utmost respect, honouring her with the title of mother; nay, he conceived a violent passion for her, and even offered to repudiate his own wife, and marry her. *Valeria*, not a little surpris'd at this unexpected proposal, answered him with great freedom, That the state and habit she was in, the time of her mourning for the death of her husband not being yet expired, did not allow her to think of marriage; that to her it seem'd very strange he should put away a wife, who had not given him the least occasion of complaint; that such a proceeding gave her room to expect the like treatment; and, in short, that it was both unbecoming and unprecedented, in a person of her rank, to entertain the least thought of a second marriage. *Maximin* was provoked to such a degree with this frank and generous answer, that, changing his love into hatred and rage, he immediately banish'd both her and her mother, seized on all her effects, confin'd her domestics, put her eunuchs to the rack, and, upon false accusations, sentenc'd to death several illustrious ladies who attended her, and, among the rest, two senators wives, and one, whose daughter was a *Patrician* at *Rome*. They were publicly executed at *Nicæa*, upon the deposition of a *Jew*, who falsely accus'd them of adultery, hoping to escape the punishment due to his crimes, by impeaching them. The people loudly complain'd of such a barefaced piece of injustice, and, transported with rage, would have torn in pieces *Erastinus* the governor of that province, while he sat on his tribunal to condemn them, and see his sentence put in execution, had he not been surrounded with a numerous body of soldiers, who, with difficulty, protect'd him against the insults of the incens'd populace. The *Jew*, their accuser, being afterwards condemn'd to be crucified, acknowledg'd on the cross

^b EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. LACT. c. 45. p. 39.
LACT. ibid.

^c EUSEB.
their

their innocence, and his own guilt, in suffering himself to be suborned to accuse them ^a. *Valeria*, tho' confined in the deserts of *Syria*, found means to acquaint her father *Dioclesian* with the miserable state she was in, who, moved with tenderness and compassion, sent several persons, and among the rest a kinsman of his own, an officer of great distinction in the army, to intreat *Maximin*, by all the obligations he owed him, to release his beloved daughter from her confinement, and allow him the satisfaction of enjoying her company in his old age. But the tyrant was deaf to all intreaties; which is said to have hastened the death of the old emperor ^c.

CONSTANTINE, in the mean time, was busied in visiting the provinces under his government. He arrived this year, the Constantian sixth of his reign, at *Autun*; and finding the inhabitants over-taxed with taxes, he not only forgave them what they owed to the exchequer ever since his accession to the empire, but remitted above a fourth part of all imposts. In acknowledgement of this favour, the city of *Autun*, looking upon the generous and good-natured emperor as their founder, took the name of *Flavia*, which was the name of his family; and upon his return to the place of his residence, probably *Trier*, they sent *Eumenius* to return him thanks for his extraordinary kindness to them; which the orator did in a speech that is still extant. In the mean time *Maxentius*, who reigned at *Rome*, undertook the reduction of *Africa*, which had revolted, as we have related above, in 308. and declared *Alexander* emperor. Against him *Maxentius* dispatched *Rufus*, or *Rufius Volusianus*, probably the consul of this year, and one *Zenus*, a celebrated commander, who, in the first battle that was fought, put the troops of *Alexander* to the rout, took him prisoner, and caused him immediately to be strangled ^e.

THUS ended the war in *Africa*; but not the calamities of that unhappy province: for *Maxentius* caused such of the *Africans* as were considerable either for their birth or wealth, to be inhumanly put to death, and seized their estates, pretending that they had favoured the usurper; nay, he commanded the city of *Carthage*, at that time one of the most beautiful and flourishing cities in the world, to be laid in ashes. Thus was the province of *Africa* utterly ruined, and the inhabitants reduced to beggary, and obliged, through fear of the tyrant, to abandon their native country, and take shelter in the provinces of the other princes ^b. *Maxentius* triumphed at *Rome* for the defeat of

^a LACT. perf. c. 39, 40. p. 35, 36.

p. 36. ^f Paneg. 8. p. 188, &c.

p. 526. Zos. l. ii. p. 675. LACTAN. perf. c. 42. p. 37. ^b Paneg. 6, 7. p. 145, 173. AUR. VICT. Zos. ibid.

^c Idem, c. 41.

^e AUR. VICT.

Alexander, or rather for the destruction of *Carthage*, and the Rome and ruin of *Africa*. But *Rome* and *Italy* were no less grievously Italy grie- afflicted by the lewd, inhuman, and avaricious tyrant, than vously af- *Carthage* and *Africa* (W). *Maxentius* allowed his soldiers the flicted by same unrestrained liberty, or rather licentiousness, which he him. took himself, abandoning to them the honour, the lives, and the fortunes of the most innocent persons. By this means,

The cruelty
of Maxen-
tius.

Rome was in a short time reduced to a most deplorable condition; the senators were stripped of their estates, and either banished upon false accusations, or publicly executed; and the people so loaded with taxes, that they had not wherewith to purchase the common necessaries, and great numbers of them died daily for want. He was greatly addicted to the study of magic, which prompted him to many unheard-of cruelties, as he hoped to learn future events from the entrails of women, and innocent children¹. A fire accidentally breaking out in the temple of *Fortune*, and the people flocking from all parts to extinguish it, a soldier uttered some words of raillery against the *unfortunate goddess*; which one of the populace hearing, killed the soldier

¹ Panegy. 6. p. 136.

(W) The unexpressible calamities under which they groaned, are described at length by *Zosimus* (4), *Eusebius* (5), *Aurelius Victor* (6), and the panegyrists who flourished in those times (7). His lust spared not the most illustrious ladies of *Rome*, nor his avarice the chief men in the senate: he forced the former, by all manner of torments, to comply with his impure desires; and condemned the latter, under various pretences, to death or banishment, in order to seize their estates. *Eusebius* (8) and *Rufinus* (9) tell us, that having by menaces forced the governor of the city to yield up to him his wife, by name *Sophronia*, she, who professed the *Christian* religion, and consequently thought death

a less evil than the defiling herself with any impurity, begged a few minutes to put on her best attire; which being granted, she withdrew into her closet, and there, after a short prayer, buried a dagger in her breast, and died on the spot. This action is mightily commended by *Eusebius* and *Rufinus*; and *Palladius* seems to approve it (1). It shews a courage in *Sophronia* above her sex, and a love of purity worthy of the religion which she professed; but nevertheless cannot, in the opinion of St. *Austin* (2), be commended, or even excused, unless done by a particular and extraordinary impulse from heaven, such as he supposes *Razias* to have had, of whom mention is made in the book of the *Macabees*.

(4) *Z. j. l. ii. p. 675.*

(5) *Euseb. l. viii. p. 310.*

(6) *Aur. Vict.*

p. 526. (7) *Panegy. 6, 7. p. 137, 138.*

(8) *Euseb. l. vi. l. viii.*

p. 14. p. 313.

(9) *Rufin. c. 17. p. 141.*

(1) *Pallad. l. vi. l. viii.*

c. 15. p. 105.

(2) *August. civ. Dei, l. i. c. 26.*

on the spot. His comrades, to revenge his death, fell sword in hand upon the people; which occasioned a dreadful tumult, in which an incredible number of persons lost their lives^k (X).

BEING elated with his success against *Alexander*, tyrant of *Africa*, he began to entertain thoughts of destroying the other princes, one after the other; for he was often heard to say, That he alone was emperor, and that the others were only his lieutenants, employed by him to defend and guard the confines of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians, that he might enjoy at *Rome* an undisturbed peace and tranquillity. He ~~He re-~~ resolved to begin with *Constantine*, under the plausible pretence of ~~solvers to~~ revenging the death of his father *Maximian*, though we are ~~make war~~ assured, that he was not in the least affected with it^l. He had ~~upon Con-~~ then under his command an hundred and seventy thousand foot, ~~stantine-~~ and eighteen thousand horse, most of whom had served under his father, and consequently were enured to military toils and dangers. He had amassed, by his extortions, vast sums to defray the charges of a war, and great store of provisions, having for that purpose drained *Africa*, and the adjacent islands. He no sooner began to assemble his troops, than *Constantine*, well apprised of his design, wrote to him, and, by laying before him the dreadful evils and calamities attending a civil war, endeavoured to divert him from it. *Nazarius* tells us, that *Constantine*, pitying the miserable condition to which he saw, with the utmost concern, the metropolis of the empire reduced, burnt with a desire of redeeming it from the tyranny under which it groaned; but not thinking that could justify his engaging in a war with his brother-in-law, he endeavoured to satisfy him, as to the death of his father. But *Maxentius*, who wanted only a pretence for stripping *Constantine* of his dominions, without giving ear to his remonstrances, caused his statues to be pulled down, and his images defaced, giving out, that he was determined at all events to revenge the death of his father.

^k EUSEB. p. 310. AUR. VICT. p. 52. ^l Zos. l. ii. p. 675. AUR. VICT. p. 526.

(X) *Zosimus* writes, that *Maxentius* immediately restrained the fury of his soldiers; but though he excuses him on this occasion, yet he owns, that his tyranny grew daily more insufferable, and that the *Roman* people impatiently wished for a deliverer (3). *Prudentius* gives us a pathetic account of the evils which the city endured under so cruel a tyrant, who was not ashamed to fill the public prisons with the most venerable and illustrious persons in the senate (4).

(3) Zos. l. ii. p. 675.

(4) *Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 219, 220.*

HEREUPON

Constantine begins his march to Italy.

He deliberates with himself what god he should implore.

HEREUPON *Constantine*, leaving a strong body of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into *Gaul* during his absence, set out on his march to *Italy*, at the head of an army, consisting, according to those who magnify their number the most, of ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. Of these only twenty-five thousand were *Romans*, and the rest auxiliaries ^m (Y). He endeavoured to gain over *Licinius*, by promising him his sister *Constantia* in marriage; which gave such jealousy to *Maximin*, that he sent deputies to court the friendship of *Maxentius*, and entered into an alliance with him; which however was kept secret; for *Constantine* was not apprised of it till he became master of *Rome*, and saw there the statue of *Maximin* placed close to that of *Maxentius* ⁿ. We are not told, that *Maximin* sent any succours to *Maxentius*, or *Licinius* to *Constantine*. In this war, Providence had something in view infinitely more important than the rescuing of *Rome* from the tyranny of *Maxentius*; nothing less than the delivering of the church from the cruel persecution under which it had groaned for the space of near three hundred years. *Constantine* had inherited of his father some love and esteem for the Christians; for the first use he made of his authority, was to put a stop to the persecution in the provinces subject to him ^o. However, he had not yet shewn any inclination to embrace a religion which he both honoured and esteemed; but, in the war with *Maxentius*, apprehending that he stood in need of an extraordinary assistance from heaven, he began seriously to consider with himself, what deity he should implore as his guardian and protector. He revolved in his mind the fallacious answers given by the oracles to other princes, and the success that had attended his father *Constantius* in all his wars, who despised the many gods worshiped by the *Romans*, and acknowledged only one Supreme Being. At the same time he observed, that such of his predecessors as had persecuted the Christians, the adorers of this GOD, had miscarried in most of their undertakings, and perished by an unfortunate and untimely end; whereas his father, who countenanced and protected them, had, in all his wars, been attended with uncommon success, and ended his life in the arms of his children.



^m Zos. l. ii. p. 676.

ⁿ LACT. perf. c. 43. p. 37.

^o Idem, c. 24. p. 23.

(Y) A panegyrist, in an oration pronounced before him, says, that he engaged in this war with a smaller number of troops than *Alexander* had with him, when he went to attack the king of *Persia* (5); that is, not quite forty thousand men.

UPON these considerations, he resolved to have recourse to the GOD of his father, and adhere to Him alone. To Him, therefore, he addressed himself with great humility and servour, beseeching Him to make himself known to him, and to assist him in his present expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous; which, however incredible it may appear to some, *Eusebius* assures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who solemnly confirmed the truth of it with his oath. As he was marching at the head of his troops *A miracu-* in the open fields, there suddenly appeared to him, and the *lous appa-* whole army, a little after mid-day, a pillar of light above the *rition.* sun, in the form of a cross, with this inscription, *In this con-* quer. The emperor was in great pain about the meaning of this wonderful vision, till the following night; when our Saviour appearing to him, with the same sign that he had seen in the heavens, commanded him to cause such another to be framed, and to make use of it in conquering his enemies. The next morning *Constantine* imparted to his friends what he had seen; and sending for the ablest artificers and workmen, ordered them to frame a cross of gold, and precious stones, according to the directions which he gave them (Z). *Constantine* being,

(Z) This cross is minutely described by *Eusebius*, who saw it (6). *Baronius*, who has caused it to be engraved in his annals (7), places the images of *Constantine* and his children on the standard that was fastened to the cross-part of it, though *Eusebius* seems to place them below the standard. In a crown of gold at the top of the cross was a figure, consisting of the two first letters of the name of *Christ*, according to the *Greek* orthography (8). This figure, on some medals, is formed thus , and in others thus . This cypher was probably shewn to *Constantine* with the cross; for we are no-where told, that he contrived it. Some are of opinion, that this cypher, in which

the cross is plainly represented, was the only thing *Constantine* added to the antient standard. This the pious emperor caused to be carried before him in all his wars, as an ensign of safety and victory (9). *Socratus* seems to insinuate, that in his time, about the year 430 it was lodged in the imperial palace at *Constantinople* (1); and *Theophanes* tells us, that it was still to be seen in the ninth century (2). *Constantine* caused several other crosses to be made after the same manner, and to be constantly carried at the head of his armies, instead of the figures of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Romulus*, &c. The name of *Christ* was not always at the top of the cross, but sometimes on the standard (3).

(6) *Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 27—31. p. 421—423.* (7) *Baron. ad ann. 312.* (8) *Euseb. ibid. c. 31. p. 423.* (9) *Themist. (1) Socrat. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.* (2) *Idem. p. 11.* (3) *Nazar. orat. in p. 71. Z. Am. l. i. c. 4. p. 47. Euseb. p. 452.*

being, after the miraculous vision, immutably determined to adore that God alone who had appeared to him, sent for several bishops,

When the troops, in any part of the army began to give ground, the emperor caused the standard with the cross to be conveyed thither; and his faith, says *Eusebius* (4), was rewarded with victory, which began on that side where the greatest danger was apprehended. He chose fifty of the most courageous, robust, and religious men among his guards to attend this standard, and carry it in their turns. *Eusebius* assures us, that none of those who carried it were ever wounded in battle; and adds, that, in one encounter, the person who held it, finding himself aimed at on all sides by the enemy, and therefore delivering it to another, in order to avoid the danger by flight, was shot thro' with a dart the minute he parted with it; whereas the other escaped unhurt, amidst the showers of arrows that flew round him. This *Eusebius*, as he assures us, learnt of *Constantine* himself (5). In the year 416. *Theodosius* the younger bestowed great privileges on those who carried the *labarum* or *laborum*; for so the standard consecrated, to use the expression of *St. Ambrose* (6), with the name of *Christ*, is styled by *Gregory of Nazianzum*, *Prudentius*, and others. As to the etymology of that name, we are quite in the dark. The reader will find many conjectures concerning it in *Du Cange*, who is of opinion,

that it was borrowed of the *German*s (7). At the same time *Constantine* ordered the shields, helmets, and offensive as well as defensive weapons of the soldiers, to be marked with crosses, as appears from *Eusebius* (8), and various antient monuments. *Sozomen* tells us, that the emperor caused the name of our Saviour to be put upon the *labarum*, that the soldiers, who, in all times, paid the utmost respect to the imperial standard, might, by degrees, be brought to forget their false deities, and pay the same honours to Him, whose name they had constantly before their eyes (9). *Constantine* had the above-mentioned vision before he passed the *Alps* to make war upon *Maximian*, and consequently in *Gaul*; but, as to the precise place, we are quite at a loss. Some stand up for *Besangon*; others, for *Sinzic* on the *Rhin*, at a small distance from *Cologne*; and some for *Numegen*, a village on the *Moselle*, about five miles below *Treves*; which *Ausonius* calls the illustrious camp of *Constantine* (1): but their conjectures are altogether groundless. *Balsus* complains, and not without reason, of the irreligious temerity of a modern writer (2), who is pleased to stile the whole account of this miraculous apparition, that is, the best attested fact in the history of *Constantine*, a pious fiction, which, in other terms, is calling *Euse-*

(4) *Euseb. vit. Const. l. ii. p. 447.*

epist. xvii. p. 213.

Et glossar. p. 190.

l. i. c. 4. p. 405.

(5) *Idem ibid. p. 448.*

(7) *Cange dissert. de inferior. ævi numismat. p. 18.*

(8) *Euseb. ibid. l. iv. c. 21. p. 535.*

(9) *Soz.*

l. i. c. 4. p. 405.

(1) *Buch. de Belg. l. viii. c. 6. p. 243.*

Ojseletus in thesaur. numis. antiquor. p. 463.

(2) *Jacobus*

bishops, in order to be instructed by them in the mysteries of their religion, and in several particulars of the late apparition. He hearkened to them with the utmost respect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, cross, and death of our Saviour, reading, with great attention, the holy Scriptures, and consulting in his doubts the bishops, whom, for that purpose, he kept constantly about him ^(A). *time is in- strusted in the christi- an religion, and em- braces it.*

We may well imagine what a great alteration the conversion of *Constantine* produced in the church. The whole imperial family followed, it seems, his example; we are well assured, that his mother *Helen* did: for though *Theodoret* writes, that she inspired her son from his infancy with sentiments of piety⁹, yet *Eusebius* tells us in express terms, that she knew not the true God, till she was induced by her son to embrace the truth, and adhere to it⁸. The zeal which *Constantia* shewed for the doctrine of *Arius*, inclines us to believe, that she professed the christian religion (B). *His exam- ple is fol- lowed by the impe- rial fami- ly.*

CONSTANTINE

⁸ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 32. p. 423, 424. ⁹ THEODOR. l. i. c. 17. p. 563. ¹ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506.

bis an impious impostor, and at the same time charging him with the greatest folly imaginable, in pretending to impose upon the world with such an enormous falsehood, while many thousands of witnesses were still living, who would not have failed to disprove what he wrote, and give him the lie. To imagine a writer of *Eusebius's* character guilty of such folly, impudence and presumption, is, in our opinion, carrying scepticism and incredulity to too great an height.

(A) *Eusebius* does not name them; but *Zosimus* tells us, that an *Egyptian*, coming from *Spain*, to the place where *Constantine* was, prevailed upon him to abandon the religion of the *Romans* (3). This may be true, though no great stress is to be laid upon what *Zosimus* writes, touching the conversion of *Con-*

stantine? for *Osus*, the celebrated bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, was by birth an *Egyptian*, and might, as he was a man of great piety and learning, have been sent for by the emperor. It is at least certain, that *Constantine* soon after appointed him his almoner, and treated him on all occasions with the utmost respect, esteem, and veneration. The modern *Greek* writers pretend, that one of the emperor's chamberlains, by name *Euphrates*, had great share in his conversion; but of him no mention is made by the antients.

(B) *Eusebius* tells us, that *Eutropia*, the widow of *Maximian*, and mother-in-law of *Constantine*, followed the example of the emperor; and *Valesius* maintains the same thing of her daughter *Fausa*; which does not at all seem improbable, though not positively asserted by

CONSTANTINE crossed the *Alps* the following year, when *he* and *Licinius* were consul the second time, without meeting the *Alps*, with the least opposition, till he arrived at *Segusum*, now *Susa*; which being fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a numerous garrison, refused to submit. Hereupon *Constantine*, having ordered a general assault, and at the same time caused fire to be set to the gates, carried the place by storm the same day; but would not give it up to be plundered, nor suffer the inhabitants to be any-ways injured in their lives or fortunes*, though *Zosimus* writes, that he laid in ruins all the cities that presumed to oppose him†. From *Segusum* he marched to *Augusta Taurinorum*, now *Turin*, in the neighbourhood of which place he was met by a numerous army of the enemy, whose cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, fell upon him with a fury hardly to be expressed; but *Constantine* ordering his ranks to open and receive them, they were surrounded on all sides, and, unwieldy as they were, pulled off of their horses, and killed, without the loss of a single man on *Constantine's* side. The rest of the army was easily put to the rout, and pursued with great slaughter to the gates of *Turin*; which the citizens shut against them, but opened to *Constantine*, whom they received with the greatest

* EUSEB. vit. Const. l. i. c. 37. p. 426.

† Zos. l. ii. p. 676.

any of the antients. *Johannes Damascenus* writes, that *Constantine* caused not only the cross, but the image of our Saviour, to be represented on his coins; but no medals have been yet found to confirm his opinion. On his coins appear only the *labarum*, and on some of his son *Constantius* the χ , with the Λ and Ω , the emblem assumed by our Saviour in the *Revelations* (4). The silence of the ancient panegyrist with respect to so public and remarkable an event as the apparition of the cross, which occasioned the conversion of *Constantine*, would seem to us unaccountable, were we not well apprised of the great and almost invincible power of prejudice in matters of religion. The au-

thors of those panegyrics could not, even in their speeches uttered before *Constantine*, forbear speaking of their fabulous deities, as if the emperor had still been a pagan. However, some of them seem to have hinted at that apparition, though in very dark and ambiguous terms; for one of the orators speaks much at large of an extraordinary assistance, which, he says, all *Gaul* believed to have been sent to *Constantine* from heaven (5). Another says, that every one dreaded the war with *Maxentius*, on account of an evil omen (6). This may be well understood of the cross, than which nothing was more infamous, or more detested, among the *Romans*.

(4) Vide Du Cange Byzant. famil. p. 31--33.
(6) Idem, 6. p. 135.

(5) Paneg. 7. p. 161.

demonstrations of joy imaginable. All the cities between the *Po* and the *Alps* followed the example of this, sending deputies with great store of provisions to the conqueror, and assisting him to the utmost of their power against *Maxentius*, whose cruelties and tyranny they could no longer bear^u. From *Turin* he marched to *Milan*, which city he entered without opposition; and having passed a few days there, he pursued his march to *Brescia*, where he was met by a numerous body of horse, who being routed at the first onset, retired in great confusion to *Verona*, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all the troops of *Maxentius* dispersed up and down the country. They were very numerous, and commanded by *Ruricius Pompeianus*, an experienced officer, and captain of the guards to *Maxentius*, who, not thinking it advisable to venture a battle, shut himself up in *Verona*, with part of his troops.

Constantine, having passed the *Adige* a great way above *Verona* that city, invested it with his whole army. *Pompeianus* made *besieged* a vigorous sally; but being repulsed with great loss, he stole away in the night, and soon after returned with a numerous army, which he had with incredible expedition drawn together from all parts. *Constantine*, receiving intelligence of his approach, left part of his troops to pursue the siege, and marched with the rest to meet him. Hereupon an engagement ensued, which lasted almost the whole night; but in the end the troops of *Pompeianus* were utterly defeated, and the general himself killed. *Constantine* distinguished himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner, grappling hand to hand with the enemy like a common soldier; insomuch that his officers, after the battle, conjured him with tears in their eyes to moderate his courage for the future, and not expose to such dangers a life, on which depended the safety and welfare of the state^w. The city of *Verona* still held out for some time; but was in the end taken by storm, and utterly ruined. The garrison surrendered at discretion, and *Constantine*, contrary to their expectation, granted them their lives; but that his own men might not be employed in guarding them, as they were very numerous, he caused chains to be made of their swords, and confined them in two prisons^x. During the siege of *Verona*, *Constantine* detached part of his troops to attack *Aquileia*, *Mutina*, and several other cities; which readily submitted. By this means he became master of all the places between the *Alps* and *Rome*, the deliverance of which city from the tyranny of *Maxentius* was what he had most of all at heart^y.

^u Panegyri. 6, 7. p. 138, 166.

^w Idem, 6. p. 141. & 7. p. 168, 169.

^x Idem, 6. p. 141, 142.

171.

^y Idem, 6. p. 141. & 7. p.

Idem, 7. p. 170,

Constantine approaches Rome.

HE therefore bent his march thither, and approached the city with all his forces. His approach roused *Maxentius*, who had abandoned himself to ease, and wallowed in all manner of pleasures and debaucheries, stifling the tidings that were daily brought to him of the defeat of his troops, and the progress of *Constantine*. He caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Tiber*, a little above the *Milvian* bridge, now *Ponte Molle*, so contrived that it could be easily loosened, which he charged one of his engineers to do as soon as *Constantine* was entered upon it with his army. But the emperor chose to encamp in a spacious plain, over-against the *Milvian* bridge, hoping by that means to draw *Maxentius* out of *Rome*, and tempt him to venture a general engagement, being well apprised, that if he kept within the city, which was supplied with great store of provisions, the besieging him there would prove a dangerous undertaking, and protract the war to a great length. But *Maxentius* ordering his troops to encamp between the *Milvian* bridge and the city, in order to prevent *Constantine* from approaching the walls, did not so much as stir out of his palace, till he was frightened from it by an inauspicious omen, which obliged him to repair with his wife and son to the house of one of his friends² (C). On the twenty-eighth of *October*, *Maxentius*, who then ended the sixth year of his reign, exhibited, notwithstanding the danger that threatened him, magnificent shews in the circus; and, having caused the *Sibylline* books to be consulted, had this answer, that *the great enemy of Rome was doomed to perish that very day*. This he understood of *Constantine*; and therefore, quitting the city without delay, he crossed the bridge, which he had caused to be laid over the *Tiber*, and chose for the field of battle a place called *Saxa rubra*, or *The red rocks*, about nine miles from *Rome*, drawing up his numerous army between the enemy and the river.

CONSTANTINE, overjoyed to hear that *Maxentius* had marched out of the city, immediately advanced against him; and having encouraged his men with certain hopes of victory, ordered the signal for the battle to be given. At the first onset, the

² Paneg. 7. p. 145.

(C) *Lactantius* tells us, that the night preceding the twenty-seventh, or rather the twenty-eighth of *October*, *Constantine* was admonished in a dream to cause the shields of his soldiers to be marked with the χ , and then give battle. The order was immediately executed, and not only on the shields, but likewise on the helmets, as appears from an antient medal (7), of all the soldiers were displayed the cross, and the name of our Saviour (8).

(7) *Euon. ad ann. 312.*

(8) *Lact. pers. c. 44. p. 37.*

Romans and *Italians* in *Maxentius's* army, out of hatred to the tyrant, gave way and retired; but the others, chiefly the prætorian guards, the ministers of his tyranny, stood their ground, and fought with great resolution and intrepidity; so that the victory remained doubtful, till *Maxentius's* cavalry being broken, *Maxentius* the tyrant abandoned the field to save himself across his bridge of stius de-boats, and return to the city^a (D). All authors agree, that, *seated, and* falling into the *Tiber* with his horse and armour, he was there *drowned* drowned with many of his men, and some of his chief officers. *in the Tiber*. His body being with much ado found the next day, buried in the mud, *Constantine* caused his head to be struck off, in order to shew it to the *Roman* people, who had not yet shewed any joy for his death, apprehending it might be only a false report, spread on purpose to discover their inclination and real sentiments^b. The same day, the twenty-ninth of *October*, *Constantine*, causing the head of *Maxentius* to be carried upon a pole before his army, made his public entry into the city, attended by the senate in a body, and by infinite crouds of people, *Constantine* who flocked from all parts to behold, and welcome with loud shouts of joy, their new prince and deliverer. In the *shews* *Rome*, which were exhibited the following days, the people, neglecting the diversions, kept their eyes immoveably fixed on *Constantine*, returning thanks to the tutelar gods of the city and empire, for giving them, in the room of a cruel and inhuman tyrant, a prince, of whose humanity, prudence, and moderation, fame had proclaimed so many instances^c.

THE battle was no sooner over, says one of the panegyrist^d, *His cle-* than *Constantine* sheathed his sword, and not only pardoned, but *mercy af-* received into favour, even his most inveterate enemies^e; nay, *ter vic-* preferred such of them as he found qualified for public employments. The people demanded with great importunity the death of some of the tyrant's chief ministers, but could not prevail upon the good-natured emperor to comply with their demands, and humour their revengeful temper^f. All the troops

^a Zos. l. ii. p. 676. Anonym. p. 473. Panegyrr. 6, 7. p. 145, 170. LACT. p. 38. ^b Zos. p. 677. ^c Panegyrr. 7. p. 146, 147. LACT. c. 44. p. 38. ^d Panegyrr. 6. p. 148. ^e LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 262. ^f Panegyrr. 6. p. 148.

(D) *Lactantius* writes, that the great weight of the multitude that fled with *cs* before *Maxentius*, the boats parted, and he was pushed into the river by those who were flying with him (1). *Ensebius* and *Zojimus* tell us, that the engines which fastened the boats together, giving way under the

(9) *Lact.* p. 38.

(1) *Zos.* p. 677. *Enseb. vir. Const.* p. 427.

of *Maxentius* were immediately disarmed; but *Constantine* reinstated them soon after in their former condition, and employed them against the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*.

The prætorian guards disbanded.

He enacts a severe law against informers.

As for the prætorian guards, a corps so famous ever since the time of *Augustus*, and so powerful as to raise to the empire, and depose, whom they pleased, he either disbanded them, or reduced them to the rank of common soldiers, causing their camp, which had been begun by *Sejanus*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, to be utterly demolished (E). Upon the death of *Maxentius*, incredible numbers of informers started up to accuse such as had adhered to him. But *Constantine*, treading in the footsteps of other good princes, put a stop to their accusations, and the evils that thence threatened the state, by a law enacted this year, in which he declared all informers, and such as attempted to disturb the peace and tranquillity of private persons with unjust suits, guilty of death^h. He restored the senate to its former lustre and authority, filling it with persons of the greatest merit, chosen out of all the provinces subject to him. He recalled such as had been banished by *Maxentius*, set those at liberty whom he had confined, and, by a general edict, remitted to all without distinction whatever punishment had been inflicted upon them by *Maxentius*ⁱ. Not satisfied with delivering them from the evils under which they groaned, he exercised his generosity and good-nature to all in such a manner, as to make full amends, in the space of two months, for the calamities they had suffered during the tyrant's six years reign^k.

As he was now master of all *Italy*, the people crowded from every quarter to *Rome*, to see their benefactor and deliverer, and were received by him with such marks of kindness, and unfeigned affection, that they returned home with a far greater opinion of his affability, good-nature, and moderation, than fame, which delights in exaggeration, had raised in them^l. The

^g Zos. l. ii. p. 677. AUR. VICT. p. 526. ^h Cod. Theodof. 3. p. 430, 431. ⁱ Panegy. 6. p. 137. & 7. p. 175. EUSEB. l. i. c. 41. p. 409. ^k Panegy. 7. p. 174. ^l Idem, p. 173.

(E) *Aurelius Victor* seems to insinuate, that he would not suffer any troops to remain in *Rome*, thinking them more apt to foment than suppress tumults and seditions (2). *Zosimus* writes, that *Constantine* punished some, tho' very few, of those who had been most attached to the tyrant (3); and *Naxarius*, that he cut off his whole race (4), that is, his son, for he had no other issue; and of him no mention is made from this time forward, though he was alive when his father was drowned.

(2) *Aur. Vict.* p. 526. (3) *Zos.* p. 677. (4) *Paneg.* 7. p. 157.
 senate,

senate, out of gratitude, decreed him the first place among the *honours* emperors, though claimed by *Maximin*, and a triumphal arch, *conferred upon him* which is still standing, and was raised, as we read in the inscription, in honour of *Constantine*, for having, by divine instinct, *by the senate*, and with extraordinary courage, delivered, in one combat, the republic from the tyrant, and his whole faction. In the same inscription, *Constantine* is styled the deliverer of *Rome*, and the author of the public tranquillity (F). As he ascribed the late victory, and all his other successes, not to his own conduct or strength, but to God alone, soon after his entry into *Rome*, he caused a statue to be erected to himself, holding a cross in the right hand, with an inscription, importing, that under the influence of that victorious and salutary sign, he had delivered the city from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned, and restored the senate and people of *Rome* to their antient liberty and splendor. About the month of *November* of this year 312. an edict was issued in his name, and in the name of *Licinius*, putting a stop to the great persecution which had been begun by *Dioclesian*, *stop to be* and had raged with incredible fury in most provinces of the empire for the space of ten years. This edict was sent by the two emperors to *Maximin*, the most implacable enemy the *Christians* ever had, accompanied by a letter from *Constantine*, wherein the pious emperor acquainted him with the miraculous assistance he had received from Heaven, and the victory he had by that means gained over the tyrant *Maxentius*. As *Maximin* yet pretended to live in friendship and amity with *Constantine* and *Licinius* (for the letter was signed by both princes), notwithstanding

(F) This arch is thought not to have been ended and dedicated before the solemnity of the tenth year of *Constantine's* reign, that is, before the year 315 (6). *Baronius* observes, that it was adorned with several statues, taken from monuments erected to the honour of *M. Aurelius*, and other princes, which far excelled in workmanship such as were done at this time (6). The senate consecrated likewise to *Constantine* several magnificent edifices, which had been raised at a vast charge by *Maxentius*. *Baronius* observes, that the panegyrist,

in describing the triumphal entry of *Constantine* into *Rome*, tell us, that he went to the palace, and to the senate, but take no notice of his visiting the capitol, though that was one of the chief ceremonies of the solemnity (7). *Zosimus* writes, that the court being, on occasion of a certain solemnity, obliged to go to the capitol, *Constantine* was so far from complying with the antient custom, that he openly despised and derided both that and the other ceremonies of the religion of the *Romans* (8).

(5) *Narr. de Licin. num. c. 3. p. 49. 50.*
p. 526. (7) *Baron. ibid.*

(6) *Baron. ann. 312. Aur. Vict.*
(8) *Z. f. l. ii. p. 686.*

his hatred to the *Christians*, he published in their favour the decree, which is related at length by *Eusebius* ^m, and seems to have been enacted this year (G).

THE

^m EUSEB. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360.

(G) That writer, in speaking of the conduct of *Constantine* at this time, tells us, that he treated with the utmost respect the ministers of the true God, kept several of them constantly with him, entertained them at his own table, and paid an intire deference to their counsels. He seems to have honoured above the rest *Melchides*, bishop of *Rome*; for to him he appeals in speaking of the veneration he had for the catholic church, and his sincere desire of seeing unity reign in it without the least schism or division (9). *Theophanes* mentions some constitutions said to have been addressed by *Constantine* to that holy bishop, but thought by *Theophanes* to be spurious pieces forged by the *Arians* (1). It is certain, that the emperor bestowed great privileges on the clergy of the city of *Rome* (2). We are not told what privileges these were; but most writers suppose the emperor to have exempted them from the payment of taxes, from the discharging of public offices not suitable to their calling, and such-like burdens. *Baronius* pretends, that this year, 312. *Constantine* gave the *Lateran* palace to the bishop of *Rome* (3). But *Optatus Milevitanus* writes, that in the year 313. a council was held there in the apartment of the empress *Fausla* (4); whence some con-

clude, that it still belonged to the emperor. However, as it is certain, that it appertained to the see of *Rome* in the fourth century, and that the church adjoining to it was even then styled *the basilic of Constantine*. we cannot think it improbable, that the palace was a gift of *Constantine* to the bishops of *Rome*, and that the church was built by him, as we read in *Anastasius* (5). As for the famous donation, by which *Constantine* declared the pope prince and sovereign of *Rome*, it is now looked upon by the *Roman* catholic, as well as the protestant writers, as a forgery of a later date. *Baronius* is ashamed to maintain it as a genuine piece, and yet declines declaring it a forgery. It is commonly believed to have been forged in the eighth century by the noted impostor *Isidorus* (6). *Eusebius* tells us, that *Constantine* built a great number of churches, supplied them with vast riches, and adorned the altars with magnificent offerings (7). There are several churches at *Rome*, and in other places, said to have been founded by *Constantine*; but the authority of *Anastasius*, and such-like writers, is not of sufficient weight with us to ascribe that glory to any in particular. What he writes of the church of *St. Peter* on the *Vatican*, is confirmed by two verses, that were formerly

(9) *Euseb. hist. l. x. p. 391.*

16. r. 2. l. xiv. p. 40.

(5) *Anast. c. 34. p. 13.*

Consl. l. i. c. 4. p. 429.

(1) *Theoph. p. 14.*

(3) *Baron. ann. 312.*

(6) *Vide P. Pagi, p. 324.*

(2) *Cod. Theodof.*

(4) *Oprat. l. i. p. 44.*

(7) *Euseb. vit.*

THE *indicitions*, that is, a cycle or revolution of fifteen years, *The* made use of in reckoning time, are supposed to have begun about *indiction*. the end of the present year 312. The origin of this cycle, and the etymology of its name, has occasioned great disputes among modern writers (H).

DURING

to be seen in the vault of that church, importing, that it had been founded by *Constantine* (8). In demolishing the antient church, to build that which is at present looked upon as the most magnificent structure in the world, the name of *Constantine* was discovered in several places. In some monuments, thought to be of the sixth century, we read, that *Constantine* built at *Rome* the basilic of the *Sissorian* palace, in which he placed the true cross, about the year 326. whence it was called *the church of the holy cross* (9). In some antient inscriptions, the church of St. *Agnes* is said to have been built by *Constantine*, at the request of his daughter *Constantia*, or rather *Constantina*, who is supposed to have been buried there in 354 (1). *Theophanes* writes, that *Constantine* no sooner saw himself master of *Rome*, than he caused the relics of the holy martyrs to be carefully gathered, and honourably interred (2). He received, continues *Eusebius*, in describing his conduct, all strangers with great demonstrations of kindness, and made them rich presents. Not thinking it enough to relieve the common beggars with money, he caused them to be maintained and cloathed at his own expence. To such as were come of noble, but decayed families, he was rather magnificent than liberal,

bestowing upon some of them estates, and profitable employments upon others. He took under his protection orphans and widows, supporting them with great generosity, and establishing rich funds for their maintenance. He married to wealthy citizens, and persons of distinction, many young women, who were destitute of friends and relations, allowing them fortunes out of the exchequer proportionable to the estates of their husbands. In short, all who had the good fortune to live under him, felt the effects of his generosity and goodness. No one ever implored his assistance in vain; no one ever departed dissatisfied from his presence. He was often heard to say, that whoever was allowed to approach his prince, ought to receive some favour or other at his hands; that it was incumbent upon the prince to make it his chief study to content all who applied to him: hence to those, against whom justice obliged him to pronounce in the judging of causes, he usually gave large sums, or by some other means made good the losses they sustained; so that his generosity was no less extolled and commended by those who lost their suit, than his justice was by such as carried it. Thus far *Eusebius* (3).

(H) The reader will find in *Du Cange* a list of the authors

(8) *Baron. ann.* 324. *Anast. c.* 34. p. 15.
(1) *Idem*, p. 72. (2) *Ibidem* p. 11.
430. & *l. iv. c. 4.* p. 528.

(9) *Foll.* 18. *Feb.* p. 69.
(3) *Euseb. l. i. c.* 43. p. 429.

DURING the war between *Constantine* and *Maxentius* in the west, *Maximin*, who had enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the east

who have written on this subject (4). *Constantine* having reduced the time, which the *Romans* were obliged to serve, to fifteen years, says *Baronius*, he was consequently obliged every fifteen years, to impose, or *indicare*, according to the *Latin* expression, an extraordinary tax for the paying of those who were discharged; and hence came this new cycle, which, from the *Latin* word *indicare*, was styled *indiction* (5). The opinion of *Baronius*, tho' in reality a bare conjecture, seems to *Petavius* more probable than any thing that has been said by others on the same subject (6); for we know nothing for certain touching the origin, name, or author of this cycle. There are three kinds of indictions, to wit, the *Cæsarean* or *imperial* indictions, which begin on the twenty-fourth of *September*, and were long made use of in *France* and *Germany* (7); the *Constantinopolitan* indictions, beginning with the year of the *Greeks*, on the first day of *September*; and the *papal* indictions, or indictions of the *popes*, who, some centuries since, reckon from the first of *January* of the year 313. *Petavius* seems to think, that the *Constantinopolitan* indiction was generally used among the *Greeks* as early as the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, and perhaps of *Theodosius* the younger; nay, he is inclined to believe, that the indiction ori-

ginally began on the first of *September* (8). And truly, from various passages of the history of the fifth century, it appears, that the emperors of *Constantinople* followed this stile, and that it prevailed all over *Syria*, and even at *Rome* (9). Some have reckoned the indictions from the year 314. or from *September* of the year 313. but *Petavius* (1), and cardinal *Noris* (2), shew, that we ought to count them from the month of *September* of 312. tho' we have no certain proof, that they first began then; for some pretend, that they were in use in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, or *Augustus* (3); which we can hardly believe, since no mention is made of indictions by any author who flourished before the reign of *Constantine*. The first thing we find dated by them is the council of *Antioch*, held, as we read in *Atbanasius* (4), if that passage is genuine, which *Petavius* questions (5), in the year 341. and in the fourteenth indiction. However, it is certain, that *St. Ambrose* mentions the indiction in a letter of the year 386. and observes, that it began in the month of *November* (6). From that time forward it is common in the code, where mention is made of the indiction of the year 367. and in other monuments both of sacred and profane history; but the indictions, as cardinal *Noris* observes, are seldom marked right

(4) Vide *chron. paschale*, seu *Alexandrin.* ex edit. *Cangiana*, *Parisi.* ann. 1688.

(5) *Baron.* ann. 312. (6) *Petav. de Æt. temp.* l. xi. c. 40. p. 365. (7) Vide

Joban. Forbes, instit. historico-theologic. l. v. c. 20. p. 268. & *P. Pagi*, ann. 312.

(8) *Petav.* p. 564. (9) *Noris, epoch.* p. 340--342. (1) *Petav.* p. 363.

(2) *Noris, ibid.* (3) Vide *Petav.* c. 39. p. 360--362. & *Noris, epoch.* p. 169.

171. (4) *Atban. de syn.* p. 894. (5) *Petav.* p. 363. (6) *Idem*, p. 364.

(7).

cast ever since his agreement with *Licinius*, began anew the persecution, which the edict of *Gabrielus*, in favour of the *Chri-* *Maximin*
stians, had obliged him to interrupt for some time. In a re- *persecutes*
script addressed to the inhabitants of *Tyre*, he had bragged of *the Chri-*
the happiness of his reign, which, he said, had never been in- *stians*.
terrupted or disturbed by wars, storms, dearth of provisions,
contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils
that afflicted other parts of the empire, he ascribed to the great
care he took in promoting the worship of the gods, and per-
secuting with fire and sword their enemies the *Christians*ⁿ. But
Providence did not fail to humble his pride, and punish, in a
very remarkable manner, his cruelty to those who deserved it
the least. For the very next winter proving exceeding dry, the *His domi-*
drought produced a famine when no-wise expected, and the *nions as-*
famine a dreadful plague, attended with nauseous sores, which *sifted*
breaking out in the face, and especially about the eyes, deprived *with many*
of sight an infinite number of men, women, and children. This *dreadful*
Eusebius, with a great deal of reason, looks upon as a punishment *calamities*.
from Heaven upon *Maximin*, who sparing, out of his great
mercy, to use his expression, the lives of several *Christians*,
caused their right eyes to be put out, in order to distinguish them
by that mark of infamy from his other subjects^o. To the famine
and plague that ravaged the dominions of *Maximin* with a fury
hardly to be expressed, was added a destructive war. For the
tyrant, attempting to oblige the *Armenians*, who had embraced
the true religion, to offer victims to his false deities, forced
them to take arms in their own defence, and, from antient friends
and allies, to become enemies of the *Roman* people and empire^p.
This must be understood of *Armenia Major*; for the people of
Armenia Minor were not allies, but subjects of the empire. This

ⁿ EUSEB. l. ix. c. 7. p. 353, 354. ^o Idem ibid. ^p Idem,
p. 355.

(7). *Onuphrius* quotes a book on the indictions, by one *Clyrius Fortunatianus*, whom he takes to be the bishop of *Aquileia* of that name, so famous in the time of *Constantine's* children (8). But *Petavius* thinks there never was any such book; and likewise rejects, as quite groundless, the opinion of those who tell us, that the council of *Nice* commanded all bishops to mark the indiction

in their letters (9). He even suspects the council of *Rome*, said to have been held under pope *Julius*, and dated the sixth indiction (1). The reader must observe, that the first year of this cycle is called the first indiction; the second year, the second indiction, and so of the rest, till the fifteenth; after which, the cycle is begun anew, and the years counted in the same manner.

(7) *Noris*, epoch. p. 342.
(1) *Concil. tom. ii. p. 527.*

(8) *Onupb.* p. 265.

(9) *Petau.* p. 365.

is the first instance we find in history of a religious war, or a war for the sake of religion. As to the issue of it, we are only told, that, in the course of this war, *Maximin*, and his army, suffered much, our historian being wholly taken up in describing the inexpressible miseries that attended the plague, and the famine, in all the provinces subject to *Maximin*, and the charitable conduct of the *Christians* towards their greatest enemies, during the time of their distresses. *Maximin* was obliged, as we have related above, by the decree of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, to put a stop to the persecution this year, not daring yet openly to oppose them.

Constantine married his sister Constantia to Licinius.

THE next consuls were *Constantine* and *Licinius*, both for the third time. The former did not, it seems, stay at *Rome* above two months, as appears from a law which he published at *Milan*, dated the tenth of *March*^r. He was met in that city by *Licinius*, and there he married to him his sister *Constantia*, whom he had betrothed to him before his war with *Maxentius*^a. They both wrote to *Dioctesian*, inviting him to assist at that solemnity; but he begging to be excused on account of his age, they highly resented it, and sent him a second letter, filled with menaces, which hastened his death; for he died soon after, in the month of *July* of this year 313^t. The two emperors, in this interview, enacted an edict in favour of the *Christians*, which is related at length by *Eusebius*^u. *Constantine* was soon obliged to leave *Milan*, and hasten into *Gaul* to make head against the *Franks*, who, forgetful of the treaty which they had made with him a few years before, were assembling their forces with a design to invade the *Roman* dominions. The emperor arrived while they were preparing to pass the *Rhine*; but finding they withdrew, awed by his presence, he gave out, that the *Germans* too were ready to break into *Gaul*; and leaving some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, retired with the rest. The *Franks* no sooner heard of his departure, than they passed the *Rhine*; when the *Romans*, rising unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the river in the utmost confusion. *Constantine*, not allowing them time to recover themselves from their consternation, entered their country, laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken an incredible number of captives, exposed them all to be devoured by the wild beasts in the shews, which he exhibited on account of

On account of the Franks

^a EUSEB. l. ix. p. 353--357.

^r Cod. Theodof. t. 5. p. 114.

^t LACT. perf. c. 45. p. 38. VICT. epit. p. 545. ZOS. l. ii. p. 677. ANONYM. p. 473.

^u VICT. epit. p. 542.

^u EUSEB. l. x. c. 5. p. 388.

his victory ^v (I). For this victory he took the title of *Franciscus* ^x. *Constantine* was, as appears from the date of several laws ^y, in the months of *November* and *December* of this year, at *Treves*; during which time the panegyric of the anonymous writer is thought to have been pronounced ^z, in which the orator extols the victory, which he had lately gained over *Maxentius*; and in the end of his speech addresses himself to the *great and only true God*; but at the same time plainly shews, that he had not yet wholly renounced the superstitious ceremonies of the gentiles. He observes, that certain barbarians, who inhabited a distant country, had submitted to *Constantine*; but as to this particular, there is a profound silence among historians.

THIS year *Constantine* granted great privileges to catholic churches in *Africa*, which province had submitted to him upon the news of the death of *Maxentius*. In a rescript addressed to *Anulinus*, whom he had appointed proconsul of *Africa*, he commands him to exempt the clergy belonging to the catholic church there, of which *Cæcilianus*, bishop of *Carthage*, was the head, from all civil employments, that they might not be diverted from the sacred functions of their office. Nothing, says he in that rescript, speaking of the clergy, will more contribute to the welfare of the state, than their applying themselves wholly to the worship of God ^a. This ordinance was notified by *Anulinus* to *Cæcilianus*, as appears from his answer to *Constantine*, dated the fifteenth of *April* of this year 313 ^b. As this exemption was granted only to the catholic clergy, the heretics, probably the *Donatists*, attempted to disturb them in the enjoyment of it; which obliged *Constantine* to confirm the privileges he had granted them by a new edict, dated the twenty-first of *October* of this year (K).

WHEN

^v VALES. REF. FRANC. l. i. p. 23. ^x Idem, p. 25. ^y Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 7. ^z Panegyri. 6. ^a EUSEB. l. XX. c. 6. p. 392. ^b Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 21.

(I) This severity towards a perfidious and faithless enemy, whom no ties could bind, is commended by his panegyrist; but whether it answers the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which all the writers of those times give him, is what we leave our readers to judge. Cruelty, even towards an enemy, however treacherous, was not, at least,

countenanced by the religion which he professed.

(K) His exempting the clergy thus far from the public offices in the cities, proved very burdensome to the other inhabitants, and many entered themselves among them on purpose to enjoy that privilege: the emperor therefore, by another edict, put a stop to the increase of the clergy, ordaining, that none should be admitted

WHEN *Constantine* left *Milan* to oppose the *Franks*, threatening to invade *Gaul*, *Licinius* returned to *Illyricum*, where he

admitted among them but to supply the places of others deceased; and that those, who were admitted, should be persons not qualified by their birth or wealth for the first and most chargeable employments. In virtue of this edict, several cities attempted to oblige such of the clergy as were qualified for those offices to discharge them, tho' they had been ordained before it was enacted; which *Constantine* prohibited by a rescript, dated the eighteenth of *July* of the year 320. But after all, his forbidding persons of rank and estates to enter themselves among the clergy, in order to ease the laymen, was afterwards looked upon by other emperors, some say by *Constantine* himself, as an affront and injury offered to the church; and therefore that edict was annulled, and persons of the highest rank were allowed to enter into holy orders, but upon condition of their resigning to others, either their whole estates, or the greatest part of them; which was deemed suitable to that disinterestedness which the church requires in her ministers (2). Some writers are of opinion, that *Constantine* at the same time exempted the church-lands from all taxes and burdens whatsoever, there being mention made of this immunity, as already established, in a law of the year 315. but others pretend this law to be of a later date, and ascribe the above-mentioned exemption to *Constantius*, the son of *Constantine* (3). We have a letter written this year by *Constantine* to *Cæcilianus*, bishop of

Carthage, acquainting him, that he designed to put into the hands of the ministers of the catholic church a considerable sum, to be distributed by them among the indigent *Christians* in *Africa*, *Nu-midia*, and *Mauritania*; and that with this design he had ordered *Ursus*, his receiver in *Africa*, to pay to him a certain sum, to be distributed according to the tickets which he should receive from *Osus*: he adds, that if the sum he mentions was not by him thought sufficient, he might recur to *Heracles*, another of his receivers, whom he had enjoined to supply him with what moneys he wanted for so pious a use (4). *Osus*, mentioned in this letter, is, without all doubt, the great *Osus*, bishop of *Corduba*, to whose counsels *Constantine* ever paid the utmost regard in whatever related to the affairs of the church. In the same letter he acquaints *Cæcilianus*, that, by word of mouth, he had ordered *Anulinus*, proconsul of *Africa*, and *Patricius*, lieutenant in that province, to check and suppress those who disturbed the peace of the catholic church there, meaning, we suppose, the *Donatists*, who had formed a powerful party against *Cæcilianus* himself. Not satisfied with the orders he had given to his officers, in order to put an end to the disturbances raised by those obstinate schismatics, and maintain the unity of the church, he assembled on the second of *October* of this year, a council at *Rome*; and another, far more famous, the year following, at *Arles* in *Gaul* (5).

(2) *Cod. Theod.* l. 6. p. 23, &c. (3) *Cod. Theod.* l. x. c. 6. p. 393.

(5) *Idem ibid.*

(4) *Cod. Theod.* l. x. c. 6. p. 393.

(5) *Idem ibid.*

was soon after attacked by *Maximin*, who, taking umbrage at *War be-*
 his marrying the sister of *Constantine*, and jealous of the good *tween Li-*
 understanding that passed between those two princes, resolved *cinus and*
 to destroy them, and to begin with *Licinius*, whose ruin he *Maximin.*
 hoped to compass, while the other was employed in *Gaul* against
 the *Franks* and *Germans*. With this view, he assembled in
 great haste his forces; and leaving *Syria*, marched in the depth
 of the winter into *Bithynia*; and from thence passing into
Thrace, laid siege to *Byzantium*, which, after having held out
 eleven days, was obliged to submit. He attacked *Haraclea*
 next, which made a vigorous defence, but was in the end taken
 by storm. In the mean time, *Licinius*, having drawn together
 what forces he could, took the field, not with a design to venture
 an engagement (for he had with him only thirty thousand men,
 whereas *Maximin's* army was twice that number), but to stop the
 progress of his conquests. However, the two armies meeting
 between *Haraclea* and *Adrianopolis*, *Licinius*, if we may give
 credit to *Lactantius*^c, was admonished in a dream to give the *Licinius's*
 enemy battle, and assured of victory, provided he implored the *dream or*
 assistance of the true God by a prayer which was suggested to *vision.*
 him in his sleep. *Licinius* remembered it when he awaked,
 dictated it to his secretary, and caused many copies of it to be
 distributed among his soldiers, whom he took care to acquaint
 with his dream; which inspired them with new courage, and
 an eager desire of engaging the enemy, over whom they prom-
 ised themselves certain victory, since Heaven had declared in
 their favour. This prayer is related at length by *Lactantius*^d.
Licinius designed to give battle on the first of *May*, the day on
 which *Maximin* ended the eighth year of his reign. But *Maximin*
 having drawn up his army in battle-array on the last day of
April, *Licinius* could no longer put off the engagement.*

WHEN the two armies were in presence of one another,
 the officers and soldiers of *Licinius*, quitting their shields and
 helmets, with their hands lifted up to heaven, repeated three
 times the above-mentioned prayer. Afterwards the two princes
 had an interview; but *Maximin* hearkening to no terms, they
 parted, and ordered the signal for battle to be given^e. *Zosimus* *He gains*
 writes, that *Licinius's* men at first gave ground, and retired; *a complete*
 but soon after returned to the charge, and carried the day^f. *victory*
 But *Lactantius*^g and *Eusebius*^h tell us, that the army of *Maxi-* *over Ma-*
min was put to flight at the very first onset, and pursued with *ximin.*
 great slaughter by the conqueror. Most of his troops, especially
 the legions, were cut in pieces, and the rest, his guards not

* LACT. perf. c. 46. p. 39.
 ibid. f Zos. l. ii. p. 677.
 l. ix. c. 10. p. 363.

d Idem ibid. p. 40.
 e LACT. p. 41.

* Idem
 h EUSEB.

excepted, abandoning him, submitted to *Licinius*. *Maximin* himself, quitting his purple robes, fled in the disguise of a slave; and crossing the *Bosporus*, reached *Nicomedia* on the first of *May* about sun-set, having in the space of twenty-four hours traveled an hundred and sixty miles. He did not stop at *Nicomedia*; but taking with him his wife and children, continued his flight into *Cappadacia*, where he halted, and resumed the purple, being met there by some troops that were marching from *Syria* to his assistance¹.

Licinius
becomes
master of
all *Bithy-*
nia.

LICINIUS entering *Bithynia* a few days after the battle, was received every-where with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, especially at *Nicomedia*, where he caused solemn thanks to be returned to the Almighty for the success with which he had blessed his arms; and then ordered the edict, which had been enacted by him and *Constantine* at *Milan*, in favour of the *Christians*, to be published; which was done accordingly on the last day of *June* of this year, 313. that is, about ten years and four months after the edict, which gave rise to this long and bloody persecution, had been first published in the same city, by *Dioclesian* and *Galerius*^k. *Licinius* had no sooner put a stop to the persecution by this edict, than he left *Nicomedia*, and pursuing *Maximin*, arrived at the streights of mount *Taurus*, where he had resolved to make a stand; but his courage failing him at the approach of the victorious army, he retired with great precipitation to *Tarsus*, proposing to pass from thence into *Egypt*, and raise a new army there. But distrusting the troops he had with him, and apprehending they designed to deliver him up to *Licinius*, he altered his mind, and resolved, since he found no means of making his escape, to put an end to his life with poison; which however had not the desired effect, but brought upon him a dreadful distemper, whereof the unaccountable symptoms are described at length by *Eusebius*^l and *Lactantius*^m, who ascribe it to divine vengeance (L). At length it put an

The un-
account-
able dis-
temper of
Maximin.

¹ EUSEB. LACT. Zos. ibid.

^k LACT. perf. c. 48. p. 41.

^l EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 361.

^m LACT. perf. c. 49. p. 43.

(L) He was tormented night and day with inexpressible pains; his eyes and tongue putrefied, a punishment justly inflicted upon him for the blasphemies he had uttered against Heaven, and his causing the eyes of many *Christians* to be put out; an invisible

fire, to use the expression of *Eusebius* (6), was kindled in his bowels, which, being attended with unrelenting torments, reduced him in a few days to a skeleton; his whole body was covered over with a kind of leprosy, and devoured by swarms

an end to his life at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, about the middle of *Augustus*, after he had reigned nine years with the title of *Cæsar*, and five years and six months with that of *Augustus*^a. He left several children behind him, whom he had created *Cæsars*, as appears from several antient coins^o; but their names are not mentioned by historians.

By his death, *Licinius* became master of all the eastern provinces; so that the whole empire was now divided between him and *Constantine*. *Maximin* was declared by the edicts of the two surviving princes a public enemy, and treated as such; for his statues were pulled down, his images defaced, his name rased out of all public inscriptions, and such monuments as had been erected to his honour, overturned, and leveled with the ground. His children and relations were sentenced to death, and publicly executed; his wife was thrown into the *Orontes* at *Antioch*, and drowned; all his ministers and favourites were involved in his ruin, and among the rest *Culcianus*, who had put a great number of *Christians* to death in *Egypt*; *Firmilianus*, who had signalized his hatred against them in *Palæstine*; and *Peuceces*, whom the tyrant had favoured above the rest, and created three times consul. *Licinius* caused likewise a celebrated magician, by name *Theotechnes*, and all his associates, to be publicly executed at *Antioch*, after having obliged them to discover and own the impostures, with which they had led astray the ignorant populace, and stirred them up against the *Christians*^p. *Candidianus*, the son of *Galerius*, being introduced to *Licinius* at *Nicomedia*, was received by him with great demonstrations of kindness, and treated for some time in a manner suitable to his rank; but when he thought himself safe, he was, by the order of *Licinius*, murdered with *Severianus*, the son of *Severus*, killed, as we have related above, in the year 307. *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian*, and widow of *Galerius*, who had adopted *Candidianus*, was no sooner informed of his death, than she withdrew from

^a Chron. Alex. p. 456.

^o NORIS de Licin. c. 2. p. 48.

^p EUSEB. l. ix. c. 11. p. 366, 367. & de Pall. c. 18. p. 342.

of vermin: he could not be prevailed upon to take any nourishment, but greedily swallowed handfuls of earth, as if he had hoped by that means to assuage his pains, and allay the hunger, which tormented him without intermission (7). *Eusebius* tells us, that, reflecting in this condition

on his unjust conduct towards the *Christians*, and ascribing the agonies he suffered to his cruelty towards them, he caused an edict to be published, more favourable to them than that which he had been forced by *Constantine* and *Licinius* to enact the year before.

(7) *Euseb.* p. 365. *Lact.* p. 44. *Hier.* in *Zachar.* xiv. ver. 12.

The death
of Valeria
and Prisca.

Antioch with her mother *Prisca*, and wandered about in disguise and undiscovered for the space of fifteen months; but being at last known at *Thessalonica*, she was seized there, and by *Licinius's* order publicly executed with her mother, and both their bodies thrown into the sea⁹. Thus were the families of these three cruel persecutors of the church, *Dioclesian*, *Galerius*, and *Maximin*, utterly cut off and exterminated (M).

War be-
tween
Constantine and
Licinius.

THE next consuls were *Rufius Volusianus* the second time, and *Annianus*. *Constantine* passed the first months of this year at *Treves*, as appears from the dates of several laws^r. By one, which was published at *Rome* on the twenty-fourth of *April*, he declared all those free, who had been condemned to slavery by *Maxentius*, commanding, under the severest penalties, such as held them in captivity to restore them forthwith to their ancient liberty^s. From *Treves* the emperor passed to *Arles*, where he ordered a general council of all the bishops of the West to meet, in order to suppress the *Donatists*, who raised great disturbances in the church. The letter he wrote to the council is a manifest proof of his piety, of his respect for the clergy, and his zeal for the unity of the church^t. He was obliged to leave *Gaul* before the bishops met, a war breaking out this year between him and *Licinius*, of which historians give us but a confused account, some blaming *Licinius* as the author of it, and others *Constantine*. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, lays the whole blame on *Licinius*. According to him, *Constantine* had married his sister *Anastasia* to *Bassianus*, whom he designed to create *Cæsar*, and appoint governor of *Italy*; but not caring to take this step without the approbation of *Licinius*, he dispatched one *Constantius* to acquaint him with his design, and obtain his consent. But having discovered at the same time, that *Licinius* attempted to stir up *Bassianus* against him by means of *Senecio*, the brother of *Bassianus*, he wrote a letter to *Licinius*, upbraiding

⁹ EUSEB. c. 50, 51. p. 44, 45.

^r Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 8, 9. ^s Cod. Just. 7. tit. 22. leg. 3. p. 665. ^t Concil. rom. i. p. 1431.

(M) *Zosimus* tells us (8), that the secular games ought to have been celebrated at *Rome* this year, but were neglected by *Constantine*; which was noways pleasing to the pagans, who looked upon them as one of the chief supports of the empire, and a powerful

preservative against plagues, wars, earthquakes, and other calamities, tho' the last, celebrated by *Severus* an hundred and ten years before in the consulate of *Chilo* and *Libo*, had not, as we have seen, kept off these evils.

him with treachery, and insisting upon his delivering up to him *Senecio*, who had taken refuge in his court.

LICINIUS was so far from complying with his request, that resisting the letter he had written to him, he caused his statues to be pulled down in *Æmona*, a city of *Upper Pannonia*. Hereupon *Constantine*, having drawn together in great haste a body of twenty thousand men, marched into *Illyricum*, hoping to surprise *Licinius*. But he found him already in the field, with an army far more numerous than his own. However, he advanced into *Pannonia*; and the two armies meeting in the neighbourhood of *Cibale*, an engagement ensued, in which *Licinius* was utterly defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand of his best troops. It appears from *Zosimus*, who relates the most minute particulars of this battle, that it was fought on the eighth of October 314^u. *Licinius* fled to *Sirmium*, and from thence, with his wife, his children, and treasures, into *Dacia*, where he raised to the dignity of *Cæsar* one of his officers, by name *Valens*. From *Dacia* he passed into *Thrace*, and there assembled a second army, far more numerous and powerful than the former. In the mean time, *Constantine* made himself master of *Cibale* and *Sirmium*; and having caused the bridge over the *Save* to be repaired, which *Licinius* had ordered to be broken down, he pursued the enemy into *Thrace*. Upon his arrival at *Philippopolis*, he was met by a deputation from *Licinius*, with proposals for an accommodation; but *Constantine* insisting upon his deposing *Valens*, and *Licinius* obstinately refusing to comply with that article, a second battle was fought in the plains of *Mardia* and in *Thrace*, which lasted from morning to night, when both armies retired, according to *Zosimus*, without any considerable advantage on either side^w. *Aurelius Victor*^x, and the anonymous author of *Constantine's* life^y, write, that *Constantine* would have gained a complete victory, had not night intervening saved *Licinius's* army from utter destruction.

THE next day *Licinius* sent one *Mestrianus*, who is styled *comes* or *count* to *Constantine*, to negotiate a peace, which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That *Valens* should be forthwith deposed, and reduced to his former condition. 2. That *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Asia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and the lesser *Scythia*, should remain in the possession of *Licinius*; but that *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Mæsia*, should be yielded to *Constantine*^z. *Mæsia* is named in both divisions, there being then two provinces of that name,

^u Anonym. p. 473. Zos. l. i. p. 678. EUTROP. p. 588. EUS-
SEB. p. 210. VICT. epit. p. 543. ^w Zos. p. 679. ^x AUREL.

VICT. p. 526. ^y Anonym. p. 474 ^z Idem ibid. SOZOM.
l. i. c. 2. p. 403. Zos. p. 779

the one, known at present by the name of *Servia*, belonging to *Illyricum*, and the other, now *Bulgaria*, to *Thrace*. Peace being thus concluded, the two emperors entered the following year, 315. on their fourth consulship. *Constantine*, as appears from the dates of several laws, passed the best part of this year in *Illyricum* and *Greece*, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty (N). From *Illyricum* *Constantine* went to *Aquileia*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he was, on the twenty-fifth of *August*, and the thirteenth of *September*, as appears from a law addressed to *Probinus*, or rather *Probianus*, proconsul of *Africa*, and from an edict addressed to the people of *Rome*^a. On the eighteenth of *October*, he was at *Naissus* in *Dacia*; for the law bears that date, which he published there, forbidding, under pain of being burnt alive, the *Jews*, and their patriarchs, to molest such as should abandon their sect to embrace the true religion, and inflicting severe punishments on those who should embrace the *Jewish* religion^b. *Constantine* passed almost the whole year ensuing, when *Sabinus* and *Rufinus* were consuls, in *Gaul*; for on the eleventh of *January* he was at *Treves*, on the fourteenth of *May* at *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, and on the thirteenth of *August* at *Arles*, where his wife *Fausta* was delivered of a son, whom some take to be *Constantine* his eldest son, and others to

Fausta delivered of a son at *Arles*.

^a Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 10.
8. leg. 1. p. 214.

^b Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit.

(N) By one of these laws, dated the first of *August*, he forbids the crucifying of criminals, and intirely abolishes that sort of punishment, tho' common among the *Romans* till his time, especially with respect to slaves. This prohibition is generally looked upon by the fathers as an instance of his respect for the cross and passion of our Saviour (9). By another law, enacted at *Naissus* on the thirteenth of *May*, he commands the officers of the revenue to receive and educate at his expense such children as shall be brought to them by their parents, as not being in a condition to provide for them by their own

labour and industry (1). He ordered this law to be engraved on brass, and to be publicly hung up in all the cities of *Italy*. In the year 322. he extended it to *Africa*, injoining the proconsuls, governors, and receivers of the revenue there, to supply with corn out of the public granaries such parents as they shall find incapable of maintaining their children. By a third law published this year at *Sirmium*, and dated the second of *June*, he forbids, on pain of death, the attaching for debt either slaves or cattle employed in tilling the ground (2).

(9) *Vale August. form.* SS. c. 9. p. 47.
p. 183.

(1) *Cod. Theod.* 11. t. 27. l. i.
(2) *Cod. Theodof.* l. i. p. 224, 225.

be his youngest son *Constant* (O). In the month of *October* of this year, the emperor was at *Milan*, and there heard the complaints of the *Donatists* against *Cæcilianus* bishop of *Carthage*^c; and on the fourth of *December* at *Sardica*, where he enacted a law, commanding persons even of the greatest distinction, when guilty of rapes, extortions, or other crimes of that nature, to be tried by the governors of the provinces, and executed, without being allowed to appeal to the governor of *Rome*, or the emperor^d. This severity was judged necessary to check the insolence of the nobility, who began to oppress the people in a most tyrannical manner, especially in the remote provinces.

THE following year, 317. when *Gallicanus* and *Bassus* were consuls, *Constantine* and *Licinius* agreed to create three *Cæsars*, to wit, *Crispus* and *Constantine*, the sons of the emperor *Constantine*, and *Licinius*^e or *Licinianus*, the son of *Licinius* by *Constantia*, the sister of *Constantine*. This promotion was made, according to the best chronologers, on the first of *March*, and was afterwards notified to the armies, and published in all the cities of the empire^f. The son of *Licinius* is styled on the ancient coins *Valerius Licinianus Licinius*, and also *Licinius the younger*^g, and was but an infant, about twenty months old, when raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*^h. *Crispus*, *Constantine's* son by his first wife, was born, according to some, in the year 300. according to others in 296. so that he was at this time in the seventeenth or twenty-first year of his ageⁱ. *Constantine* had committed the care of his education to the celebrated *Lactantius*, a person equally capable of instructing him in the sciences,

^c Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 13. ^d Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3. 4. ^e Anonym. p. 474. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. Hier. chron. LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 111. ^f GOLTZ. p. 130. NORIS de Licin. c. 1. p. 39, 40. ^g VICT. epit. p. 543. ^h Zos. p. 679. Panegy. 7. p. 177.

(O) This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the eighth of *June*, and addressed to a bishop, by name *Protogenes*, probably the celebrated bishop of *Sardica*, by which he gave leave to all masters to enfranchise their slaves in the presence of the *Christian* people assembled with their bishops or pastors in the church, without recurring, as was pre-

scribed by the *Roman* laws, to the prætors and consuls. Thus the manumitting of slaves, which before was attended with great difficulties, and no small expence, became easy and no-ways chargeable, the masters being no longer obliged to recur to the prætors and consuls at *Rome*, but only to their own bishops and clergy (3).

(3) Cod. Just. l. i. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 111. Socrus. l. i. c. 9. p. 414.

Constantinus
born.

and inspiring him with sentiments of piety. *Eusebius* styles him an excellent prince, a prince beloved of Heaven, a son in no respect inferior to his father^l. He is called in the antient inscriptions *Flavius Valerius Julius Crispus*^k. This year was born, according to the common opinion, on the seventh, or as others will have it, on the thirteenth of *August* in *Illyricum*, and according to some in the city of *Sirmium*, *Constantius*, *Constantine's* second son, by *Fausta*, the sister of *Maxentius*^l. *Constantine* passed the following year, when *Licinius* was consul the fifth time with *Crispus*, partly in *Illyricum*, and partly in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and revived the antient *Roman* law against parricides, which had been abrogated by *Pompey the Great*, comprehending under the name of parricide the murder, not only of a father and mother, but likewise of a son^m.

Laws
against the
aruspices.

THE next consuls were, *Constantine* the fifth time, and *Licinius Cæsar*. *Constantine* passed this and the three following years in *Illyricum*; and by several laws enacted there, and addressed to the governors of *Rome*, and to the *Roman* people, endeavoured to reform the many abuses which had long prevailed in the metropolis of the empire. By one of these laws, published at *Rome* on the first of *February*, he gives the pagans leave to consult the aruspices, that is, those who pretended to foretell events from the entrails of victims; but forbids the aruspices, as well as the other pagan priests, to enter the houses of private persons, tho' their friends or relations, upon pain of being burnt alive: such as received them were by this law to forfeit their estates, and be banished for life; the informers were not to be punished in this, as in other cases, but amply rewarded for their zealⁿ. The end of this law was to prevent all private sacrifices and consultations. By another law, dated the seventeenth of *December*, he commands those, who shall consult the aruspices, or other diviners, to send their answers to him^o. The emperor continued this year at *Sirmium* till the twenty-second of *June*, as appears from the dates of his laws; was at *Naissus* on the fifteenth of *July*, at *Milan* on the seventh of *September*, at *Aquileia* on the twelfth of *October*, at *Sardica* on the twenty-sixth of *November*, and again at *Sirmium* on the first of *December*^p.

THE following year *Constantine* entered upon his sixth consulship, having his son *Constantine* for his colleague. This year

^l EUSEB. l. x. c. 9. p. 398. ^k GOLTZ. p. 129. ^l Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 13. DU CANGE Byzant. famil. p. 47. ^m Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 15. p. 112, 113. ⁿ Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 1. 2. p. 114, 115. ^o Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 257. ^p Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 16--27.

he abrogated the *Papian*, and all other laws against celibacy; Constantine but suffered those who had children to enjoy the privileges granted them by those laws¹. He annulled another law, empowering the creditors to seize on the estates and effects of their debtors; and at the same time declared, that such as had forfeited their estates by that law, might redeem them by paying the sums they owed². By a law dated the first of *February*, he forbids the officers of the revenue to punish with rods, or confine to the public prisons, such as were backward in paying the common taxes; but orders them to be secured in places where every one might see and visit them³. This law must have been unknown to *Zosimus*, who tells us, that rods, and all sorts of torments, were used by the officers of *Constantine* in exacting what was due to the exchequer⁴. Two other laws were enacted by *Constantine* this year, the one forbidding married men to keep concubines⁵, and the other commanding all judges to dispatch the causes of criminals, and the gaolers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them in open and wholesome places, and not to confine them, at least in the day-time, to dungeons: he declares such as shall by ill usage extort money from their prisoners, guilty of death; and threatens with his indignation the magistrates who shall wink at such disorders⁶. This year *Crispus* gained a victory over the *Franks*, the particulars of which are not mentioned in history: *Nazarius* in his panegyric only tells us, that he overcame the *Franks*, granted them a peace, and then returned to his father⁷.

THE following year, when *Crispus* and *Constantine*, the emperors two sons, were consuls, *Constantine* published an edict on the seventh of *March*, forbidding all manner of work on *Sunday* (P). The following year 322. *Petronius Probianus* and *Anicius Fulianus* being consuls, *Constantine* gained a great victory

¹ Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 413. EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 26. Cod. Theod. p. 643, 644. ² Idem, p. 251, 252. ³ Idem, p. 68, 69. ⁴ Zos. l. ii. p. 691. ⁵ Cod. Theodof. p. 70, 71. ⁶ Idem, p. 33. ⁷ Panegy. 7. p. 177. ⁸ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 18. p. 534. Cod. Just. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 250.

(P) *Sozomen* writes, that, out of respect to the cross, he likewise ordered *Fridays* to be kept holy (4). But of this edict no mention is made either by *Eusebius*, or any other historian. However, the authority of *Sozomen*, who lived at *Constantinople*, was by profession a pleader, and shews himself every-where thoroughly acquainted with the laws, is of great weight with us.

(4) *Sozom. l. i. c. 8. p. 412.*

Constantine defeats the Sarmatians;

over the *Sarmatians*^z. *Optatianus* writes, that they were overcome in several battles with the *Carpi* and the *Getae*, that is, the *Goths*^a. These battles were fought, according according to that writer, at *Campona*, *Marga*, and *Bonomia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube*, the first in *Pannonia* or *Valeria*, near the present city of *Buda*, and the other two in *Upper Mæsia*^b. *Raufmodes* king of the *Sarmatians* had, as we read in *Zosimus*^c, besieged a city, which he does not name; but *Constantine*, hastening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and having obliged those who had made their escape to repass the *Danube*, pursued them cross that river, defeated them a second time with great slaughter, their king being killed among the rest, and returned with an incredible number of captives. *Eusebius* does not speak of this victory in particular; but tells us in general terms, that Heaven rewarded with many victories over the different clans of barbarians the emperor's zeal for the propagation of the gospel^d. The *Sarmatian* games, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, probably took their rise from this victory^e.

and the
Goths.

War between
Constantine and
Licinius.

THE next consuls were *Severus* and *Rufinus*. *Constantine*, after his victory over the barbarians, marched with his army to *Theffalonica*; but while he was busied there in making a port, the *Goths*, notwithstanding their late defeat, entered *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, committing every where dreadful ravages. *Constantine* marched against them with incredible expedition; and having gained a complete victory over them, pursued them with great slaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly resenting, complained of it as an open breach of the treaties subsisting between them. *Constantine* endeavoured to appease him; but as *Licinius*, dissatisfied with the late partition of the empire, waited only a plausible pretence to break with *Constantine*, after several embassies and unsuccessful negotiations, both princes began to prepare for war. *Constantine* dispatched expresses into all the provinces, ordering his troops to hasten into *Illyricum*, and join him^f (Q). *Constantine* was still at *Sirmium*

^z Cod Theodof. chronol. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 680. ^a OPTAT. c. 23. ^b BAUD. ^c ZOS. l. ii. p. 680. ^d EUSEB. vit. Const. p. 431. ^e Cod. Theod. chron. p. 22. ^f Anonym. p. 474.

(Q) *Zosimus* writes, that his army was an hundred and thirty thousand men strong, and that he assembled at the port of *Athens* a fleet consisting of two thousand two hundred vessels of different rates and fizes; whereas *Licinius* had with him but an hundred and fifteen thousand men, and three hundred and fifty gallies (5).

on the twenty-fifth of *May*², and a few days after at *Thessalonica*, whence he marched into *Thrace*, and found *Licinius* encamped there on the banks of the *Hebrus*, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. The two armies continued some days encamped over-against each other, being parted by the river. *Constantine* was for laying a bridge cross the *Hebrus*; but in the mean time having discovered a ford at some distance, he passed it at first with twelve horsemen, who being followed by a few more, kept the enemy in play, till the whole army crossed the river. Both princes drew up their forces in battle-array, and prepared for the ensuing engagement, which was likely to prove decisive. *Eusebius* writes, that the author of the war, that is, *Licinius*, gave the signal for the onset, and that *Constantine*, having first with a fervent prayer invoked the Almighty, and given for the parole *God our Saviour*, ordered the cross, in which he confided more than in the number and bravery of his soldiers, to be displayed at the head of his army. His confidence, says the same writer, was not ill-grounded; for victory attended the royal banner where-ever it appeared^h. *Constantine's* men behaved with incredible bravery, animated by the example of their leader, who, though he exposed himself to the greatest dangers, escaped only with a slight wound in the thigh. But of the enemy thirty-three thousand were killed upon the spot, and the rest, though advantageously posted upon a rising ground, obliged to betake themselves to a precipitate and disorderly flight. *Licinius* escaped in the night, with what forces he could rally, to *Byzantium*; and the next morning such of his men as had remained in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, submitted to *Constantine*, who, transported with joy for so signal a victory, granted a discharge to many of his veteransⁱ. This memorable battle was fought on the third of *July* of this year 323 (R).

² Cod. Theod. p. 23.

^h EUSEB. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 3. & 6. p. 445, 447.

ⁱ EUSEB. ibid. Anonym. p. 475. Zos. l. ii. p. 681.

(R) *Enfilus* tells us, that *Licinius*, before the battle, retired to a neighbouring wood to sacrifice to his gods; and, when the ceremony was over, told those who attended him, that he had offered victims to the gods, whom both his and their ancestors had ever adored, but the enemy had forsaken, to embrace

a religion unknown to the *Romans*, whose standards he dishonoured with the ignominious sign of a cross. He added, that as *Constantine*, transported with a blind zeal for his new religion, had declared himself an enemy rather to the gods than to him, it was incumbent upon them to defend and protect him, that the

Licinius
intirely de-
feated at
Adria-
nople.
Year of
the flood
2763.
Of Christ
323.
Of Rome
1121.

And his
fleet by
Crispus
in the
streights
of Gal-
lipoli.

As *Licinius* had fled to *Byzantium*, *Constantine* pursued him thither without loss of time, ordering his fleet, commanded by his son *Crispus*, to repair to the same place. *Crispus* immediately put to sea, and sailing along the coasts of *Macedon* and *Thrace*, entered the streights of *Gallipoli*, where the enemy's fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, under the command of *Abantus*, or, as others call him, *Amandus*, waited for him. As the place was very narrow, *Crispus* thought it adviseable to engage him only with eighty of his best ships. Victory was long doubtful, both fleets fighting with great obstinacy and resolution; but in the end the enemy being incumbered by the great number of their ships running foul of one another in so narrow a place, were utterly defeated, with the loss of five thousand men, and one hundred and thirty ships. *Amandus*, the enemy's admiral, with the utmost difficulty saved himself ashore^k. *Zosimus*, who describes all the particulars of this battle, tells us, that even the winds fought for *Constantine*, in order to render the victory of the son by sea no less glorious than that of the father had been by land^l. *Crispus* himself hastened to his father with the joyful tidings of the total defeat of the enemy's fleet, and was by him received with the most tender expressions of paternal affection and esteem. *Constantine* had already laid siege to *Byzantium*, after having gained some new advantages over the enemy; but, before his fleet arrived, *Licinius* made his escape by sea, and taking with him the flower of his troops, and his treasures, passed the streights, and shut himself up in *Chalcedon*, with a design to raise a new army in *Asia*.

^k Zos. l. ii. p. 681, 682. Anonym. p. 475.

^l Idem ibid.

world might conclude from the success of the approaching engagement, how powerful were the gods of the *Roman* empire, how weak the unknown God adored by *Constantine*. "If we are overcome (continued he) we must despise those deities whom we now adore, and adore that Deity whom we now despise. But if our gods bless our endeavours with success, as I am confident they will, we must with an eternal war pursue their enemies, and utterly extirpate the *Christian*

"name." *Eusebius* tells us, that he learnt his speech, soon after the battle, of those who were with *Licinius* when he made it (6). *Sozomen* likewise writes, that *Licinius* had resolved, if his gods had granted him the victory, to pursue with fire and sword their enemies the *Christians*; and therefore that writer looks upon his defeat as a glaring instance to prove, that the *Christians* were, in a special manner, favoured by Heaven, and that their religion was not an human contrivance, but the work of the Almighty (7).

(6) *Euseb. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 5. p. 445, 446.*

(7) *Sozom. l. i. c. 7. p. 409.*

IN that city he preferred to the dignity of *Cæsar* one *M. Licinius Martinianus*, the chief officer of his household, and dispatched ^{creates M.} him with a considerable force to *Lampsacus*, to make head against *Martinianus* ^{Cæsar} *Constantine*, in case he attempted to enter the *Hellepont* ^{m.}. But *Constantine*, leaving *Byzantium*, embarked his troops, and crossing over into *Asia*, landed in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*; and finding *Licinius* encamped on a rising ground not far from that city with a numerous army, which he had drawn together with incredible expedition, he began to prepare for a second engagement. But in the mean time deputies arriving from *Licinius*, with proposals for an accommodation, *Constantine* hearkened to them with great joy, and complied with the terms they proposed, which were, says *Eusebius* ⁿ, no less advantageous to *Licinius*, than to the whole empire. But this agreement was short-lived; for *Constantine* being soon after informed, that *Licinius* was drawing together forces from all parts, and had even invited the barbarians to join him, advanced to *Chalcedon*, with a design to invest the place, and oblige *Licinius* to comply with the terms of their agreement. But as he approached *Chrysopolis*, the port of *Chalcedon*, he was there, to his great surprise, met by *Licinius* at the head of a very numerous army (S). *Constantine* drew up his men in battle-array; but, scrupling to break the treaty, waited till the signal was given by the enemy; which was no sooner done, than he fell upon them with such resolution and intrepidity, that, not able to withstand him, they immediately gave way, and fled in the utmost confusion. In this battle *Licinius* lost, according to the anonymous writer of *Constantine's* life, twenty-five thousand men ^o; but, according to *Zosimus*, above an hundred thousand ^p. It was fought on the eighteenth of *September*; and a few days after the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* opened their gates to the conqueror. *Licinius* fled, with what forces he could rally, to *Nicomedia*, whither *Constantine* pursued him, and immediately invested the place; but, on the second day of the siege, his sister *Constantia* intreating him with many tears, by the tenderness he had ever shewn for her, to forgive her husband, and grant him at least his life,

An agreement between *Licinius* and *Constantine*, which is broken by the former.

Licinius utterly defeated.

^m Zos. p. 683. Anonym. p. 475. ⁿ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 15. p. 451. ^o Anonym. p. 475. ^p Zos. l. ii. p. 683.

(S) *Zosimus* writes, that he had with him above an hundred and thirty thousand men, counting the troops commanded by *Martinianus*, whom he had ordered to leave *Lampsacus*, and join him (8).

(8) *Zos. l. ii. p. 683.*

he was prevailed upon to comply with her request; and the next day *Licinius*, finding no means of making his escape, presented himself before the conqueror, and throwing himself at his feet, yielded to him the purple, and the other ensigns of sovereignty. *Constantine* received him with great demonstrations of kindness, entertained him at his table, and afterwards sent him to *Thessalonica*, assuring him, that he should live unmolested, so long as he raised no new disturbances⁹. However, he was soon after strangled by *Constantine's* order, who on that account is highly blamed by *Zosimus* and *Aurelius Victor* (T). *Licinius* had been created emperor on the eleventh of November 307. and consequently had reigned near sixteen years (U). For this victory *Constantine*, and after him his son, and several of his successors,

He submits
to Con-
stantine.

He is by
his order
put to
death.

⁹ Zos. l. ii. p. 684. VICT. epit. p. 543.

(T) St. *Jerom* has copied the very words of the latter in his chronicle. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, tells us, that, the soldiers having demanded the death of *Licinius*, *Constantine* complied with their request, fearing he might, in imitation of *Maximian*, one day resume the empire. *Zonaras* writes, that upon the complaints brought against *Licinius* by the soldiery, *Constantine* referred the whole affair to the senate, who sentenced him to death (9). *Socrates* says in express terms, that *Licinius* began privately to make new preparations for war, and to invite the barbarians to his assistance; which *Constantine* no sooner knew, than he ordered him to be put to death, and by that means prevented a new civil war (1). *Constantine* caused all his statues to be pulled down, and by two laws, the one dated the sixteenth of May 324. the other the twelfth of February 325. annulled all his acts, and

repealed the laws which had been published by him, or his officers, in his name (2). As for *Martinianus*, *Zosimus* writes, that *Constantine* abandoned him to the fury of the soldiery (3), as soon as he fell into his power. But the anonymous writer and *Victor* the younger assure us, that *Constantine* at first granted him his life; but afterwards ordered him to be put to death, as having been privy to the designs of *Licinius* (4). All those who had prompted him to persecute the *Christians*, underwent the same fate (5), and among the rest his son *Licinius*, who was this year degraded from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and two years after, that is, in 325. according to St. *Jerom*, sentenced to death.

(U) We have not thought it necessary to take notice of the miracles, which *Zonaras* and *Nicephorus* have inserted in their account of the defeat of *Licinius*, as things not vouched by any antient writer.

(9) *Zonar. vit. Const. p. 4.*

(1) *Socrat. l. i. c. 4. p. 8.*

(2) *Cod. Theodos.*

l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 1. p. 404. 405.

(3) *Zos. p. 685.*

(4) *Anonym. p. 475.*

Vict. epit. p. 543.

(5) *Euseb. vit. Const. p. 452. Anonym. ibid.*

assumed

assumed the title of *Victorious*, which we find still prefixed to some of his letters^r. Not long after the defeat of *Licinius*, he preferred *Constans*, at that time his third son, and six years old, to the dignity of *Cæsar*.

CONSTANTINE, now master of all the eastern provinces, made it his chief study to establish there the worship of the true GOD, as he had already done in the west, and to abolish all remains of idolatry, which had been no less countenanced by *Licinius*, than the christian religion persecuted and oppressed. He began with two edicts, whereof both *Greek* and *Latin* copies were sent into all the provinces of the empire, signed with the emperor's own hand, and addressed, the one *To the churches of GOD*, the other, *To the people of each province*. By these edicts, Constantine reinstates in their former condition all, who, on account of their religion, had been condemned to exile, to the mines, or *orders what* any other punishment; orders their goods and estates to be *ever had* forthwith restored to them, or to their heirs; gives leave to *been taken* such as had been deprived of their military employments to *re-from the* resume them, if they pleased; and commands the officers of the *churches* revenue, as well as private persons, of what rank or condition *&c. to be* soever, to deliver up to the churches, upon the publication of *restored to* the edict, without waiting the sentence of the magistrates, *them*. what houses, tenements, gardens, orchards, &c. had ever belonged to them; but more especially the places where the holy martyrs had been interred. He threatens with his indignation, such as shall not yield immediate obedience to this ordinance, which, he says, comprises those too who may have purchased such lands, houses, &c. of the emperor, or received them as a present, or by way of reward for their past services. These, however, he encourages to depend upon his generosity; but requires of them, as well as of the rest, an immediate compliance with his edict^s. These ordinances were followed by *He enacts* others, forbidding the offering of sacrifices to idols, the consecrating of any new idol, and the consulting, either in public *several* or in private, the aruspices, soothsayers, oracles, &c. *edicts a-* *gainst the*

HE had no sooner caused these laws to be published, than he *every thing* enacted another, ordering the churches, which had been pulled *ing of* down during the persecution, to be rebuilt at his own expence, *idols*. injoining his receivers in the different provinces to furnish the necessary sums for that purpose; and those whom he appointed to oversee such buildings, to take care that they were capable of containing all the inhabitants; for we hope, added the pious emperor, that they will all embrace the faith of the true GOD. He wrote upon the same subject to all the metropolitan bishops,

^r EUSEB. vit. Const. p. 452. OPTAT. p. 284.
ibid. l. ii. c. 19—28. p. 453, 458.

^s EUSEB.

stiling them his *beloved brethren*, and among the rest to *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, who inserts his letter at large, and tells us, it was the first he had received from him¹. Not long after, he published an edict drawn up by himself, and addressed to all the people of the empire; wherein he exhorts them to renounce their antient superstition, to adore but one God, the Creator of the universe, and to place all their hopes in Jesus Christ. This edict is quoted at large by *Eusebius*, who translated it out of the original *Latin* into *Greek*². *Constantine*, not thinking it Orders the yet adviseable to pull down the temples of the idols, ordered temples to be shut up in all the places where that might be done be shut. without tumults and bloodshed; to be stripped of their riches and ornaments, and even of their idols; and all the lands, houses, and revenues belonging to them, to be applied to pious uses. In virtue of this ordinance, the *Pythian* and *Sminthian Apollo*, the tripod of *Delfos*, the *Muses* of *Helicon*, the famous *Pan*, whom all the cities of *Greece* had consecrated after the *Persian* war, and whatever mislaid antiquity had, for many ages revered and adored, were publicly dragged through the streets, and either dashed in pieces, or made use of as master-pieces of art to adorn the squares, villas, palaces, public galleries, &c.³. From the several laws enacted this and the following year 324. when the emperor's two sons, *Crispus* and *Constantine*, were consuls, it appears, that *Constantine* continued in the East, residing for the most part at *Nicomedia*.

THE next year, *Paulinus* and *Julianus* being consuls, the emperor, to put a stop to the disturbances and divisions that rent the church, assembled the famous council of *Nice*, at which he assisted in person, and afterwards condemned to banishment the refractory heresiarch *Arius*, with *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, and several others, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce his impious tenets. On the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year, the emperor solemnized, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, the twentieth year of his reign, and on that occasion made a great entertainment in his palace, to which he invited all the bishops of the council, treated them with the utmost respect, made them several presents, and caused large sums to be distributed among the poor, dispatching at the same time orders to all the governors of provinces to supply yearly the sacred virgins, widows, and ecclesiastics, in each city of their respective districts with a certain quantity of corn⁴. *Constantine* passed this year partly at *Nice*, partly at *Nicomedia*, as appears from the dates of several laws.

¹ EUSEB. vit. Const. l. ii. c. 44, 45. p. 464, 465.

ibid. c. 47, 48. p. 465, 466.

² Idem, p. 510, 511. SOZOM. p. 449.

³ EUSEB. p. 491. SOZ. p. 438.

By one published at *Nikomedia* on the seventeenth of *October*, and addressed to all the subjects of the empire, he encourages *He encourages* such as had been, or should be oppressed, or any ways injured, *rages all* by his ministers, counsellors, governors of provinces or cities, *his subjects* &c. to apply to him for redress, assuring them, that they *to recur* should be well received, and amply rewarded, for undeceiving *to him.* him, since he had employed none but such as he believed to be men of integrity. "But the best princes (adds he) are liable to be deceived and imposed upon by wicked ministers. If therefore those in whom I reposed an intire confidence, have deceived me by a false appearance of integrity, and injured the meanest of my subjects, let the person thus injured lay his complaints before me, and accuse me as the author of the injuries he has suffered, if I do not revenge them." In the beginning of *November*, he enacted another law, forbidding throughout the whole empire, the combats of gladiators, and ordering, that criminals, instead of being obliged to fight in the arena, should, for the future, be condemned to work in the mines ².

THE following year *Constantine* entered upon his seventh consulship, having his third son *Constans* for his colleague. The emperor passed the winter in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; for ~~he~~ was on the third of *February* at *Heraclea*, and on the fifteenth of *March* at *Sirmium*. From thence he went to *Milan*, and from *Milan* to *Rome*, where he was on the eighth of *July*; but he did not stay long there, being, as appears from the dates of several laws, in the beginning of *October* at *Spoletum*, on the twenty-third of the same month at *Milan*, and on the last day of *December* at *Sirmium* ^a (W). He left the city, highly dissatisfied with the disrespectful behaviour of the *Roman* people, and was never after prevailed upon to return to it ^b. But the most remarkable event of this year was the death of *Crispus*,

^y Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 25.

^z Cod. Theodof. tit. 5.

p. 397.

^a Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 28.

^b LIBAN.

orat. xv. p. 412.

(W) *Zosimus*, a declared enemy to *Constantine*, writes, that the whole *Roman* people loaded him with injuries and curses, for having abandoned the religion of his ancestors, and promoted, with great zeal, the worship of an unknown God; and adds, that the disrespect and

aversion which the *Romans* shewed him, prompted him to transfer the seat of the empire to *Byzantium* (6). *Libanius* tells us, that he bore with great patience the satires and lampoons that were daily published against him during his stay at *Rome*.

(6) *Zof. l. ii. p. 686.*

He puts
his son
Crispus to
death;

and like-
wise his
nephew
Licinius,
and his
wife Fau-
sta.

Constantine's eldest son. The empress *Fausta*, jealous of the great reputation he had acquired, and piqued to see him preferred to her own children, falsely accused him of having solicited her to incest. Some say, that she charged him with aspiring to the sovereignty. Be that as it will, *Constantine*, hearkening to the accusation, and not only forgetting on this occasion his usual clemency, but acting contrary to all laws of justice and equity, without examining an accusation of such importance, without giving the accused prince room to clear himself, ordered him to be put to death. Some write, that he was dispatched with poison; others, that by the emperor's orders his head was struck off. He was, according to the most probable opinion, executed at *Pola* in *Istria*, on the first of *March*, being then in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, had signalized himself in a very eminent manner against the *Franks*, and in the war with *Licinius*, and was universally beloved by the people and soldiery, on account of his bravery, his obliging behaviour to persons of all ranks, his generosity, and other princely qualities. He had in all likelihood embraced the christian religion, nay, and been baptized, according to *Baronius*; but the authority of *Nicephorus*, whom that writer quotes, is of no great weight with us.

THE death of *Crispus* was followed by that of young *Licinius*, *Constantine's* nephew, at that time in the twelfth year of his age^c. St. *Jerom* stiles these executions the effect of an unheard-of cruelty^d. *Fausta* did not long out-live her son-in-law; for, being this very year convicted of having accused him falsely, and moreover of having prostituted her honour to persons of the meanest rank, *Constantine* caused her to be suffocated with the steam of an hot bath^e. With *Fausta* many persons of distinction, supposed to have been accessory to her crimes, were condemned, and either privately dispatched with poison, or publicly executed^f (X).

THIS

^c Zos. l. ii. p. 685. *AUR. VICT.* p. 527. *AMMIAN.* l. xiv. p. 29. *EUTROP.* p. 588. ^d *HIER.* chron. ^e Zos. p. 685. *VICT.* epit. *PHILOSTORG.* hist. eccles. 470. *AMMIAN.* p. 56. *HIER.* chron. ^f *EUTROP.* p. 588.

(X) *Evagrius*, to excuse *Constantine*, denies all these facts (7); but they are too well attested, both by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians, to be denied, or even called in question. *Eusebius*, in his ecclesiastic history, which he published before the death of *Crispus*, bestows the highest encomiums upon that prince, and

THIS inexcusable cruelty and injustice in *Constantine* drew His cruelty down upon his family divine vengeance; for his brothers, his and in-nephews, and his favourite ministers, were soon after his justice death, all massacred by *Constantius*, his second son by *Fausta*, punished by whom he loved and cherished above the rest. *Constantine*, his eldest son, was killed by *Constans* the youngest, *Constans* by *Magnentius*, *Gallus* their cousin by *Constantius*, and *Constantius* by *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*. *Julian* perished in a most miserable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of *Constantine*, which, every one expected, would have furnished the empire with princes for many ages, the emperor having three brothers, four sons, several sisters and daughters, and nine nephews^g. *Constantine* seems to have passed the following year 327. when *Constantius* and *Maximus* were consuls, in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; for, on the twenty-seventh of February he was at *Thessalonica*, on the eighteenth of May at *Sardica*, and at *Heraclea* on the fifth of August. He probably passed the following winter at *Nicomedia*; for he was in that city on the first of March^h. This year *Constantine* granted the privileges of a city to the village of *Drepanum* in *Bithynia*, styling *Drepanit*, from the name of his mother, *Helenopolis*. This honour num^a he bestowed upon the place, out of respect to the holy martyr city. *Lucianus*, who had suffered under *Maximin* in the year 312. and was interred thereⁱ. About this time, the empress *Helena* is said to have discovered the sepulchre and cross of our Saviour, which induced *Constantine* to build at *Jerusalem* the famous church of the resurrection, which was consecrated in the year

^g JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 497, 498.

^h Cod. Theod. p. 29.

ⁱ HIER. chron. p. 662. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 18. p. 49.

tells us, that he had great share in the victory gained over *Licinius* (8); but, in the life of *Constantine*, he suppresses those encomiums, and though he describes at large that memorable victory, yet he does not so much as mention the name of *Crispus*. This silence is, in our opinion, a strong argument against *Eusebius*, who pretends the above-mentioned facts to have been feigned by the enemies of *Constantine*, because he does not find them in *Eusebius*; but, as

they are sufficiently attested by several other credible writers, we ought rather to infer from the silence of *Eusebius*, that he was well apprised nothing could be alleged to excuse *Constantine*, and therefore took no notice of those executions, choosing rather to incur the censure of having transgressed the known laws of history, than to take upon him the justifying of facts, which all the world but too justly condemned.

(8) *Euseb. l. x. c. 9. p. 398, 399.*

The em-press Helena dies. 335^k. The pious princeſs died ſoon after, in the arms of her ſon, who cauſed her body to be conveyed with great pomp to Rome, and to be interred in the burying-place of the emperors^l. To honour her memory, he gave the name of *Helenopolis* to a city of *Palæſtine*^m, and that of *Helenopontus* to a part of the *Euxine ſea*ⁿ; and cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to her honour at *Daphne* near *Antioch*. From this ſtatue, the ſtreet in which it ſtood took the name of *Auguſtal*^o.

The emperor recalls from baniſhment Arius and two Arian biſhops. THE following year, *Januarius* and *Juſtus* being conſuls, *Conſtantine* was, as we have hinted above, on the firſt of *March* at *Nicomedia*, and on the thirteenth of *July* at a place in *Mæſia* called *Oiſcos* and *Eſcos*^p; whence ſome conjecture, that he was waging war with the barbarians in thoſe parts: and indeed we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*^q, that this year the emperor paſſed the *Danube* ſeveral times, and that he even laid a bridge over that river (Y). According to the chronicle of *Alexandria*^r, he began this year the city of *Conſtantinople*; but, according to others, on the twenty-fixth of *September* of the following year 329. Notwithſtanding his zeal for the catholic faith, he recalled this year from baniſhment the two biſhops *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, great ſticklers for the doctrine of *Arius*, and ſuffered them to gain a great aſcendant over him. The next year, *Conſtantine* took upon him his eighth conſulſhip, having his eldeſt ſon, the fourth time conſul, for his colleague. He paſſed this whole year in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*; for, on the nineteenth of *June*, he was at *Sardica* in *Dacia*; on the twenty-ſecond of *July*, at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, at *Naiffus* in *Dardania*; on the third of *Auguſt*, at *Heraclea* in *Thrace*; on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and twenty-ninth of *September*, at *Sardica*; and on the twenty-fifth of *October* at *Heraclea*^s.

Conſtantine undertakes the THE following year 330. when *Gallicanus* and *Symmachus* were conſuls, is remarkable for the dedication of the city of *Conſtantinople*, the greateſt of all *Conſtantine's* works. Authors

^k PHILOSTORG. hiſt. eccleſ. l. ii. c. 12. p. 474.

^l THEODOR.

l. i. c. 17. p. 564. EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506.

^m SOZOM. l. ii. c. 1. p. 443. ⁿ Cod. Juſt. p. 235. ^o SUID.

p. 448. ^p Cod. Theod. p. 30. ^q Chron. Alexand. p. 662.

^r Chron. Alex. p. 602. ^s Cod. Theodof. chronol. p. 30, 31.

& l. xi. tit. 30. leg. 15. p. 236, 237.

(Y) Both the *Viſtors* mention following years, notice is taken this bridge amongſt his other of a bridge, of his paſſing the great works; and on ſeveral *Danube*, and his defeating the antient coins of this and the *Goths* (9).

are divided in their opinions, with respect to the motives that prompted *Constantine* to undertake the building of that city (Z). The first place he chose for the building of a new city, was between *Troas* and antient *Ilium*, on the coast of *Asia*: but afterwards changing his mind, upon a vision which he had, or imagined to have had, he resolved to enlarge the antient city of *Byzantium*, and make it the second, or, if he could, the first of the empire (A). He began with extending the walls of the antient city from sea to sea; and, while some of the workmen were busied in rearing them, others were employed in raising within them a great number of stately buildings, and among the rest, a palace no-way inferior, in magnificence and extent, to that of *Rome*. As he designed to fix his own court there, and was desirous, that the succeeding emperors should follow his example, and honour his new city with their ordinary residence, he spared no cost or labour to render it both beautiful and convenient.

WITH this view, he built a capitol and amphitheatre, made a circus maximus, several forums, porticoes, and public baths and divided the whole city into fourteen regions, securing the inhabitants with many wholesome laws, and granting them great privileges and immunities. By this means *Byzantium* became in a short time one of the most flourishing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all

(Z) *Zosimus* writes, that he did it out of hatred to the *Romans*, seeing himself scorned and insulted by them for having embraced and introduced a new religion (1). He had, according to *Eutropius*, nothing else in view but to display his power, and shew, that, in a few years, he could build a city equal to *Rome*, which, for so many ages, had been not undeservedly looked upon as the wonder of the universe (2). Others tell us, that *Constantine*, disliking *Rome*, for motives unknown to them, resolved to build a city elsewhere, and reside there. That he disliked *Rome*, whatever his motives were, is very plain; for though he had been master of that metropolis near twenty

years, yet he had never made any long stay in it, but passed most of his time in *Gaul*, and, after his victory over *Licinius*, in *Thrace*. *Sozomen* writes, that *Constantine*, seeing himself absolute master of the whole empire, and not being disturbed by any domestic tumults, or foreign wars, undertook the building of a new city, as a work worthy of a great prince, and resolved, as he did not care to reside at *Rome*, to settle the imperial seat there (3).

(A) This pretended vision is much spoken of by the modern *Greek* and *Latin* writers (4); and *Constantine* himself, in one of his laws, declares, that, in the choice of the place, he followed the directions of Heaven (5).

(1) *Zof. l. ii. p. 686.*

(2) *Eutrop. p. 438.*

(3) *Soz. l. ii. c. 3.*

p. 444.

(4) *Vide Du Cange u. b. Constantinus p. descript. l. i. p. 23, &c.*

(5) *Cic. Theod. tit. 5. p. 64.*

parts, especially from *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Asia*, Constantine having appointed, by a law enacted this year, that such as had lands in those countries, should not be able to dispose of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unless they had an house in his new city. The common people were enticed thither from the different and most distant provinces, and even from *Rome* itself, by the emperor's largesses, and the great quantities of corn, oil, and meat, which were daily distributed among them^t. But however desirous the emperor was to see his new city filled with people, yet he did not care it should be inhabited by any but Christians; and therefore caused all the idols to be pulled down, and their temples to be consecrated to the true God. He built besides an incredible number of churches, and caused crosses to be erected in all the squares and public places.

and so-
lemnly con-
secrates it, WHEN most of the buildings were finished, the emperor, on the eleventh of *May* of the year 330. the twenty-fifth of his reign, caused this new city, by a very solemn dedication, to be consecrated, according to *Cedrenus*, to the virgin *Mary*^v; but, according to *Eusebius*, to the God of martyrs^w (B). It was on this occasion that *Constantine* stiled the new city from his own name *Constantinople*, or the city of *Constantine*, and likewise *Second*, or, as others will have it, *New Rome*^x. At the same time he equaled it to antient *Rome*, granting it the same rights, immunities and privileges enjoyed by that metropolis^y. He established a senate, and other magistrates, with a power and authority equal to that of the *Roman* senate^z, and declared *New Rome* the metropolis of the East, as *Old Rome* was of the West. *Constantine*, having accomplished this great work, according to some in five, according to others in two years, fixed his residence in the new city, and never more returned to *Rome*. The removal of the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople* happened in the year of the christian æra 330. the twenty-fifth of *Constantine's* reign, and 1128. after the foundation of *Rome*. By this removal, the *Roman* empire received a fatal stroke, and shrunk by degrees into nothing, as the reader will find in the sequel of this history.

^t Zos. l. ii. p. 687. Soz. p. 444. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 13. p. 93.

^u Vide DU CANGE de Constantinop. l. i. p. 27. ^w EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 58. p. 507. ^x SOCRAT. p. 45. ^y SOZOM. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. ^z Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 250. 223 et seq.

(B) Some modern *Greek* writers tell us, that this ceremony was performed by the father of the council of *Nice*; that solemnity lasted forty days.

(6) Vide *Geogr.*

